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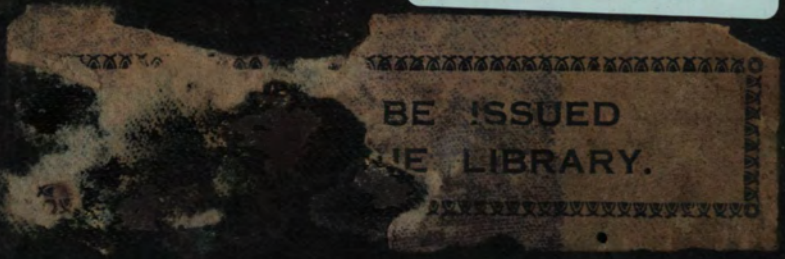
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THE

PROGRESS OF THE INTELLECT,

AS EXEMPLIFIED IN THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF

THE GREEKS AND HEBREWS.

BY

ROBERT WILLIAM MACKAY.

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ON THE THEORY OF MEDIATION.

"Between me and my beloved there is a veil; it is time I should remove it, that I may see him face to face."

The Poet Hemâm of Tabreez—D'HERBELOT, BIBL. ORIENTALE.

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ON THE THEORY OF MEDIATION.

§ 1.

GENERAL THEORY OF MEDIATION.

THE eternal aspiration of the religious sentiment in man is to become united with God. In his earliest development the wish and its fulfilment were simultaneous through unquestioning belief[1]. Reflection, however, could not fail for a while to check his levity and to humble his pride. Even a faint perception of his relative place in the scale of being was enough to make him exaggerate his feebleness, and imagine himself not only imperfect, but corrupt and fallen. When this supposition became conviction, the age of gold, or what is the same thing, the age of fable, was virtually at an end. In proportion as the conception of Deity was exalted, the notion of his terrestrial presence or proximity was abandoned; and the difficulty of comprehending the divine government together with the glaring superstitious evils arising out of its misinterpretation, endangered the belief in it altogether, and seemed to make philosophy the inevitable source of an Epicurean infidelity. All thinking men would agree with Plato that it is impossible for the impure to approach the holy and perfect[2]; and a sigh mingled with a smile as they looked back to those simple times when the gods were supposed to have associated

[1] Luther said it was the desire to be as gods which drove man from Paradise; it were more true to say that Paradise was lost when the desire was conceived.

[2] Hence the means of reconciliation with the gods were called "καθαρτις."

familiarly with mankind; to have met and conferred with them in their repasts and walks, and in various personal disguises to have frequented their cities and societies, rewarding virtue and punishing injustice[3]. Taking the intimations of tradition in their literal sense as true, we cannot escape the melancholy inference that the estrangement between the human and divine has been constantly increasing. The happy times have long ceased when God or Angel guest—

> "With man as with his friend familiar used
> To sit indulgent, and with him partake
> Rural repast, permitting him the while
> Venial discourse unblamed."

Even the lights of Heaven, which, as "bright potentates of the sky,"[4] were formerly the vigilant directors of the economy of earth, now shine dim and distant; Uriel no more descends upon a sunbeam, and the giant of the sky himself is degraded into an incandescent stone. The real change has been in the progressive ascent of our own faculties, not in the Divine nature; and the stars were in reality no nearer when supposed to rest on the shoulders of Atlas than when removed by the mathematician beyond the bounds of calculable space. And yet a bitter sense of disappointment and humiliation attends the first awakening of the soul, when reason, looking upward towards the Deity, is impressed with a dizzy sense of having fallen, similar to that often experienced by a nervous imagination when gazing up towards a soaring eagle or Alpine cliff. But hope revives in despondency, and every nation that has advanced beyond the most elementary conceptions has felt the necessity of an attempt to fill the chasm, real or imaginary, separating man from God. To do this was the great task of poetry, philosophy, and religion. Their efforts, however, were neutralised by their disunion, contradictions, and mistakes; and the mind experienced a second disappointment, or Fall, when fancy or authority had usurped the place of reason, and

[3] Odyss. vii. 201; xvii. 485. Paus. viii. 2. Gen. iii. 8; xviii. 16.

[4] Æschyl. Agam. 5. Gesen. ad v. מַזָּלוֹת.

when reason arrogantly laid claim to certainty when she possessed the elements only of belief. The pretensions of reason laboured from the outset under a peculiar prejudice or disqualification. In the theory of the Fall the progress of knowledge, apparently accompanying the sense of degradation, had been assumed to be the cause of that which preceded or accompanied it, and thus by a natural association of ideas the very development of mental power seemed to be rebellion or enmity against God, synonymous with the fructification of iniquity. Hesitating and discredited, reason resigned the larger portion of her office to imagination; tradition usurped the place which should have been taken by philosophy; the fancies of poets became the dogmas or inveterate prejudices of mankind, and the majesty of God was again, though in a different fashion, lowered to meet the presumptuous claims of his creatures. The notion of a second golden age now arose to supply the deficiency of the first. The Deity who had once been recognised as personally present among men, had now indeed either altogether withdrawn, or greatly reduced the frequency of his personal appearances; but he retained the power of occasional interference, or had deputed his terrestrial superintendence and correspondence to a class of inferior emissaries, imagined to people the atmosphere, to exercise a censorship over crime, to answer the spell of the magician, or to prompt the voice of prophets. After passing through many varieties of superstition, man at length discovered an oracular faculty within himself[5]. The gifted genius was the herald of divinity, and the sacred class deemed necessary to maintain a becoming communication with Heaven often usurped the temporal authority of the sovereigns of Asia and of Egypt[6]. The Scythians periodically commissioned an ambassador to Zamolxis[7], and ever since the death of that traditionary anchorite, who as possessing the secrets of heaven was not unreasonably

[5] Diog. L. vii. 119. M. Antonin. v. 19.

[6] Plato, Politicus, 200 (319). Cic. de Div. i. 41. Numb. xx. 10.

[7] Herod. iv. 94.

esteemed to have been himself a god, there was always at the Gothic coast an officer under the title of "Θεος" (God), who acted as privy counsellor and adviser of the monarch[8]. The practice of oriental kings who sat secluded while business was transacted through an interpreter such as the Abyssinian "Kal Hatzé," or "Word of the King," mentioned by Bruce, naturally suggested a similar form of communication between the human race and the universal monarch. The various ranks of mythical beings imagined by Persians, Egyptians, or Etrurians to preside over the various departments of nature, had each his share in a scheme to bring man into closer approximation to the Deity; they eventually gave way only before an analogous though less picturesque symbolism, and the deities and dæmons of Greece and Rome were perpetuated under different names when their offices were transferred to saints and martyrs. The attempts by which reason had sometimes endeavoured to span the unknown by a bridge of metaphysics, such as the idealistic systems of Zoroaster, Pythagoras, or Plato, were more refined but almost as unsubstantial as the poetical illusions which satisfied the vulgar; and amidst all the freaks of fancy and subtleties of speculation, man still looked back with longing to the lost golden age, and hoped that by propitiating heaven he might accelerate the renewal of it in the islands of the far west under the sceptre of Cronus, or in a centralization of political power at Jerusalem. His eager hope overcame even the terrors of the grave, for the divine power was as infinite as human expectation, and the Egyptian duly ensepulchred in the Libyan catacombs was supposed to be already on his way to the fortunate abodes under the guidance of Hermes, where he would obtain a perfect association and reunion with his God.

[8] Strabo, vii. 298.

§ 2.

EARLIEST TYPES OF MEDIATION.

All religion may be viewed as a scheme for reconciling man with God, with nature, and with himself. Religion is essentially mediation; an attempt to restore the lost harmony in the chain of being; to repair the seeming breach between the particular and universal; and while knowledge is perpetually striving to fence off a portion of the infinite within limits, religion overleaps the boundary, widening the horizon of the known into the infinite. Rites, creeds, and legends express directly or symbolically some leading idea according to which the mysteries of being are supposed to be explained *in* Deity. Whatever bears the relation of instructor, whether the lesson be conveyed by the silent significance of nature or by the voice of man, may be called theologically a mediator; the office being performed not only by those human teachers whose functions invested them with a character nearly allied to the gods with whom they communicated, but also by the mental conceptions through which we represent to ourselves the invisible, the objects by which they were excited, and the symbols and words expressing them. The intricacies of mythical genealogies are a practical acknowledgment of the mysterious nature of the omnipotent Deity; displaying in their beautiful but ineffectual imagery the first efforts of mind to communicate with nature; the flowers which fancy strewed before the youthful steps of Psyche when she first set out in pursuit of the immortal object of her love. Theories and notions in all their varieties of truth and falsehood are a machinery more or less efficacious directed to the same end; but whereas notions and language before the epoch of "the Fall" were a spontaneous inspiration terminating within itself, they are now deliberately employed by the self-conscious intellect as instruments for the purpose of interpreting and mastering nature, becoming more

logically precise in proportion as they are less significant and picturesque. Every religion was in its origin an embryo philosophy, or an attempt to interpret the unknown by mind; it was only when philosophy, which is essentially progress, outgrew its first acquisitions, that religion became a thing apart, cherishing as unalterable dogmas the notions which philosophy had abandoned. Separated from philosophy religion became arrogant and fantastical, professing to have already attained what its more authentic representative was ever pursuing in vain, and discovering through its initiations and mysteries all that to its contracted view seemed wanting to restore the well-being of mankind, the means of purification and expiation, remedies for disease, expedients to cure the disorders of the soul and to propitiate the gods[1].

God was first recognised through his power; and when the conscious mind first attempted to communicate with its author, it strove to realize the claim by the exercise of supernatural powers, and by assuming to wield the instrument of its earliest revelation. Hence the general character of ancient religious philosophy was magism or magic, whose origin belongs to that indefinite antiquity which witnessed the feuds of Ninus and Zoroaster[2], when the gods instructed the Indian devotee how to task them to his purposes, or when Odin discovered the Runes which could chain the elements and awake the dead. Magician and priest were then synonymous terms[3]; in particular the Median and Persian Magi seem to have been a tribe or priestly caste similar to the Israelitish Levites and the Assyrian Chaldæans[4]. Awful indeed was the man privileged to invoke the

[1] Paus. ix. 30. "τιλιται, καθαρμοι, ιαματα, τροπαι μνηματων θειων." Plato, Rep. ii. 364. Herod. iv. 35.

[2] Arnob. i. 5. Epiphan. Hæres. 1.

[3] Apuleius de Magia, ch. xxv. p. 501, Hildeb. Comp. Porphyr. de Abstin. iv. 16. The Mobeds, or Guebre Priests, are said to be still called Magoi in Pehlvee (Anhang to Zendavesta, 2, 3, p. 17. Lengerke on Daniel, p. 44); the Telchines and Idæi Dactyli also were called γοητες. Schol. Apollon. i. 1129.

[4] Herod. i. 101. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 305.

gods and perform religious offices[5]. He was arbiter of weal and woe, of blessings and curses[6]. Aided by credulity in the witnesses, it was easy for the inspired seer to move mountains, to stir up Leviathan, to heal or inflict disease, or, like the prophet Balaam, to destroy an enemy by imprecations. Moses, who with the wisdom of Egypt, was "mighty in word and deed,"[7] discomfited by a spell the demon nation of the Amalekites[8], and the hero employed in this eternal warfare[9] was the same before whom the beleaguered walls of Jericho fell down flat at the trumpet sound[10], which was symbolically the voice of God[11]. Implicit faith was of course essential to success. The magician was unable at the request of the Sultan of Mysore to check the advance of a British army composed of incredulous Europeans, but the Israelites fled in dismay before the enchantments of the king of Moab[12], and the formidable curse[13] of the tribune Ateius overshadowed in a distant land the legions of Crassus. The Rig-Veda contains magic formulas adapted to such purposes. Brahmâ is surrounded by the five Devatas, Lightning, Rain, Moon, Sun, and Fire; and as lightning

[5] "Δεινος δε θεους σεβειν." Æschyl. Septem. 578. (563, Bothe.) Comp. 2 Kings ii. 24. Isai. lxv. 15. Job iii. 8.

[6] Gen. xxvii. 27. Numb. xxii. 6.

[7] Acts vii. 22.

[8] Called by the Rabbis "the seed of the old serpent," the "power of unclean spirits," or the "lust of the flesh." Comp. also Philo de Vit. Mosis, p. 35; or Mang. ii. p. 115. Exod. xvii. 11.

[9] Exod. xvii. 16.

[10] Josh. vi. 20. Clem. Alex. Pæd. ii. 4.

[11] Exod. xix. 9. 16. 19. Numb. x. 9. Matt. xxiv. 31. Heb. xii. 19. Rev. i. 10. Baur, in the Tübinger Zeitschrift, f. Theol. 1832, p. 3, compares the taking of the "moon-city" Jericho to the fate of Troy—the scarlet thread, the three days' concealment (occultation?) of the spies, &c., are probably all significant; and it was held by the Rabbis that Rahab, the "harlot," (Luna Crescens?) was eventually married to Joshua, as Helena, the "many-spoused," to Achilles. Kimchi to Josh. vi. 25. Gen. xxxii. 28. Ezek. xxiii. 14. The symbolical or solar character of Joshua, who remained within the tabernacle (Exod. xxxiii. 11), but disappeared in the darkness (Josh. ii. 5), and was buried at Timnath-Heres (Eclipsis solis), a name afterwards altered to Timnath-Serach, has been often dwelt upon.

[12] 2 Kings iii. 27.

[13] The "Dira Detestatio" of Horace. Comp. the case of Jotham and the Shechemites. Judg. ix. 20. 23.

vanishes in rain, as rain dries up and disappears, as the moon is obscured at its changing, the sun at its setting, and the fire by extinction, so by the pronouncing of appropriate words the enemy would disappear. Magic was founded on the knowledge which unveils nature, and was defined to be the art through which we participate in the power of the Deity[14]. The distinction of sorcery or black magic, denounced under all its forms as emphatically in the Zendavesta as in the later books attributed to Moses, seems to have arisen out of religious rivalries, and to have been coincident with the time when the divine power became dualistic, and when evil was recognised as emanating from a peculiar cause distinct from the source of good. But though often disgraced by malevolence or craft, magic in its original meaning was neither guess-work nor trickery; it was an attempt to exert power over nature, founded on a real though superficial acquaintance with her processes and constitution. Everything which exercised a natural or artificial influence over body or mind, the real or imaginary properties of animals, plants, or stones, were ranked among its resources. A philtre or lure, for instance, might be made from a bone snatched from a hungry dog, from the mandragora observed to act as a provocative to the elephant, or the excrescence which the dam snatching from the new-born foal seemed to make the pledge of enduring affection for her young[15]. Unnatural acts and combinations, such as seething a kid in its mother's milk, or marriage with near relatives, were prohibited as tending to sorcery; since the one was to convert the means of life to its destruction, the other to confound the natural course of development by bending down, as it were, the branches towards the root. All nature appeared as a connected system of sympathies and antipathies, and the various faculties and powers with which the Creator had endowed inferior beings were all reasonably presumed to be available to human skill if properly informed and directed. But magic had still more

[14] Philo de Leg. Special.

[15] Virg. Æn. iv. 515.

lofty pretensions. God alone is all-powerful, but the human soul has in all ages asserted its claim to be considered as part of the divine. "The purity of the spirit," says Van Helmont, "is shown through energy and efficaciousness of will; God by the agency of an infinite will created the universe, and the same sort of power in an inferior degree, limited more or less by external hindrances, exists in all spiritual beings. The higher we ascend in antiquity, the more does prayer take the form, which it still in a great degree retains[16], that of incantation. Prayer was able to change the purposes of heaven and to make the Deves tremble under the abyss[17]. It exercised a compulsory influence over the gods, and the potency of the means employed by Numa to compel the Deity to descend in fire was proved by the less skilful management of his successor, who brought down the thunderbolt upon his own head[18]. Whatever by stimulating the nerves seemed while weakening the bodily to sharpen the inward sense, so as to make it dead to the distractions of the outward world, was thought a means of promoting its reunion with its source. Pliny identifies magic with the art of medicine[19]; Plato more justly with the religious wisdom of antiquity and the worship expressive of its meaning. The wisdom of antiquity was a sort of inspiration or clairvoyance; its worship the unpremeditated expression of that union with nature which was the aim and essence of its religion. The ancient Greek priest (αρητης) was named from his office as a person skilled in the art of offering those prayers or invocations[20] which from existing memorials[21] appear to have

[16] The rites of public worship being considered not merely as an expression of trust or reverence, real spiritual acts the effect of which is looked for only within the mind of the worshipper, but as acts from which some direct outward result is anticipated, the attainment of some desired object of health or wealth, of supernatural gifts for body or soul, of exemption from danger or vengeance upon enemies.

[17] Life of Zoroaster, Zendavesta by Kleuker, 3, p. 26.

[18] Livy i. 31. Plin. N. H. 2. 54, p. 101, and 27.

[19] Plin. N. H. 30. 1.

[20] Herod. i. 133; ii. 52.

[21] Such as the Macedonian invocation to the air. (Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 673. Pott.) The Athenian prayers to Zeus or the Seasons for genial weather. (Athenæ. xiv. 656.)

resembled the hymns of the Veda or Yashna, being addresses to the elements for wealth and increase, rain or warmth, in due season; and when Iamblichus[22] describes the execution of the spell by a race of unintelligent and inferior, yet within specific limits, all-powerful genii, we have only to substitute the modern terms "forces" and "processes" for magic rites and supernatural agents, in order to convert the proceeding of an ancient priest into that of a modern natural philosopher. There were diversities of powers, but only one spirit. Prayer promoted the magnetic sympathy of spirit with spirit; and the Hindoo and Persian liturgies, addressed not only to the Deity himself, but to his diversified manifestations, were considered wholesome and necessary iterations of the living or creative word which at first effectuated the divine will, and which from instant to instant supports the universal frame by its eternal repetition[23].

§ 3.

EMANATION THEORY.

The idea or theory on which magism was founded was no other than the ancient pantheism of the East. It amounted to a dogmatic re-assertion of that oneness and intercommunion with God believed in the early ages, and whose reality was never questioned until the memorable æra of the Fall. The hypothesis of a fall, required under some of its modifications in all systems to account for the apparent imperfection in the work of a perfect being, was in Eastern philosophy the unavoidable accompaniment and condition of limited or individual existence; since the soul, considered as a fragment (*αποσπασμα* or *σπαραγμα*) of the universal mind, might be said to have lapsed from its pre-eminence when parted from its source, and ceasing to form part of integral perfection. The theory of its reunion was correspondent to the assumed cause of its degrada-

[22] Ch. 31.

[23] Creuz. S. i. p. 208.

tion. To reach its prior condition its individuality must cease; it must be emancipated by re-absorption into the infinite, (Mukti, "liberation," or Nirwâna, "extinction,") the consummation of all things in God, to be promoted by human effort in spiritual meditation or self-mortification, and completed in the magical transformation of death[1]. By this fundamental axiom are explained the paradoxes of ritual, the Phœnician burnings, the Egyptian embalment, the Avataras and Metempsychosis. Every portion of nature being a partial exhibition of the creative or informing spirit, not only man, but animals and plants, were imagined to contain some particles of the "aura divina," which is

"As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart"

and to be really a portion of the Deity in whom we live, move, and have our being. Everything had been endowed with useful properties by the Author of all good, and as these properties were emanations of his universal spirit, they were invoked in the name of that spirit to fulfil the beneficial ends of their appointment. The invocation included the souls of all good men throughout the world, considered as united in a mystic communion of saints on earth, offering vows for the victory of Ormuzd, and the universal prevalence of his law[2]. In order to do the will of Ormuzd it was necessary to know him, to become familiar with his light, *i. e.*, the manifestations of his will in heaven and on earth. The prayers of the Parsee were a recognition or catalogue expressed in invocation of all those manifestations conceived by cotemporaneous wisdom as extending from the Creator and his attributes to the lowest of his pure and good creatures. But the creation was not the mere alphabet or symbolism of nature, it was an aggregate of living beings, of spirits or of gods. The Parsee considered in water or fire not the mere element but the Ized incorporated in it,

[1] Lassen, Antiq. i. 831. Strab. xv. 713.

[2] Kleuker's Zendavesta, Pheil. i. p. 28, 29. Carlyle's Sartor, p. 275.

and addressed it not only as useful but divine. The intelligence of animals was not as the capricious exercise of human reason, but the divine purpose revealed in unerring intuitions[3]. Birds, especially, whose movements seem so mysterious and aloof from man, were as an aërial Delphi or Dodona[4]; the vulture could scent carnage three days before a battle, and the swallow and owl intimated the coming fate of Pyrrhus. The many explanations of the practice of animal worship are probably only in appearance inconsistent. To say that the gods took refuge under animal forms when they fled from the cruelty of Typhon, is but a pantheistic allusion to their symbolical deification or their useful properties[5]; and the sacred legend of Egypt, in which each provincial fetish was superseded by a fragment of Osiris, was expressive of the same meaning. The ant and flea, as well as the more highly-endowed animals, were as significant to the diviner as the stars[6], and even the cedars of Lebanon are still supposed by the Arabs to exhibit sagacity and foresight akin to the manifestations of instinct or intellect[7]. All divination and magic was founded on the same notion inherited from ancient wisdom by the Cabbala ("tradition"), and cherished by all metaphysicians, the spiritual or divine unity of all things. The earliest religionists endeavoured to express the combination of multiplicity with unity by symbols, such as the tree[8], the hermaphrodite, the spider's web, or the self-multiplying yet undiminished flame. To these succeeded the inventions of polytheism, the separate personification of elements and seasons, of attributes and planets. The latter obscured but could not entirely obliterate the original feeling; and although through distinctions or personifications the many aspects or attributes of God might give to Him a

[3] Virg. Georg. iv. 220. Porphyr. Abst. 4. 9, p. 322.
[4] So called by Aristophanes in the Birds.
[5] Diod. S. i. 83. 87. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 2. 1, p. 57, Hein.
[6] Diod. S. ii. 30, 31. Herod. i. 133; ii. 82.
[7] Kelly's Syria, p. 113.
[8] Comp. Aristot. de Gener. Anim. i. 23.

semblance of plurality, his nature was only extended, not divided[9]; each attribute being an essential part of Him became entitled to represent the entire Godhead; each emanation was itself the Great Being from which it sprung. Sarapis, the subterranean Osiris, when questioned as to the nature of his divine character, is said to have replied[10], "Heaven is my head, my belly the sea, the earth my feet; my ears the æther; my eye is the sun's far-beaming ray." Crishna, in many parts of the Bagavad-Geeta, uses similar imagery descriptive of his own being, on which the universe hangs as pearls on the string, and the revelation of his nature arrayed in the characteristic symbols of an Indian idol causes Ardjouna to exclaim[11], "I behold, O God, within thy breast, the Deves assembled, and every specific tribe of beings. I see Brahmâ, the creator, sitting on his lotus throne; all the Rishis[12] and heavenly Ooragas[13]. I see thyself on all sides of infinite shape, formed with abundant arms and bellies, and mouths and eyes, but I can neither discover thy beginning, thy middle, nor thy end, O Universal Lord, Form of the Universe! I see thee with a crown, and armed with a club and chakra[14], a mass of glory, darting refulgent beams around. I see thee shining on all sides with light immeasurable, like a glowing fire or glorious sun. Thou art the supreme, the incorruptible, the end of knowledge! Thou art prime supporter of the universal orb; the never-failing and eternal guardian of law and of religion! Of power infinite, of arms innumerable, the sun and moon thy eyes, thy mouth a flaming fire; thou encirclest the world with thy glory, filling all space with thyself alone. Of the celestial bands, some fly to thee for refuge; while some, afraid, with joined hands sing forth thy praise. Thus as I see thee, touching with thy head the heavens and radiant in majesty, with widely-opened mouths and bright expanded eyes, my soul is disturbed within me;

[9] "Τιμνεται γαρ ουδεν του θειου κατ' απαρτησιν, αλλα μονον εκτεινεται." Philo, Pfeif. ii. 202.

[10] Macrob. Sat. i. 20.

[11] Lect. 11, v. 15.

[12] Seers.

[13] Serpents.

[14] The discus.

my resolution faileth me, O Vishnou, and I find no rest; beholding thy dreadful teeth and gazing on thy countenance, emblem of Time's last fire, I know not which way to turn. Have mercy then, thou God of Gods! thou mansion of the Universe."

§ 4.

POPULAR FORMS OF PANTHEISM.

Though the personifying tendency is essentially opposed to pantheism, both elements are usually found united, since pantheism rigorously carried out would make religion impossible. For religion is but the feeling and practice suited to a certain theoretical relation between man and God; and the confounding man and God in the universality of nature would overthrow all acts and relations arising from the presumption of their severance. In that earliest imaginary state of innocence or ignorance supposed to have preceded intellectual development, there could not, strictly speaking, be any religion, since religion, as generally understood, implies that conscious severance of the finite from the infinite which, morally viewed, contains the implication of a Fall. The negative influences of pantheism were counteracted in popular feeling by the personification blending more or less with every actual variety of worship. The early shepherds of the Punjaub[1], to whose intuitional or inspired wisdom (Veda) we owe what are perhaps the most ancient religious effusions extant in any language, had already formed a mythology enabling them to apostrophise as living beings the physical objects of their worship. First in this order of Deities stands Indra, the god of the "blue" or "glittering" firmament, called Devaspiti, father of the Devas[2] or elemental powers, who measured out the circle of the sky, and made fast the foundations of the earth; the ideal domain of

[1] Then called the country of the *seven* rivers. Roth, in Zeller's Theolog. Jahrbucher, 1846, p. 350. Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 756.

[2] The "Bright" rulers.

Varouna[3], the "all-encompasser," is almost equally extensive, including air, water, night, the expanse between heaven and earth; Agni who lives in the fire of the sacrifice[4], on the domestic hearth[5], and in the lightnings of the sky[6], is the great mediator between God and man; Uschas, or the dawn, leads forth the gods in the morning to make their daily repast on the intoxicating Soma of Nature's offertory, of which the priest could only compound from simples a symbolical imitation; then come the various Sun Gods, Adityas or solar attributes, Surya the heavenly, Savitri the progenitor, Pashan the nourisher, Bagha the felicitous, and Mitra the friend. When theosophy had been further developed among the wealthier inhabitants of the plains of India, several other religious personifications were adopted by the priesthood, and, though still Nature-gods, yet in consideration of their wider significance or rather perhaps their locally conventional rank, were exalted above the older Vedic or elemental Deities. In the olden time the god had often been identified with the worshipper, and the Rishis and Pitris[7] of antiquity were supposed by piety to have raised themselves to the skies, and even to have presided over the fixing of the constellations[8]. When the powers of external nature were first separated from the conscious percipient, the symbols representing them were those most impressive to the untutored senses. As early as Alexander and Megasthenes[9] the worship of Siva, supposed to be the Indian Dionysus, had been extended from the Himalaya to the Coast of Coromandel on Kalinga[10], and its symbols, the coarsest forms of Nature worship, expressed the relation of sensuous man to a being

[3] Lassen compares this god to the Greek Οὐρανος.

[4] Hence called Narâshansa, "the bearer of human prayers;" the first Rishi who addressed the gods and taught men the way to heaven.

[5] As Vaishvânara, the "dweller with all men."

[6] Called "Falcon of the sky." Rosen. Specimen, p. 17.

[7] Patriarchs.

[8] Lassen, Ant. i. 765. 769. 773. Hes. Works, v. 122.

[9] Meg. Frag. Schwanbeck, p. 135, from Strab. xv. 711.

[10] Lassen, Antiq. i. 780.

correspondingly personified. The coming forth of the eternal Being to the work of creation was represented as a marriage, his first emanation being a universal mother supposed to have potentially existed with him from eternity, or, in metaphorical language, to have been his "sister and his spouse."[11] She became eventually promoted to be the mother of the Indian Trinity, the final result of the systematizing labours of the Brahmins, including in its actual shape the three principal aspects[12] of religious theory: physics, history, and metaphysics; or in relation to its subject, matter, moral Providence, and mind; or the Deity under his three attributes of Creation, Preservation, and Change or Regeneration[13]. Sivaism, though its symbols may by an effort of ingenuity be made to bear a higher meaning[14], is essentially the type of physical Nature worship. Its Deity is the power presiding over generation, life, and death, and over the heat and moisture which are the chief physical instruments in these operations. He is the all-quickening Sun, the all-devouring Time; the spirit evoked by the poet as "Birth and grave, an eternal sea, a changeful weaving, a glowing life;"[15] he is a magician whose spells, ever mingled with terror, seem as it were to rob the savage of his patrimonial right[16], who creates only to destroy, and who devours his own children. His rites correspond with his character; they consist of magic incantations, frantic orgies, or sanguinary sacrifices[17]. Time and reflection alone teach the mind to correct its first impressions, and to convert the turbulent superstition of the passions into a religion of the understanding. The Deity is then no longer a ruthless necessity or

[11] Euseb. Pr. Ev. 2. 1, p. 57, Hein. Herod. iii. 31. Baehr's Ctesias, p. 91 sq. Sext. Empir. Pyrr. Hyp. iii. 24, p. 153.

[12] V. Bohlen. Ind. i. 213.

[13] Siva is supposed to mean the "growing," or, as some think, the "prosperous." The Vedic god Rudra, the exterminator (the Zend-Deve Sarva?), became incorporated with him. Lassen, Ant. i. 781.

[14] Guigniaut, i. 172.

[15] Goethe's Faust.

[16] Comp. Shakspeare's Tempest, act iii. sc. 2.

[17] Wilson's Oxford Lecture, 28. 34.

inscrutable puzzle, but assumes the new aspect of beneficence. Siva was god of the hills; Vishnou[18], whose worship seems to have been encouraged by the Brahmins in opposition to Buddhism, was reverenced by the more cultivated population of the plains[19], who created the treasures of Hindoo philosophy and literature. The most popular forms or manifestations of Vishnou were his successive Avataras, or historic impersonations, which represented the Deity coming forth out of the incomprehensible mystery of his nature, and revealing himself at those critical epochs which either in the physical or moral world seemed to mark a new commencement of prosperity and order. Combating the power of evil in the various departments of nature and in successive periods of time, the Divinity, though varying in form, is ever in reality the same, whether seen in useful agricultural or social inventions, in traditional victories over rival creeds, or in the physical changes faintly discerned through tradition or suggested by cosmogonical theory. As Rama, the epic hero armed with sword, club, and arrows, the prototype of Hercules and Mithras, he wrestles like the Hebrew patriarch[20] with the powers of darkness; as Crishna-Govinda, the divine shepherd, he is messenger of peace, overmastering the world by music and love. Under the human form he never ceases to be the Supreme Being. "The foolish," he says[21], "unacquainted with my supreme nature, despise me in this human form, while men of great minds enlightened by the divine principle within them acknowledge me as incorruptible and before all things, and serve me with undivided hearts." "I am not recognised by all[22], because concealed by the supernatural power which is in me; yet to me are known, O Arjoona, all things past, present, and to come; I existed before Vaivaswata and Menou; I am the Most High God, the creator of the world, the eternal

[18] Meaning "Preserver." Lassen, Ant. i. 764. 780. Index to Bagavad-Geeta, by Lassen, p. 282.

[19] Megasthenes, Schwanbeck, v. supr. "Τους πεδιασιους σεβ 'Ηρακλεα τιμαν."

[20] Comp. L. Lydus de Mens, 4. iii. p. 151.

[21] B. G. p. 79. Lassen, Lect. ix. 11.

[22] Lect. vii. 25.

Poorooscha[23]. And, although in my own nature I am exempt from liability to birth or death, and am Lord of all created things, yet as often as in the world virtue is enfeebled, and vice and injustice prevail, so often do I become manifest and am revealed from age to age, to save the just, to destroy the guilty, and to reassure the faltering steps of virtue[24]. He who acknowledgeth me as even so, doth not on quitting this mortal frame enter into another, for he entereth into me; and many who have trusted in me, have already entered into me, being purified by the power of wisdom; I help those who walk in my path, even as they serve me."

§ 5.

BRAHMA AND HIS INCARNATIONS.

Custom had restricted the general Hindoo name "Deva," like the "Θεος" of Greek poetry, to its originally limited meaning of a physical or elemental deity; and in order to express the higher thought of an overruling spirit it became necessary to fix on some new term, as the Greek philosophers employed "αρχη" and "νους." Circumstances determined the preference of the word "Brahma" for this purpose[1]. The primary meaning of Brahma in the neuter is that of earnest prayer, the intense devotional feeling supposed to be the proper attitude of man towards the Supreme Being. The idea of this relation was embodied in a divine personification called Brihaspiti, or Brahmanaspiti, "Lord of prayer," whose office was that of mediation with heaven, wresting favours from the gods by pious importunity, and delivering the imprisoned kine (*i. e.* the clouds) of the firmament out of the caverns of the evil genii. He is allegorically called "father of the gods," since the gods, or at least the conceptions of them, are really products of the

[23] The man-world, or "Genius" of the world. [24] Lect. iv. 6.

[1] Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 776. Roth on Brahma in the Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft, i. 67. Zeller's Jahrbuch, 1846, p. 361.

devotional sentiment. This personage, afterwards made leader of the Brahminical order, is the transitional link between the simplicity of Nature worship, and that more advanced moral consciousness which requires new terms to express the results of reflection. The minister of the offertory, or utterer of prayer, was called Brahmâ in the masculine, at first as a general appellative[2], afterwards as the specific title of a class set apart for the performance of religious functions. It was subsequent to the constitution of the Brahminical caste[3] that the notion of the order and its functions was generalized under the name of Brahmâ, the word originally expressing the devotional attitude towards God becoming a personification of holiness in the abstract, or of God, the "holy one;" and that the divinity so created by the priests or Brahmins came to be accounted creator of the world as well as mythical author of their own race. The idea of creation in Hindoo philosophy is connected with that of sacrifice. Brahmâ, the creating agent, sacrificed himself when by descending into material forms he became incorporated with his work, and his mythological history was interwoven with that of the universe. Thus, although spiritually allied to the Supreme, and Lord of all creatures ("Prajapati"), he shared the imperfection and corruption of an inferior nature, and steeped in manifold and perishable forms might be said, like the Greek Uranus, to be mutilated and fallen[4]. He thus combined two characters, formless form, immortal and mortal, being and non-being, motion and rest. On completion of his task the pantheistic Creator in a manner ceased to be Almighty, and thenceforth was said to have relinquished his supremacy to the already established popular gods, to Siva as the power of changing and generating Nature, or to Vishnou, preserving Providence. In the incarnations of Vishnou the Deity never abandons the superiority of his nature; but

[2] Lassen, i. 803. *i. e.* of the purohita or priest.

[3] As supposed by Roth, in the place cited, p. 85.

[4] Guigniaut, R. i. 229.

Brahmâ in his emanated shape becomes a subordinate intermediary power, and while Vishnou and Siva reign over heaven and the elements, the portion assigned to him is the earth, where he passes the long exile of the four ages. He is thus a type of human nature viewed as a wanderer from its home, yet still under the humiliation of its fall an offshoot from Deity. His history is the allegory of the soul's education. As incarnate intelligence, or "Word,"[5] he communicated to man what had been revealed to himself by the Eternal, since he is Creation's soul as well as body, within which the divine word is written in those living letters which it is the prerogative of the self-conscious spirit to interpret. The institutions of Brahmâ were promulgated by his son, the first Menu or man, called Adima, or Parama Pooroosh, and Swayambhouva, "son of the Self-subsistent." The heads of consecutive Brahmas were significantly suspended to the collar of Cali ("Time"), and the series of incarnations became a representation of the history theoretical and traditional of Hindoo literature, considered as emanating from the primal source of intelligence. Brahmâ appears first as the prophetic raven[6], an emblem of the priest common to the religions of Zoroaster and of Brahmâ,

[5] Guigniaut, i. 140. 181. 226.

[6] The prophetic gift of the crow is alluded to by Virgil, and it was under this form that the divine intelligence (Schol. Pind. Pyth. iii. 46. 48), informed the far-seeing Apollo of the infidelity of his mistress Coronis. Aristæas followed in Apollo's train under the form of a crow (κορακξ), (Herod. iv. 15), that bird being sacred to the Sun-God (Æl. H. A. vii. 18. Porphyr. de Abstin. 3. v. p. 226. Eratosthenes, Catast. 41), in Persian Kor or Khor, whence possibly may have been derived the name "Corinth," called also Heliopolis, "city of the Sun." (Steph. Byz. ad voc.) Ritter (Vorhalle, p. 278) asserts on the authority of Porphyry (De Abstin. iv. 350, Rhær.) that the crow was "significant" of the Magi, or sacerdotal ministers of the Sun-God. The crow, as emblem of intelligence, accompanies Odin; and its opposition to the dove, still preserved in Christian symbolism on baptismal fonts, may perhaps have originated among the forms of old Asiatic symbolism. (Gen. viii. 7. 1 Kings xvii. 6. Plutarch, Alexander ad fin. Eratosthenes, 41. To the Persians the dove, the sacred bird of Assyria, was impure. Herod. i. 138, Baehr.)

the swan or goose on which the latter rides being probably an equivalent symbol[7]. He appears next as Valmiki, the degraded savage of the forest, who, guided by a divinely-commissioned monitor like the "Interpreting messenger" in Job[8], becomes reclaimed, and eventually stands forth as an austere penitent and prophet. In the third age of the world he becomes Vyâsa, the inspired editor or "compiler" of the Vedas. In the fourth he is Calidâsa, the Homer of Hindoo song, since music is civilizer of man as well as propitiator of the gods[9], and to hymn the praises of Vishnou was the great probationary task imposed on Brahmâ throughout his transformations. To Brahman (Priest), his titular son, or the eponymous emanation of his mouth, he finally committed the sacred trust of the Vedas; he still lives in that fraternity of sages whose appointed function is to study and teach his law. From the nature of his psychological origin, among the meditative or priestly order he had no visible altar or local worship[10]; but he is honoured in the Brahmins; incorporated among whom as their chief he represents the important dogma that the great connecting link between man and God is the devotional wisdom of the spirit. Brahmâ in the beginning created the worlds by the means instrumental in human progress, by wisdom and harmony. He is wedded to wisdom in the person of his spouse, Saraswati[11], and is father of Nareda, author of laws, and inventor of the lyre made out of the shell of the tortoise (Vishnou) which supports the world[12]. He is the supreme God of devotional philosophy, appearing subordinate only when, to illustrate metaphysical theory, he is made to represent the infinite grada-

[7] "Hansa." Lassen, Ant. i. 785, 6. Hes. Scut. 316. Plat. Phæd. 84[c]. Apollod. iii. 10, 7, 2.

[8] xxxiii. 23.

[9] Scaring the powers of darkness. Pind. Pyth. i. 5-16. "Carmine Di Superi placantur."—Virg.

[10] Lassen, ib. p. 776.

[11] Lassen, p. 785.

[12] Guigniaut, R. i. 245.

tions of the spirit, now stooping from Omnipotence to earth, and now through religious discipline rising from humanity to God.

§ 6.

COMPARISON OF INDIAN THEORY WITH THAT OF PERSIA.

Increasing familiarity with early oriental records seems more and more to confirm the probability that they all originally emanated from one source. The eastern and southern slopes of the Paropamisus or Hindukusch appear to have been inhabited by kindred Iranian races similar in habits, language, and religion[1]. The earliest Indian and Persian deities are for the most part symbols of celestial light, their agency being regarded as an eternal warfare with the powers of winter, storm, and darkness. But the original Nature worship, in which were combined the conceptions both of a universal presence and perpetuity of action, took different directions of development. In the more settled condition of the Hindoo, a mild climate

[1] The religion of both was originally a worship of outward nature, especially the manifestations of fire and light, the coincidences being too marked to be merely accidental. Deva, "God," is derived from the root div, to shine; (Lassen, Ind. A. i. 756.) Indra, like Ormuzd or Ahura-Mazda, is the bright firmament; Sura or Surya, "the heavenly," an attribute of the Sun, recurs in the Zend word Huare, the sun (Lassen, ib. 761); whence Khûr, and Khorshid or Coresch. (Dan. v. 29.) Uschas (Uchanina) and Mitra are Vedic as well as Zend deities; the Soma is the "Homa;" the Amschaspands, or "immortal holy ones" of the Zendavesta, may be compared with the seven Rishis, or Vedic star-gods of the constellation of the Bear. Zoroastrianism, like Buddhism, was an innovation in regard to an older religion; and between the Parsee and Brahmin may be found traces of disruption as well as of coincidence; Deva, the Indian "god," is the Magian Deve or Dæmon, whom it was the duty of every pious Zoroastrian to war on and exterminate; among them, as an Ahrimanian creation, being included Indra (Bundehesch. 1), and Sarva or Savel (Siva? Zendavesta Th. ii. p. 355). The Persian Nabanazdista, "men of the new faith," were personified as a son of Menu, called Nabhanedischta, who was disinherited by his father; the Persian Jima or Jemsheed became Yama, or the infernal god of the Indian, who also retaliated by transforming the Ahura of Zoroaster into a class of evil spirits called Asura or Asoors.

and fruitful soil encouraged the contemplative turn which, careless about the common things of life, sought in retirement to the desert or the forest exemption from distractions and enjoyment of spiritual insight. Singly at first, afterwards in numerous communities, the anchorite[2] endeavoured to find through devotional ecstacy that communion or reunion with God which the sensuous savage pursued through blind abandonment to impulses of passion. The realization of man's celestial claim, "εμφυτος αρχαια προς ουρανον κοινωνια," was attained by the Hindoo theory of Yog or Yogee, spiritual communion or absorption. The tendencies of this system were an unquestioning faith, indifference to bodily suffering, and a conviction of the worthlessness of moral action compared with devotional rapture. The Yogee, or devotee[3], is said to be "a recluse, who exercises his spirit in private; he planteth his seat, which must be neither too high nor too low, in an undefiled place upon the sacred grass called Kuça, covered with a skin or cloth; there he who wishes to purify his soul should sit subdued in sense and thought, with his mind fixed on one object alone, keeping his head, neck and body motionless, his eyes fixed on the point of his nose, looking at no other place around."[4] "The man whose mind continues so fixed on God attains the divine tranquillity which is the first condition of the supreme happiness of Nirvâna. He is as a lamp standing in a place without wind which waveth not. Through intermission of discursive thought and intense devotional feeling, his spirit's eye looks into itself, and through celestial communion[5] is plunged in transports rendering it insensible to bodily pain. He who, intent on unity, beholding the supreme soul in all things, and all things in the supreme soul, is enabled, by similitude of what passes within himself, whether of pain or plea-

[2] The Vanaprastha, the ὑλοβιοι of Megasthenes. Lassen, i. p. 580.

[3] Called also Sannyasee, "forsaker;" "no one can be a devotee who has not abandoned all care about self." Bagavad-Geeta, vi. 3.

[4] Bagavad-Geeta, vi. 11. [5] v. 28.

sure, to discern the same in others, is pronounced a supreme Yogee."

But man cannot affect to soar to heaven without abandoning earth[6], and an overstrained religiousness inevitably produces neglect or disparagement of common duties. In the Bagavad-Geeta, action is made subordinate and introductory to the higher state of contemplation. Action is indeed admitted to be necessary, and even the Deity, to whom throughout the three worlds nothing remains to be done or to be acquired, is still ever at work for the preservation of the universe and the direction of mankind[7]. But human action is always mixed with evil, and at the best can merit only a transitory enjoyment of Swarga (Heaven), not the supreme happiness of eternal rest or release. The wise man therefore acts, but with him every motive is absorbed in that of devotional duty, and in contemplation of the universal he is regardless of events or results. He wakes when others sleep, and sleeps when others wake[8]; he who beholds as it were action in inaction, and inaction in action, is wise among mankind; he is a performer of all duty[9]. The *path of action is full of darkness;* "Works affect not me," says Crishna; "nor have I any expectations from the fruit of works. He who believeth me to be even so, is not bound by works." The Pandeet is he whose undertakings are free from vulgar objects of desire or reward; who in the midst of action burns only for wisdom. To him who has lost all anxiety for the event, who is indifferent in prosperity or adversity, who applies himself to spiritual wisdom for the sake only of worship, the routine of action appears to have lost its ordinary meaning, and to have vanished from his life[10].

The Zoroastrian development of Nature worship was of another kind; its principle being the more advanced and moral one of an eternal warfare with the personified author of evil

[6] Nirgends haften dann Die unsichern sohlen, und mit ihm spielen Wolken und Winde." Goethe, "Granzen der menscheit."

[7] Lect. iii. 22. [8] ii. 69. [9] iv. 18. [10] Ib.

and his works. This warfare was not the mere wrestling of spirit against flesh, but a practical opposition to the evils of experience. Each material or spiritual ill was attributed to Ahriman, whom it was a duty eternally to curse and hate. The existing universe was essentially a struggle between the two moral contrasts, Ormuzd or Ahuramazda[11], the bright and good, and Ahriman, who, though originally good, became father of murder and of the "evil law," the power of wickedness and darkness. Of this struggle, human life was of course part; the duty of man was to promote the victory of the good principle in every exigency, as by hunting and exterminating noxious beasts, overcoming the sterility of the ground by agriculture, or the ferocity of man by laws; in short, to establish upon earth the kingdom of Ahuramazda. This strife, to be continued for a series of ages, was, however, only a limited oasis contained within the boundless repose of the infinite. Originating and encircling all was the undeveloped principle of good[12], the "uncreated all-comprehending," Zeruana Akarâna, the Being steeped in splendour[13], contemplated in relation either to space or time[14], though at first, as it would seem from Herodotus[15], more especially under the former or physical aspect, as represented by the infinite heaven or æther. By his word was created, or out of him was developed or born[16], the dualism whose joint action might be called[17] the chequered

[11] On the etymology, see Burnouf on the Yashna, p. 72. Hitzig's Philistaër, 231. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xxiv.

[12] "Το πρωτον γεννησαν ἀριστον." Aristot. Metaph. xiv. 4. "Ἡ ἀδιακριτος φυσις." Eudemus in Damascius, 384. Kopp.

[13] Zendavesta by Kleuker, Th. ii. p. 376. He is rarely mentioned in the sacred books, probably because

> "Kein Erschaffer hat dies Ziel erflogen,
> Ueber diesen grauenvollen Schlund
> Trägt kein Nachen, Keiner Brücke Bogen,
> Und kein Anker findet Grund."

[14] Eudemus, ub. supr. [15] i. 131.

[16] Photius quoting Theodorus says, "στιχειν." Ed. Bek. p. 63. Hœsch. 200. Eudemus ub. supr. "Εξ οὐ διακριθηναι ἡ θειον αγαθον και δαιμονα κακον, ἡ φως και σκοτος."

[17] Theodorus, ub. supr.

tissue of human "destiny." But the antagonism was only temporary, remaining subordinate to the First Cause, who in the end of time would reconcile or reabsorb all things into himself. The struggles of Ahriman would increase in vehemence with the approaching termination of his rule. Famine and pestilence would affright the earth, comets fall from heaven, the ground would reel like a drunkard and tremble as a lamb before the wolf[18]. The mountains would melt and dissolve in a fiery stream through which all things would pass for their purification. At length the victory of the good would be determined; men would be completely happy, their bodies casting no shadow, and being independent of nourishment; fire would no longer be sullied with smoke, nor light with darkness; mountains would be made low, the rough places plain, the valleys exalted[19]; Nature would be renovated in the purity of her prime; hell itself would pass away[20], and sin and death exist no more. Ormuzd and Ahriman would offer a common sacrifice to the Almighty, and all things would be fulfilled.

§ 7.

MITHRAS.

The first creation of the supreme word was the elements and the elemental powers or spirits. The universe was no mere aggregate of material forms, but animated throughout by celestial intelligences. Ahura-Mazda himself represented the primal light distinct from the heavenly bodies, yet necessary to their existence and the source of their splendour[1]. The Amschaspands (Ameschaspenta, "immortal holy ones,") each presided over a special department of nature. Earth and

[18] Theopompus in Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xlvii. Comp. Bundehesch, ch. xxxi. p. 113.

[19] The paradise of a dead level, very different from that imagined by Milton.

[20] "Ἀπολιπεῖσθαι τον Ἅδην." Isis and Osiris, 47. Comp. Isai. xl. 4.

[1] "Εοικέναι φωτι μαλιστα των αισθητων." Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xlvii.

heaven, fire and water, the sun and moon, the rivers, trees and mountains, even the artificial divisions of the day and year, were addressed in prayer as tenanted by divine beings, each separately ruling within his several sphere. Fire in particular, that "most energetic of immortal powers,"[2] the visible representative of the primal light, was invoked as "son of Ormuzd,"[3] and from recently decyphered inscriptions it appears that Darius exacted this favourite worship from tributary states as a pledge of their general conformity to Persian institutions[4]. The sun, the Archimagus[5], that noblest and most powerful agent of divine power, who "steps forth as a conqueror from the top of the terrible Alborj to rule over the world which he enlightens from the throne of Ormuzd,"[6] was worshipped among other symbols by the name of Mithras[7], a beneficent and friendly Genius who, in the hymn addressed to him in the Zendavesta[8], bears the names given him by the Greeks, as the "Invincible," and the "Mediator:" the first, because in his daily strife with darkness he is the most active confederate of Ormuzd; the latter, as being the medium through which heaven's choicest blessings are communicated to men. He is called "the eye of Ormuzd, the effulgent hero pursuing his course triumphantly, fertilizer of deserts, most exalted of the Izeds or Yazatas[9], the never-sleeping, the protector of the land." He is "the first celestial Ized, overleaping the mountain top from the eastern clime of the immortal sun drawn by

[2] Yashna by Burnouf, p. 172. 174. [3] Yashna, ch. i.

[4] Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes, vi. p. 45. Jul. Firmicus de Error. Prof. Rel. ii. 5, p. 16.

[5] "Machaon," or Æsculapius, since medicine and magic were closely connected.

[6] Vendidad, Farg. 21. Kleuker, Th. ii. p. 383.

[7] Kleuker, Th. ii. p. 105. Mithras is said to mean love, or the sun. In Irish Mithr is the sun; in the Vedas, Mithra is an appellative of the sun or of the Fire-spirit. Rosen. Rig-Vedæ Specimen, p. 26. "The Persians," says Strabo, xv. 732, "honour the sun, whom they call Mithras." "Μίθραν νομιζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶναι τον ἥλιον." Suidas. "Μίθρας ὁ Ἥλιος παρα Πέρσαις, Μίθρας ὁ πρωτος ἐν Πέρσαις Θεος." Hesychius.

[8] Jescht Mithra, Zend. Part ii. p. 220.

[9] "Adorable ones."

rapid steeds." "When the dragon foe devastates my provinces," says Ormuzd, "and afflicts them with famine, then is he struck down by the strong arm of Mithras, together with the Deves of Mazanderan. With his lance and his immortal club, the sleepless chief hurls down the Deves into the dust, when as mediator he interposes to guard the city from evil."[10] The worship of Mithras, whose antiquity is attested in addition to other evidence by the frequent use of his name in composition[11], seems to have been widely spread, and to have reached even to the Ethiopians and Egyptians[12]. In Greece he has been supposed to be represented more especially by the name of Perseus, whose divinity was acknowledged in the Argive colony of Tarsus[13], and whose son by Andromeda, Perses, in reality only a repetition of himself, is said to have colonized the land of Artæa[14], and to have been one with the Djemshid or Achæmenes of the East[15]. He became known to the Roman world during the Cilician war of Pompey, when the divine stranger became associated with the tenants of Olympus[16]; and sculptured relics of his worship have been discovered not only in Italy, but through central Europe from Pannonia to the Rhine.

[10] Jescht Mithra, Carde i. 9, &c.

[11] Eg. Mithrobates, Mithrobarzanes, &c. Herod. i. 110; iii. 126. Xenoph. Cyr. vii. 5. 18. Œcon. iv. 24.

[12] Steph. Byz. "Æthiops." Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 18. Joseph. Antiq. i. 6. 2. Syncellus, p. 52. Comp. Herod. ii. 91.

[13] Guigniaut, R. iii. 455.

[14] *i. e.* Persia, or Iran. Sept Hellanicus, Sturz. 63, p. 91. Herod. vii. 61. Comp. Porphyr. de Antr. ch. xvi. p. 16.

[15] Achæmenes, according to Burnouf, being Achyo-manyus. "L'Etre céleste et saint." Yashna, p. 16. Plato, Alcib. i. p. 120. 339. Bek.

[16] Lucian Deor. Concil.

The general subject of these sculptures, admitted by scholars to be genuine representations of Zoroastrian ideas[17], is a young man mounted on the equinoctial bull, and plunging a sword into its flank. The scene is laid in the semi-obscurity of a cavern, from whence, as from the abode of darkness, the sun may be supposed to issue forth to illuminate the world; as from a similar cavern, inscribed with cosmogonic emblems by its tenant Zoroaster, issued the law, or "living word," which was to renew the reign of justice and truth[18]. At the commencement of the great battle between the two principles, Ormuzd determined to strengthen his rule by clothing the pure spirits in material bodies; and the first material creation, the

[17] Creuzer, S. i. 256, 257. 329.

[18] Eubulus in Porphyry de Antro. ch. vi. p. 7.

primogenial Bull, henceforth became a Yazata or object of invocation. Ahriman destroyed the bull, since every year the life of nature falls a victim to the revolution of the seasons; the serpent and scorpion, the Ahrimanian symbols of the hieroglyphic, marking the astronomical period of its decline. But life alternates with death; the dying bull is consoled by Tashter, the dogstar, the harbinger of the resurrection, his soul escapes to the lunar sphere bearing the seeds of life, and the blood flowing from the consecrated thigh[19] gives a pledge of renewed fertility.

This symbolical scene, to which the collision of Cambyses with Apis in Herodotus[20] offers a curious (historical?) parallel, is supposed to mean a sacrifice[21], performed by the god Mithras, and representing the Magian cosmogony. The pantheistic notion of creation has been already alluded to as essentially that of sacrifice[22]. God, when condescending to the limits of time and space he becomes incorporated in the world, identifies himself with its perishable nature, thus, by a sort of self-sacrifice, originating universal life. He is both priest and victim; "God himself is the offering; God is in the fire of the sacrifice; by God is the sacrifice performed."[23] Brahmâ or Prajapati, like the Hebrew patriarch, is said to have sacrificed his own son or emanation Yagnyia[24], or he was himself the

[19] Comp. Herod. iv. 62. Paus. viii. 28. 5. Hes. Scut. 460. Yashna, by Burnouf, p. 116.

[20] iii. 29.

[21] Creuz. Symb. i. 247. If, as others think, the figure who immolates the bull be Ahriman, it may be worth consideration whether the Being who effects the reconciliation of the two principles may not have originally contained them within himself. Ahriman was by some Parsee sects considered older than Ormuzd, as darkness is older than light; he was imagined to have been unknown as a malevolent Being in the early ages of the world, and the fall of man is attributed in the Bundehesch to an apostate worship of him, from which men were converted by a succession of prophets terminating with Zoroaster. Yet there are and always have been worshippers of the evil principle, or rather of God in his character of terror, such as the Zeruanitæ, the Manichæans, and the Yezidis.

[22] Comp. Burnouf, Yashna, p. 333.

[23] Bagavad-Geeta, Lect. iv. 24. Wilkins, p. 54 and 80.

[24] "Burnt-offering." Guigniaut, Rel. i. 603. 664.

immolated Virâj or Pooroosch, whose mouth became the priests, his arms the warriors, his thighs the husbandmen, his feet the slaves. "Thus," says the Veda, "made he worlds." This notion of cosmogony was annually commemorated in the Açwamedha or horse-sacrifice, the horse being a general offering to the Sun-God among the nations of upper Asia[25], and in this instance emblematic of the universe, or of the universal life embodied in creation. Its members represented the parts of nature, its blood the principle of life poured out from the beginning[26]. Only for religious purposes was it lawful to take life, for "Brahmâ created both animal and vegetable for the sustenance of the vital spirit; and all that is movable or immovable this spirit devours."[27] "By the Self-existing were beasts created for sacrifice; and the sacrifice was ordained for the increase of this universe; the slaughterer therefore of beasts for sacrifice is in reality no slaughterer."[28] The idea of sacrifice, which in its primal type was the outpouring of the universal into the particular, in its commemorative form was the resolution of the particular into the universal; and as the universal life became individualized by subdivision, so every individual partaker in the symbolical sacrifice was spiritually blended with the universal. The Sanscrit name for sacrifice, Yagna, means union or blending, *i. e.* with God; the word including not only the killing of an animal, but any devotional act supposed to promote spiritual union with heaven[29]. The union might be either the original outpouring of the divine spirit into the world, or the return of these emanations to their source. The commemorative sacrifices of the Magi, in which the life alone was considered as the appropriate oblation to the source of all existence[30], were symbolical imitations of the

[25] Herod. i. 216; iv. 61. Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 3. 12. 2 Kings xxiii. 11. Ovid, Fast. i. 385. Philostrat. Vit. Apoll. i. 31, p. 39. Dio Chrysost. Orat. 36.

[26] Comp. Rev. xiii. 8.

[27] Menu, V. 28.

[28] Menu, V. 39. Comp. Levit. xvii. 4.

[29] Bagavad-Gita. Lect. iv. 28.

[30] Strabo, xv. 732. Virg. Æn. ix. 349. Brisson. P. P. p. 373.

divine procedure, in which death is ever the antecedent and condition of life, as the seed perishes within the ground, and the gloom of winter precedes the flowers of spring. Each year Mithras kills the bull afresh, thus restoring nature to her prime, and liberating the imprisoned germs of fertility. But the annual revolution of the seasons is only a type of the great cosmical revolution of Time. The mediatorial character of Mithras is twofold: he is in a physical sense the Sun, the Lord of generation[31], who gives to earth the boons of heaven, and who as foremost representative of the Supreme might be supposed to convey to Ormuzd the prayers of mortals. In his characteristic position in Taurus between the upper and lower worlds, he prepares the renewal of life and light, at the annual celebration of his festival[32]. But his cosmical agency is subordinate to his more important moral office. Here he is not only light, but intelligence; that luminary which, though born in obscurity[33], will not only dispel darkness but conquer death. The warfare through which this consummation is to be reached is mainly carried on through the instrumentality of the "Word," that "ever living emanation of the Deity, by virtue of which the world exists, and of which the revealed formulas incessantly repeated in the liturgies of the Magi are but the expression[34]. Ahura-Mazda himself is the living Word; he is

[31] "Γενεσιως διακονης." Porphyr. de Antr. p. 22.

[32] "Mihirgian." There seem to have been two "birth-days of the sun," or solemnities of this name, one on the 25th December, the other at the vernal equinox. (Creuz. S. i. 260. Porphyr. de Antr. ch. xxiv. p. 22.)

[33] Justin. Dial. Tryph. 304. Origen, Cels. i. 51.

[34] "What shall I do," cried Zoroaster, "O Ormuzd steeped in Brightness, in order to battle with Daroodj-Ahriman, father of the evil law; how shall I make men pure and holy?" Ormuzd answered and said: "Invoke, O Zoroaster, the pure law of the servants of Ormuzd; invoke the Amschaspands who shed abundance throughout the seven Keshwars; invoke the Heaven, Zeruana-Akarana, the birds travailing on high, the swift wind, the earth; invoke my Spirit, me who am Ahura-Mazdao, the purest, strongest, wisest, best of Beings; me, who have the most majestic body, who through purity am supreme, whose soul is the excellent word; and ye, all people, invoke me as I have commanded Zoroaster." Vendidad. Farg. 19. Kleuker, Th. ii. p. 376.

called "First-born of all things, express image of the Eternal, very light of very light, the Creator, who by power of the word which he never ceases to pronounce, made in 365 days[35] the heaven and the earth." The Word is said in the Yashna to have existed before all, and to be itself a Yazata, a personified object of prayer. It was revealed in Serosch[36], in Homa, the tree of life or mythical representative of the sacrificial worship of the age of Jemshid, and again, under Gushtasp, was manifested in Zoroaster[37]. Of the spirits or genii each class or leader of a class might for the time be regarded as representative of that "Word" which pervades all being, constituting the life of nature and the intelligence of man. Mithras, first of Yazatas, the Ormuzd-descended hero swift and strong, was appointed by his divine progenitor to be Mediator on Alborj, to signalize the word in the height of heaven, and accompanied by the bird speaking heaven's language[38], to announce it to men[39]. Between life and death[40], between sunshine and shade, he is the present exemplification of the primal unity from which all things arose, and into which through his mediation all contrarieties will ultimately be absorbed. His annual sacrifice is the passover of the Magi, a symbolical atonement or pledge of moral and physical regeneration[41]. He created the world in the beginning[42]; and as

[35] Creation being supposed to be completed within the year, inasmuch as each year is a new creation. Comp. Q. Curt. 3.

[36] Çraoscha-tanumâthra—the "articulate incorporation of the word." Burnouf, p. 42.

[37] To whom Ormuzd spoke, "Thou, O Zoroaster, by the promulgation of my law shalt restore to me my former glory which was altogether light; up, haste thee to the land of Iran which thirsteth after the law, and say, Thus saith Ahura-Mazda, 'thou, O Iran, which I created pure and radiant in brightness, shalt restore to me my ancient glory, thou shalt utterly uproot all impure thoughts, all kinds of death; all sorcery, all the Darvands shalt thou destroy." Vendidad, Farg. 22. Kleuk. Th. ii. p. 384. 386.

[38] Eorosch, the celestial raven.

[39] Vendidad, 89. Jescht Mithra, Carde 12 and 17.

[40] King of life and death. Jescht M. Carde 26 and 31.

[41] Creuz. Symbol. i. 247, note.

[42] Eubulus in Porphyry de Antr. ch. vi. p. 7.

at the close of each successive year he sets free the current of life to invigorate a fresh circle of being, so in the end of all things he will bring the weary sum of ages as a hecatomb before God, releasing by a final sacrifice the soul of nature from her perishable frame to commence a brighter and purer existence.

§ 8.

PHYSICAL SYMBOLS OF EGYPT.

Paganism was justly called Ethnicism, the religion of national characteristics. Its forms always more or less closely corresponding with physical appearances were modified by incidental circumstances. The abstract system which may suit equally well the pole or the equator was impossible for that early age, whose notions immediately reflecting external nature continued to retain ineffaceable marks of local peculiarities. Nature, indeed, has its uniformity as well as differences, and among all varieties of religious forms may be found some features of resemblance admitting comparison and classification; but her primary manifestations are more especially distinguished by originality and variety, suggesting, in reply to the mere formalist, the expostulatory interrogation of the Siamese monarch[1], "Why should not the true God be thought to take pleasure in a multiplicity of devotional forms as well as in a multiplicity of beings; or why should the beauty and variety so admirable in the physical order of things be considered less admirable, less worthy of God's wisdom, in the spiritual?"[2]

[1] Quoted by Payne Knight in Anct. Art. iii. 58.

[2] The ignorant conceit of those who would teach others what they do not themselves understand is reproved by a French writer in terms suggesting the advice of St. Paul in Romans (ii. 18-21):—

"Vous croyez posseder seul ses clartés divines,
Vous croyez qu'il fait nuit derrière vos collines,
Qu'à votre jour celui qui ne s'éclaire pas
Marche aveugle et sans ciel dans l'ombre du trepas!

Few countries are so strikingly marked by local peculiarities as Egypt, and few have left the traces of those peculiarities so clearly impressed on their mythologies. The Egyptian mythology in its actual shape, "if shape it may be called," is not an originally compact system, but the result of attempts similar to those often occurring elsewhere, to systematise for the whole country, consisting of several united provinces, a variety of conceptions metaphysically allied but essentially distinct. It has been even conjectured that the aboriginal religion of Egypt was the animal fetichism of its several nomes, allowed by the priests to continue as the expression of a higher meaning when better views had been attained by an agricultural population of the display of divine beneficence in the phenomena of the year[3]. Yet it is not unreasonable to presume that concurrently with this rude worship of the vulgar the priesthood had already reached something resembling those refinements of symbolic mysticism which the new Platonists vindicated against the narrow interpretations of Chæremon[4], and that the wisdom

> Or, sachez que Dieu seul, source de la lumière,
> La repand sur toute âme et sur toute paupière;
> Que chaque homme a son jour, chaque âge sa clarté,
> Chaque rayon d'en haut sa part de vérité."

[3] Creuz. Symb. ii. p. 16, [sq].

[4] Iamblichus (de Myst. viii. 4) says, "the Egyptians are far from ascribing all things to physical causes; life and intellect they distinguish from physical being both in man and in the universe. They place intellect and reason first as self-existent, and from these they derive the created world. As parent of generated things they constitute a Demiurge, and acknowledge a vital force both in the heavens and before the heavens. They place pure intellect above and beyond the universe, and another (*i. e.* mind revealed in the cosmos), consisting of one continuous mind pervading the universe and apportioned to all its parts and spheres." The Egyptian idea, then, was that of all-transcendental philosophy—that of a Deity both immanent and transcendent; spirit passing into the manifestations of its "anderseyn," but not exhausted by so doing; as a German writer expresses it, "Da sich die Welt im Schoosse der Urgottheit entwickelte, so blieb die Urgottheit ausserhalb des Weltalls, dasselbe umfassend und in sich schliessend, ubrig;" or, as Aristotle said, "*οὐρανου πέρας*." Sext. Empir. Pyrr. Hyp. iii. 24, p. 155.

recorded in the canonical rolls of Hermes[5] quickly attained in this transcendental lore all that human curiosity can ever discover. Thebes especially is said to have acknowledged a Being without beginning or end[6], called Amon[7] or Amon-Kneph, the all-pervading spirit or breath of nature[8], or perhaps even some still more lofty object of reverential reflection whom it was forbidden even to name[9]. Such a being would in theory stand at the head of the three orders of gods mentioned by Herodotus[10], these being regarded as arbitrary classifications of similar or equal beings arranged in successive emanations according to an estimate of their comparative dignity. The eight, or primary class, were probably manifestations of the emanated God in the several parts and powers of the universe[11], including with Pan Mendes or Khem, the "Generator," fire and moisture, heaven and earth, day and night. They seem to have been genii of the elements, like the Vedic Devatas, like them, too, not absolutely confined to single physical departments, but each potentially comprising the whole Godhead. The Kneph-Ammon of Thebes was probably no greater nor less than the Mendesian Pan or Ptah of Memphis; nor was Ptah the mere fire-spirit, but the spirit of life and generation, Lord of all elements and all gods[12]. Nothing, however, can be more arbitrary and inconclusive than the modern attempts to fill up the lists of gods, each author confidently assuming his own theory to be

[5] Said by Manetho and Clemens to have been forty-two in number, distributed under the guardianship of the Sacred Scribes, Prophets, Singers, Stolistæ, Astrologers, and Pastophori.

[6] "Αγενητον και αφθαρτον." Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xxi. Iambl. Myst. viii. 2. Plat. Phædr. 356.

[7] Meaning, according to the more probable interpretation by Manetho, the "hidden." Plut. ib. ch. ix.; the "αγνωστος" of Damascius (Kopp. 385).

[8] Diod. S. i. 12. Plut. de Iside, ch. xxxvi.

[9] Iambl. Myst. viii. 2, 3. Cic. N. D. iii. 22.

[10] ii. 43. 46. 145.

[11] Theon of Smyrna, quoted in Lobeck. Aglaoph. 742. Diod. i. 12. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iii. 9, p. 113. Heinich.

[12] Eckerman, Lehrbuch Mythol. i. p. 73.

right, and undervaluing the Greek accounts, without which he cannot advance a step. Little is positively known of the second order except that they "proceeded out" of the first, Ra or Phra (the Sun), being a reputed son of Ptah and Neith, and Khon or Khonsu (Hercules), descended from Amon. From the second issued the third order, virtually consisting of the higher gods or godhead clothed in mortal forms (*θεοι θνητοι*), and therefore more nearly representing popular ideas. They were, it is said, the only divinities generally worshipped throughout Egypt[13]. Osiris was son of Helios (Phra), the "divine offspring congenerate with the dawn,"[14] and at the same time an incarnation of Kneph or Agathodæmon, the good spirit, including all his possible manifestations, either physical or moral. So in Isis were summed up all preceding Nature-goddesses; she was as it were mother and founder of religion, for it was said that she gave to each of the Egyptian nomes a fragment of the lacerated body of her husband[15]; that is, she substituted for the obscure provincial idolatry a general form of pantheism. Osiris represented in a familiar form the beneficent aspect of all higher emanations; he was the Sun, and also the fertilising Nile[16], inventor of agriculture, and for the same reason patron of the bull[17] and of the year. In him was developed the conception of a Being purely good, so that it became necessary to set up another power as his adversary, called Seth, Babys, or Typhon, to account for the injurious influences of Nature.

What the sun is in heaven, such was Osiris among men; a powerful king and benefactor, model of all succeeding monarchs[18]. Osiris and Horus were said to have been the last

[13] Herod. ii. 42.

[14] *Σπερμα συγγενες ἡμερας.*

[15] Diod. i. 21.

[16] Môou, or Deus Nilus. Wilkinson, 2nd Ser. vol. ii. p. 56.

[17] "*Ὁ βους γεωργιας και τροφης συμβολον.*" Clem. Alex. Strom. 5. 7, p. 671. Pott.

[18] "*Μεγας βασιλευς ευεργετης.*" Plut. Isis and Osiris, 12. "*Αγαθων ποιητικος ων Οσιρις κεκληται.*" Iamblich. Myst. 8. 3, p. 159. "*Αγαθοποιος*" and "*ευεργετης.*" Plut. ib. 42.

of the gods properly so called who sat on the throne of Egypt[19]. But when succeeding Pharaohs had assumed the titles of divinity among the ordinary insignia of their rank[20], a confusion arose, which, blending mortal with immortal, history with theology, made it difficult, perhaps impossible, clearly to distinguish the actual from the ideal, the man from the tutelary God[21]. In the attempt to adopt the dogma of the all-pervading presence of Deity to the forms of narrative, it became necessary to imagine the epochs of the past filled up by a genealogical series terminated by God at one extremity, and by the reigning Pharaoh as his earthly representative at the other. Thus, in his last manifestation, the Supreme Being became father and precursor of mankind, connecting by kindly approximation[22] with a heavenly source the present forms of human authority. The insuperable barrier appeared to have been surmounted[23]. It was not that any of the historical Pharaohs really pretended to be considered as gods[24]; but that in ages past those great institutions and benefits, which in their origin transcend all human experience, and which appear to surpass man's inventive power, were supposed to have been personally communicated by the great spirit of Nature from whence they really sprung. With the phenomena of agriculture, supposed to be the invention of Osiris, the Egyptians connected the highest truths of their religion. The soul of man was as the seed hidden in the ground, and the mortal framework similarly consigned to its dark resting-place awaited its restoration from life's unfailing

[19] Herod. ii. 144. "Θεοὶ ἐπιγενεῖς." Diod. S. i. 13.

[20] They were called "Immortal sons of the Sun, Lords of the three regions, Suns, Lords of Truth," &c. Creuz. S. ii. 260. Hermapion in Amm. Marc. xvii. 4. Champollion. Precis. vii. 131. 165. 170. Athenæus, xiii. 566. The Khan of Tartary was a "son of God," and Chosroes, the Persian monarch, is styled "Saviour among men, among gods a perfect and eternal man, among men a most conspicuous god, rising with the sun, and giving eyes and illumination to the night."

[21] Paus. i. 42. Herod. i. 106.

[22] Isis and Osiris, ch. 57.

[23] Pope's Essay on Man, i. 7. Pind. Nem. vi. 4. Creuz. Symb. ii. 257, 258.

[24] Herod. ii. 142, 143.

source. Osiris was not only benefactor of the living, he was also Hades, Sarapis, and Rhadamenthes, the monarch of the dead[25]. Death, therefore, in Egyptian opinion, was only another name for renovation, since its God is the same power[26] who incessantly renews vitality in Nature. Every corpse duly embalmed was called an "Osiris," and in the grave was supposed to be united, or at least brought into approximation, to the Divinity[27]. For when God became incarnate for man's benefit, it was implied that in analogy with his assumed character he should submit to all the conditions of visible existence. In death, as in life, Isis and Osiris were patterns and precursors of mankind; their sepulchres stood within the temples of the superior gods[28]; yet though their remains might be entombed at Memphis or Abydus their divinity was unimpeached, and they either shone as luminaries in the heavens[29], or in the unseen world presided over the futurity of the disembodied spirits whom death had brought nearer to them[30].

§ 9.

NOTION OF A DYING GOD.

The notion of a dying god, so frequent in oriental legend, was the natural inference from a literal interpretation of Nature worship; since Nature, which in the vicissitudes of the seasons seems to undergo a dissolution, was to the earliest religionists the express image of the Deity, or rather one and the same

[25] Plut. Isis, ch. 28. 61. 78. The epithet of "the good" has been supposed to be given him more especially in this character, as it was to the Greek Hades. Bunsen's Egypt, i. p. 494, [sq].

[26] Ὁ λαμβανων και ὁ διδους. Isis and Osiris, ch. 29. Eccles. xii. 7.

[27] Herod. ii. 86. 123. Plut. Isis, 20.

[28] Herod. ii. 170. Diod. i. 22.

[29] Isis and Osiris, ch. 21.

[30] Miss Martineau, in her "Eastern Life" (vol. i. p. 65), eloquently describes the feeling in which the Egyptians learned to look beyond the limits of the living world, and how their religion thus became a worship of the dead.

with the "varied God," whose attributes were seen not only in its vitality but in its changes. The unseen mover of the universe was rashly identified with its obvious fluctuations[1]; and since the lessons of external appearance, that first great teacher, influence the fancy long before they reach the understanding, an ordinary Pantheist who contemplated "one" all-pervading spirit, adorable even in the animal, would find nothing inconsistent in the idea that God is liable to death, or that as dwelling in all forms he might in ages past have been more emphatically manifested in one, though it were a human and perishable one. The speculative Deity suggested by the drama of nature was worshipped with imitative and sympathetic rites. A period of mourning about the autumnal equinox, and of joy at the return of spring, was almost universal. Phrygians and Paphlagonians, Bœotians, and even Athenians, were all more or less attached to such observances[2]; the Syrian damsels sat weeping for Thammuz or Adonis, mortally wounded by the tooth of winter[3]; and the priests of Attys, an analogous incarnation of solar power, emasculated themselves and danced in female clothing in devotional mimicry of the temporary enfeeblement of their God. These rites were evidently suggested by the arrest of vegetation, when the sun, descending from its altitude, appears deprived of his generating power; and those ceremonies of passionate lamentation which, in the East, were commonly offered to the dead, were adopted in the periodical observances of religion. Mourning, mutilation, self immola-

[1] "Ὁρῶμεν ὅτι πρόσιοντος μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου γένεσις ἐστι, ἀπιόντος δὲ φθίσις." Aristot. de Gen. et Corr. ii. 10. 9. Ravaisson sur la Metaphysique, i. p. 561. Schwegler's Notes, ii. p. 255. Comp. Herod. ii. 77.

[2] Plut. Isis, 69. Creuz. S. ii. 420.

[3] Ezek. viii. 14. Macrob. Sat. i. 21. Herod. i. 36. 39. The boar being a very general emblem of winter. (Creuz. S. ii. 424.) The Vedic Rudra, the Destroyer, is called the Boar of the skies. (Lassen, i. 763.) A boar yoked with a lion represent winter and summer yoked by Destiny. (Apollod. i. 9. 15.) Comp. the Libethrian legend of the river "Sus," whose destructive violence was said to have laid bare the bones of "Orpheus." (Paus. ix. 30.) Wild boars are still very numerous on the Nahr Ibrahim (the Adonis) in the Lebanon, and in severe winters often commit great ravages. (Kelly's Syria, p. 101.)

tion, and even the widely-spread custom of sacrifice, were mainly symbolical, either expressive of devotion to the genius of all-generating and devouring Nature, or of sympathy with the Being pantheistically incorporated in its changes. The recurrence of these annual solemnities was more marked among agricultural races, whose ordinary life and customs were immediately dependent on corresponding phenomena[4]. To Greek observers the most striking example of the peculiarities of Nature worship was exhibited by the Egyptians[5], whose whole religious ritual, divided alternately between tears and joy, festivity and austerity, to them seemed monstrous and incomprehensible[6]. "The Greeks, it was said, pay divine honours to the virtues of deceased men, and pass over their misfortunes in silence; but in Egypt a deity is supposed to die, and is lamented; and they show not only the temples of the gods, but their sepulchres." The Egyptian practice of religious beatings and lamentations made Xenophanes indignantly exclaim, "If these be gods, bewail them not; if men, worship them not."[7] Osiris is a being analogous to the Syrian Adonis[8]; and the fable, or ἱερος λογος, of his history, is a narrative form of the popular religion of Egypt, of which the hero is the sun, and the agricultural calendar the moral. The moist valley of the Nile, which, contrasted with the surrounding desert, appeared like life in the midst of death, owed its fertility to the annual inundation, itself in evident dependence on the sun. The Nile was called the "Antimime of Heaven," and Egypt environed with arid deserts, like a heart within a burning censer[9], was the female power dependent on the influences personified in its god. Osiris, "the good," was the reputed inventor not only of agri-

[4] Brahmâ, for instance, as well as Osiris, was supposed to die yearly. Creuzer, i. 416.

[5] "Γεωργος Αιγυπτιος." Max. Tyrius, Dissert. xxv. 3.

[6] Ælian, Nat. Animal. x. 23. Max. Tyrius, viii. 5. "Ισοτιμια τιμης και δακρυων."

[7] Plutarch de Superst. ch. xiii. p. 171. Isis and Osiris, 70.

[8] Creuz. ii. 421. [9] Creuz. S. ii. 16[n]. Horapollo. i. 22.

culture but of all the institutions of society[10]. Like other ideal types of rational benefactors, or personifications of Nature's beneficence, such as Dionysus or Hercules, he visited distant countries, and became civilizer not only of Egypt but of the whole world. But Typhon, his brother, the type of darkness, drought, and sterility, leagued with the Queen of Ethiopia, conspired against him on his return. In the midst of a banquet, a highly-ornamented coffer or sarcophagus was introduced, which Typhon, having privately obtained the measure of the person of Osiris, promised to bestow on one among the guests whose stature it might fit. At the moment when Osiris placed himself in the coffin, the conspirators, rushing forward, closed the lid, and, forcibly riveting its fastenings, threw the body into the Nile. Thus conceptionally identified with the fertilising influence of the river, perished Osiris, the "good," "the saviour," in the flower of his age, in the twenty-eighth year of his life or reign, and on the 17th of the month Athor, or 13th of November.

As the Greek Orpheus, torn by the Bacchanals or Titans, is borne down the Hebrus to the sea, so Osiris, dismembered by Typhon and his accomplices, is carried down the Tanaitic mouth of the Nile to the opposite coast of Byblus. There Isis, in the course of her wandering, attended by the dogstar Anubis, discovers her husband's corpse, and utters those piercing cries which killed one of the king's sons with terror, the precedent of the "Abel-Mizraim," or grievous mourning, for which the Egyptians were notorious[11]. Carefully rearranging the mangled limbs, she carries them to be buried at Philæ or at Abydus, the most sacred of Egyptian mausolea[12], where the rich

[10] Plut. Isis, 13. 49. Diod. S. i. 14. 17. Heliodor. Æth. ix. 22. Creuz. Comment. Herod. 184.

[11] Conf. Genes. ch. 50. 11. Herod. ii. 85. Plutarch, Consol. ad Apollon. ch. xxii. Lucian, Hemst. vol. i. p. 538.

[12] The death and transmigration of Osiris may be seen recorded in the sculptures of a temple at Philæ, twenty-eight lotus plants pointing out the years of his supposed life. Wilkinson, 2nd Ser., vol. i. p. 189.

anxiously desired to be entombed, in order to be in death associated (ὁμοταφοι) with Osiris.

This legend, though in general analogous to many others of similar meaning, is modified in reference to the peculiar circumstances of the climate and soil of Egypt. Osiris is made to die twice; once, as already mentioned, on the 13th of November, and again, during the heats of the early summer. When Egypt is deserted by the inundation, and the waters retire within their natural channel, the body of Osiris appears immured within the narrow bed by which it is carried out to sea into the power of Typhon. This first revival is with the early flowers of spring, and from the joyful festival of "Osiris found" then celebrated, the Christians of the Eastern Church adopted the 6th of January for the celebration of the Nativity, the appearance of the Sun of righteousness, the day-spring from on high[13]. From March to July the earth is parched with intolerable heats, the atmosphere assuming the deep red glare of Typhon, who, in league with the burning winds of Ethiopia, scorches vegetation and exhausts the languid Nile. Isis, or Egypt, pants in vain for the refreshing waters, and while the divine power of the river is concealed and buried in the imaginary fountains[14] of Elephantine[15], the priests pour libations of milk equal in number to the days of the year at the sacred tomb at Philæ[16], as obsequies to the deity, who, asleep beneath the earth, the sea, or beyond the rocky barriers of Ethiopia, remains irresponsive to the lowings of his deserted spouse[17]. But Horus, the solstitial sun in his salutary vigour[18], appears to avenge his father, as Hyllus avenged Hercules and Feridoon Jemsheed. He restrains, if he does not utterly destroy, the mischief-making

[13] Jablonski, Opusc. iii. 361. Malachi iv. 2. The Western Church adopted the "Natalis Solis invicti," the day consecrated to Mithras. Creuz. S. i. 260.

[14] "Πηγαι αβυσσοι." Herod. ii. 28.

[15] ? Meaning Philæ, or Kelabsheh, where the Nile enters Egypt.

[16] Diod. S. i. 22.

[17] Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. xxxix. Creuz. S. ii. 33.

[18] In Alexandrian philosophy called "the begotten before all worlds" (Isis and Osiris, 54), "the image and incarnation of the λογος." Ib.

power of Typhon[19]. At the commemorative festival, a coil of rope, emblematic of the serpent, is cut in pieces, to typify the subjugation of the evil principle[20]; the Nile rises, and Egypt under the inundation is again filled with mirth and acclamation anticipatory of the second harvest. In winter the sun declines; this is the dismemberment or second death of Osiris, when the waters of the inundation are drained off into canals, and his productive power is devoured by the fishes of the Nile.

§ 10.

NOTION OF THE PREMATURE DEATH OF NATURE.

In this and similar stories, a physico-astronomical meaning becomes an awful mystery or a pathetic tale, according to the minds for which it circulated. The pride of Jemsheed, one of the Persian sun-heroes, or the solar year personified, was abruptly cut off by Zohâk, the tyrant of the west; he was sawn asunder with a fish bone, and immediately the brightness of Irân changed to gloom. These Eastern heroes, who were supposed to die or to be carried alive to heaven, generally suffered the removal in the vigour of their years. Ganymede, Osiris, and Adonis were hurried off in all their strength and beauty; the premature death of Linus, the burthen of the ancient lament of Greece[1], was like that of the Persian Siamek, the Bithynian Hylas, and the Egyptian Maneros. The elegy called Maneros[2] was sung at Egyptian banquets, and an effigy inclosed within a diminutive sarcophagus was handed round to remind the guests of the brief tenure of existence[3]. The beautiful Memnon, too, perished in his prime; and though his reign, like that of his reputed father Tithonus, was protracted through five generations of that proverbially long-lived people

[19] Isis and Osiris, 55.

[20] Isis and Osiris, ch. xix.

[1] Paus. ix. 29.

[2] Son of "Menes," or "the Eternal," according to Iablonski, Oper. i. 128. Herod. ii. 79.

[3] Herod. ii. 78. Plut. Isis and Osiris, 17. Guigniaut, Rel. l. 476. 489.

the Ethiopians (the μακρόβιοι), his death was deplored as unseasonable. With like significance Enoch, whose early death was lamented at Iconium[4], lived 365 years, the number of the days of the solar year; a brief span when compared with the longevity of his patriarchal kindred; and the Jewish commentators, led by their own hereditary theory of temporal retribution to understand an actual death, not a bodily translation, explain the anomaly of the union of piety with misfortune, by saying that Enoch, though a just and holy man, was of an unsteady disposition, wherefore God hastened his death to rescue him from degeneracy. Amphiaraus, son of Apollo and favourite of heaven, was not allowed to "reach the threshold of old age;"[5] like Achilles he was drawn forth to take part in a struggle in which he was to perish out of temporary concealment like the hidden gods of the East[6], and being swallowed by the earth while pursued by Periclymenus, was made immortal by Zeus. Achilles embraced the fatal alternative of glory, and became "ὠκυμορος" and "μινυνθαδιος," proverbially the short-lived. The heroic child of Ocean's daughter had been plunged in the infernal Styx to make him invulnerable, since the only visible examples of immortal existence are those celestial beings which endure those fierce elemental extremes in which they seem to pass beneath the waves and beneath the world. Others related how Thetis in order to destroy in her son the mortality inherited from his human father immersed him alternately in fire and the immortalising ambrosia[7], just as Isis attempted to treat the son of the king

[4] Steph. Byz. ad vocem. Ewald, Geschichte d. Volk. Israel, i. 314.

[5] Hom. Odyss. xv. 246.

[6] The etymology of Thammuz, a Semitic probably, not an Egyptian word, is obscure, but he is the equivalent of the Syrian god Adonis, whose disappearance (αφανισμος Αδωνιδος) is bewailed by the women in Ezekiel, xiv. 8. Comp. Ps. xliv. 24; civ. 29. Isaiah xlv. 15. "Ammon," too, has been supposed to have the same meaning (Isis and Osiris, ch. ix.); but in this instance explained metaphysically.

[7] Apollod. iii. 13. 16.

of Byblus[8], and Ceres the son of Metanira[9]. In each instance the symbolical purification, significant probably of the succession of the sultry and pluvial seasons, or of day and night, was unfortunately interrupted, and the immortality of the initiated was left incomplete. The Thessalian hero was brought up by the horse-god Chiron (the horse being an emblem of the waters), and was fed on the entrails of lions and bears[10]. The fates had decreed that Troy should not be taken without the aid of the youthful hero, who then in his ninth year was, like Hercules, disguised as a female, called from his golden locks Pyrrha, at the court of King Lycomedes[11]. He eventually died in the prime of life, but by no mortal hand[12]; he was slain by a Being who in transcendent divinity might be said to comprise and absorb the hero killed[13], since time is destroyed only by itself, the element by its elemental antithesis. His ashes were consigned to an urn or amphora made by Hephæstus and given by Dionysus to the Nereids[14]; and the Muses who attended the funeral of Linus mourned round his grave[15]. The women of Elis bewailed his death at evening[16] as the Egyptians mourned their Osiris; but their grief might share the consolation of the mourners for Lycidas;

"So sinks the day star in the ocean bed;"

Arctinus sang in the Æthiopis how Thetis snatched her hero

[8] Plut. Isis and Osiris, 16. [9] Apollod. i. 5. 2.

[10] Payne Knight, Anct. Art. S. 111. Horses were sacrificed to the Sun, possibly because the fires of heaven were supposed to be fed by watery exhalations. Plut. de Plac. ii. 17. Porphyr. de Antr. 257. Ovid, Fast. i. 385. Justin. i. 10. 5. Xenoph. Cyr. viii. 215. Philostrat. V. Ap. 31. Herod. i. last chap. 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

[11] Son of Apollo, λυκιος. Paus. vii. 4; also of Creon (κρειων), "King" of Scyrus. (Iliad, ix. 84.) He was the same who treacherously hurled Theseus from the rock; for the god of the underworld or Nature-God generally is at once destroyer of the past, and parent or guardian of the future.

[12] Soph. Philoct. 334.

[13] Comp. Paus. i. 14. Iliad, xxi. 278; xxiii. 358.

[14] Odyss. xxiv. 73. Zoega, Abhaud. 15. Tzetzes, Lycoph. Alex. 273.

[15] Paus. ix. 29. Odyss. xxiv. 60. [16] Paus. vi. 23. 2.

from the funeral pile, and "removed him" to the enjoyment of immortality at Leuce, the Tauric Elysium of the earliest Argonauts from the Pagasæan bay[17], where a statue and temple were dedicated to him[18], and where he was supposed to be married to the goddess Helen, Iphigenia, Medea, Leucothea[19], or Diana, and to share her honours.

§ 11.

GREEK DOCTRINE OF APOTHEOSIS CONTRASTED WITH ORIENTAL EMANATION.

The death of the Deity, as understood by Orientals, was not absolutely inconsistent with his immortality. It was to them only a literal symbol of that nature, which, though ever changeless as a whole, appears to undergo alternately revival and decay; and though the figure was liable to misconstruction, yet to the sage who believed the Deity to be ever spiritually entering, vivifying, and ennobling the world, the supposition of his death was received only as a deep mystery, in which the retiring God was at once mortal and immortal, mortal in his temporary association with perishable natures, yet still the ever-living being, such as Crishna announces himself, in his secret essence. The temporary decline of the sons of light is but an episode in their endless continuity. As the day and year are mere convenient subdivisions of the infinite, the fiery deaths of Phaethon or Hercules are but breaks in the same Phœnix process of perpetual regeneration by which the spirit of Osiris lives for ever in the succession of the Memphian Apis[1]. Every year witnesses the revival of Adonis, and the amber tears shed by the Heliades for the premature death of their brother are the

[17] Cycli Frag. Ed. Didot, p. 583. Photius, p. 431. Strab. i. 45. Müller, Orchom. 275. 'Tzetzes, Lycophyr. 174. 798.

[18] Paus. iii. 19; and iii. 24. [19] Strabo, xi. 498.

[1] The symbolical bull preserved during a period of twenty-five years at Memphis. Creuz. S. iii. 327.

golden shower full of prolific hope, in which Zeus descends from the brazen vault of heaven into the bosom of the parched ground[2]. But all this would appear incomprehensible, or as "foolishness," to the unlearned Greek. He had ceased to be familiar with Nature-worship, and in general was a stranger to the refinements of oriental allegory. His theology was not only less elevated but less consistent; for though his notions were all æsthetical, and his deity had become humanized, he denied the inevitable inference, and would have held the supposition of dying utterly incompatable with divine existence. Hence the Greek gods, though in mortal shapes, were not of mortal nature[3]; the prerogative of exemption from death was their great distinction, they were the *αθανατοι*, the immortals;

μονοις οὐ γινεται
Θεοις το γηρας οὐδε καταθανειν ποτε[4].

Although the popular belief assigned to them a birth and a beginning, an idea which philosophers afterwards denounced as being as irreligious as the idea of their death[5], they were far above all mortal infirmities, and lived for ever on nectar and ambrosia in the changeless heavens[6]. If on one occasion Pluto felt the smart of the arrow of Alcides, or Mars was wounded by Diomed, the heavenly ichor was soon stanched;

— The ethereal substance closed
Not long divisible—

and the improvement of æsthetic art made it more and more difficult to understand the representations of tradition. Herodotus, who when writing on Egypt, is often obliged to refer to the so-

[2] Danäe, from *Δανος*, dry (?). Comp. in Paus. i. 24. 3, Earth entreating Zeus to rain upon her; or from dhan, Sanscrit, to kill, whence *θανατος*. Lassen, Ant. i. 812. But the attempts to ascertain the etymology of this word have singularly miscarried. See August. Jacob, "Griechische Mythologie," p. 65.

[3] "*Ανθρωποι Θεοι θνητοι, Θεοι ανθρωποι αθανατοι*," said Heraclitus. Socrates when asked, "What is God?" replied, "The deathless and eternal." Stobæ. Ecl. Phys. i. 54. "*Ζῶον αἰδιον αριστον.*" Aristot. Metaph. xi. 7. 9. Bek.

[4] Soph. Œd. Colon. 634.

[5] Xenoph. ap. Arist. Rhet. ii. 23.

[6] Pind. Nem. vi. 3.

called sepulchres of the gods, is unwilling even to name Osiris in reference to his death[7], a reluctance in which the Egyptians participated, since the slightest misapprehension of the figure leads immediately to the most revolting absurdities[8]. Hence the vanity of the Cretans, whose real fault was the unadvised disclosure of mysterious doctrine[9], excited the ridicule and indignation of the other Greeks when pretending to show the sepulchre of Zeus[10]. "The Cretans," they said, "were ever liars; all this," exclaims Callimachus[11], "is fiction; for thou, O father, livest for ever." And yet notwithstanding this conviction of the absolute immortality of the gods, Greece itself was full of traditional and monumental traces of Nature-worship. The story of Osiris is reflected in that of Orpheus and Dionysus Zagreus, and perhaps in the legends of Absyrtus and Pelias, of Æson, Thyestes, Melicertes, Itys, and Pelops. Io is as the disconsolate Isis, or Niobe; and Rhea mourns her dismembered lord, Hyperion, and the death of her son Helios, drowned in the Eridanus[12]. The Titan gods had been consigned to Tartarus, and if Apollo and Dionysus are immortal, they had died under other names, as Orpheus, Linus, or Hyacinthus[13]. Stories of like meaning were particularly frequent among the Greek colonies of the Euxine[14]. Hippolytus was in many places associated in divine honours with Apollo[15]; and, after he had been torn in pieces like Osiris, he was restored to life by the Pæonian herbs of Diana, and kept darkling in the secret grove of Egeria[16]. Even Zeus deserted Olympus to visit the Ethiopians, Apollo underwent servitude to Admetus[17]; Theseus,

[7] Herod. ii. 61. 86. 132. 170.

[8] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 78.

[9] Diod. S. v. 77.

[10] Lucian, de Sacrif. p. 355. Clem. Al. Protrep. p. 24. Philostr. Soph. xi. p. 565. Lucan 8, last verse.

[11] Whom St. Paul calls the "prophet" Callimachus. Ep. Titus, i. 12.

[12] Diod. S. iii. 57.

[13] Plut. Isis and Osiris, 35. Creuzer, Symb. iv. p. 97. Cic. de N. D. Creuz. p. 616, note.

[14] Müller, Orchom. 288.

[15] Comp. Buttman, Myth. ii. 145.

[16] Virg. Æn. vii. 775.

[17] Pluto "Adamastus." Iliad, ix. 158.

Peirithous, Hercules, and other heroes, descended for a time to Hades; a dying Nature-god was exhibited in the mysteries, the Attic women fasted sitting on the ground during the Thesmophoria, and the Bœotians lamented the descent of Cora-Proserpina to the shades[18].

§ 12.

THEORY OF HEROES.

Under these circumstances it is curious to observe how the early Greek poets endeavoured to dispose of the death of the Nature-god without prejudice to his immortality. It did not suit their object to use the resource employed afterwards, as when Plutarch, relating the Osiris legend, attempts to mediate between incredulity and faith, by ascribing the stories of divine calamity to those intermediate beings of a spiritual kind who had been adopted by philosophy from an older theology. In the popular mythology there were but two kinds of beings among whom dying divinities could be placed. Prometheus, whose hard fate was lamented by the Asiatic tribes from Arabia to Scythia, had been classed among Titans. But the Titans were a race unfamiliar to the Epic, and not admitting indefinite extension, so that the most usual expedient was to suppose the sufferer whose story or tomb seemed irreconcilable with the attributes of divinity to have been a hero. The Greek heroes and demi-gods were a class of intermediate beings in direct contrast with the emanations and incarnations of the East. They had long obtained an independent place in mythology, and were popularly supposed to be deified public benefactors, or the exalted spirits of good and brave men[1]. This was in virtue of the doctrine of Apotheosis. In oriental theory, the

[18] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 69.

[1] Ps. Plut. de Plac. i. 6. "Ἥρωας, τας ὑπολελειμμενας των σπουδαιων ψυχας." Diog. L. vii. 69. Comp. Plat. Meno. 81. Proclus in Plat. Cratyl. Boisson. ch. cxvii. p. 73.

universal Being descended into mortality without prejudice to his inherent godhead; with the Greek the proceeding appeared to be reversed, and it was imagined that in extraordinary cases a mortal had been elevated to superhuman rank, approaching or even rivalling that of a god. And though it would be wrong to say that emanation is wholly oriental, and personification wholly Greek, since in Indian as in Greek epos, gods act the part of men, and men reach Indra's heaven[2], yet it seems as if the obscurer doctrine had become less clearly understood at a distance from its reputed source, and that in Greece, where the epic system was so much more familiar than the religion of its local rites, they might almost be said to be extinct. The Egyptians are said to have paid no adoration to heroes in the Greek sense of the term[3]; and the Theban priests ridiculed the simplicity of the Greek traveller, who, adopting in a literal sense the ancestral character of deity, would have made the gods assume a real place in a mortal genealogy[4]. Both systems affected to bring humanity into an approximation with deity; but the one in a way displaying rather human vanity and ambition; the other the divine omnipresence and condescension. When the sensuous tendency of the Greek mind, rather than the premeditated device of poets and sculptors, had humanized the conception of the gods, there would be but little difficulty in assigning a modified divinity to eminent personages supposed to have once been men. The doctrine of Apotheosis was part and parcel of Greek Anthropomorphism; but the process in the former case was unconsciously read backward, and the humanized personages were popularly supposed to have been distinguished actors in the heroic or golden age. The poet, whose office consisted in describing the great deeds of the olden time (προτερων κλεα ανδρων), filled up his narrative with acts and names whose real significance had been forgotten, but which were, in reality, the gods as well as ancestors of the clans reputed to be descended from them. The national pride of the

[2] Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 769. 773.

[3] Herod. ii. 50.

[4] Herod. ii. 143.

Greeks was gratified by recollections of a time when their ancestral chiefs had been but little inferior to the deities with whom they were connected, and it was truly said that they pilfered oriental theology in order to fill up and ennoble the successions of their own patriarchal history[5]. The earliest sort of Apotheosis was substantially a limited euhemerism[6]; it was an application of the usual humanizing procedure to beings, who, originally divine, had obtained only a subordinate place in general estimation, either through the subjugation or absorption of the tribes by whom they were worshipped, the anomalous and scarcely intelligible character of their physical symbols, or because their theological place was already occupied under a different name by analogous personifications. Or it may be said that Apotheosis was a double process; first, the humanizing a god, and then the partial restoration of his honours. The story of the Dioscuri, whose original symbol was the two Spartan poles[7], might be told in two ways[8]; it was necessary, in order to account for the buried deities of Aphidna or Therapne, to introduce into their legend something of human adventure, and the equilibrium of the conception was restored by imagining them to have revived on alternate days, and to have been immortalized by Zeus[9]. Dionysus and Hercules were born into the world of mortal mothers because they could not, as gods, have undergone the infirmities and sufferings imputed to them. Æsculapius, too, the emanation of Apollo Pæan, or "arch-chemic sun," was mortal by the mother's side, in order to supply a satisfactory basis for the story of his having been struck by the bolt of Zeus[10]. For the same reason the majority of heroes, as Erechtheus, Cadmus, Iasion, and Medea[11], are

[5] Diod. S. i. 23, at the end.

[6] Welcker, Tril. 171.

[7] "Δίσκανα." Plutarch de Amor. Frat., 1. Winckelmann, Geschichte, i. 1. 8. Welcker, Trilogie, p. 226.

[8] Eurip. Helen. 138.

[9] Iliad, iii. 243. Odyss. xi. 304.

[10] Paus. vii. 23. Diod. S. iv. 71. Æsculapius est vis salubris de substantiâ solis subveniens. Macrob. Sat. i. 20.

[11] Müller, Orchom. 212. 267. Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 74.

more nearly connected with the hieratic or mystic religion than with the epic, in which they perform a part inconsistent with their real character. Every case of apotheosis was presumed to be exceptional, indicating some great pre-eminence in the person so treated; yet it would have puzzled an impartial Greek to draw a distinction between the merits of Hercules and Amphiaraüs, considered as mere men, and those of Aristides and Epaminondas[12], or to define the circumstances which exempted the immortalized beings from the lot of their fellows. The truth is, that the heroes whose real character was half betrayed in the attributes of διοι, αγχιθεοι, and ἡμιθεοι, were themselves divine beings, or Nature-gods. The same notions, repeated and varied in endless profusion, became the inexhaustible *dramatis personæ* of poetry; and the multitude of identical or analogous symbols so produced were a necessary result of the number of names and predicates of the Deity, or of the elements, among the many tribes whose traditions contributed to swell the general mass[13].

The process which made gods become men long preceded that which transformed human beings into gods. The latter would perhaps have been impossible but for the precedent supplied by the former. It would be difficult to imagine how the Greeks, who so deeply felt the eminence and superiority of their gods, could have been otherwise induced to place men on the same level. Such a proceeding in the earlier times is incredible; and at a later period the admiration, which might have prompted the apotheosis of a cotemporary benefactor, was in great measure extinct. No local event would have so far confounded men's notions as to create such stories, or to give them currency as sacred legend; but if, among the wrecks of

[12] Paus. viii. 2. 2.

[13] Odin is said to have borne 12 names among the old Germans, and to have had 114 names besides. Allah is addressed in an Arab hymn under no less than 99 titles. The "myrionymy" of oriental Deities is notorious. Artemis was also called Iphigenia, Helena, Electra, Hecate, &c. Poseidon, Glaucus, and Ægeon; Hades, Clymenus, Laomedon, Neleus, Admetus, Eurypylus, Polydegmon, &c.

local religious systems, many names and attributes were remembered for which no room could be found in the general pantheon, the apotheosis theory, reducing them to intermediate beings, would be the only way of treating them. When, therefore, we find among the histories of heroes things properly belonging to gods, the natural inference is that these heroes were once themselves gods, subordinated or mediatized only in the artificial machinery of poets. The superhuman attributes of the heroes of the Iliad are justified not merely by their celestial parentage, but by circumstantial evidence as to their character. If, for instance, the beautiful son of "Joyface" (Charops), and "Brilliant" (Aglaia), shared with Hercules the victory over the solstitial lion[14], and was killed by Eurypylus[15], it may not be unreasonable to suspect that his three ships may represent the three seasons[16]. The beautiful son of Aurora, alternately bright as his brother Phæton[17], and dark as the Ethiopian, who, like Adonis, tinged the autumnal streams with his blood[18], was said to have been killed by Achilles before Troy; but, according to the Assyrian author Damis[19], Memnon never went to Troy, but died prematurely in Ethiopia; he built the astronomical palace of Egbatana[20], and was probably a Cushite deity, whose tomb accompanied the migration of his worshippers[21] from its original site in the city of lilies, the Shushan of Scripture[22]. The geography of his travels is as visionary as that Aleian plain which was the scene of the wanderings of Bellerophon; and to assign to him a chronology would be as vain as to attempt to unravel the tissue of a dream, or to require a chemist to assay the golden age. Achilles, born of

[14] Photius, Hösch. p. 474. [15] Hyg. F. 113.

[16] Comp. Diod. S. i. 11.

[17] Eustathius to Dion. P. v. 248, p. 133. Virg. Æn. i. 489. Philostrat. Icon. i. 7. Movers, die Phœnizier, p. 227.

[18] Quint. Calab. ii. 555. [19] Philostr. Vit. Ap. vi. 4, p. 232.

[20] Creuz. S. ii. 191.

[21] Agatharcides in Photius, Bibl. p. 1341. Hösch. 448, Bek. Comp. above vol. i. p. 92, note.

[22] Herod. v. 53; vii. 151. Strabo, xv. 728. Diod. ii. 22. Paus. iv. 31.

fire and water[23], of a goddess educated by Here[24], was worshipped as a god at Leuce, in Taurus, and in many parts of Greece, as at Elis and in Laconia[25]; mythologists reckoned no less than fifty-four seemingly distinct persons of the name; one of them, a son of Earth, received Juno when fugitive, and restored her to the arms of Zeus[26]. The divine Ægis hangs on the shoulder of the Homeric hero[27], his head is encircled by a meteoric glory, beaming afar like the beacon of a beleaguered city[28], the starry tresses of his helmet's plume[29] shining brightest immediately before extinction[30]. In this panoply, furnished from the armoury of heaven, he blazes like Orion's dog, or like the rising sun[31]; his shield, manufactured by the Demiurgus of Nature[32], is as the moon, that pharos of the seaman[33]; it is, moreover, a picture of earth and heaven, and all therein; the luminaries and constellations of the one, the stirring scenes and busy inhabitants of the other[34]. With Ulysses we seem to follow the sun's subtelluric migration, although much of the details of the Sisyphid hero's course may bespeak a real navigation of the Ephyreans or Sisyphids of Corinth[35]. Ulysses is to the Greeks what Hermes is to the gods. His astuteness and eloquence qualify him to be spy,

[23] Winckelmann, Denkmale, cx. p. 104.

[24] Iliad, xxiv. 60.

[25] Paus. iii. 19, 20. 24; vi. 23? Philostrat. Heroic. 19. 14, p. 741.

[26] Photius, Hösch. p. 487. Comp. Creuz. S. iii. 231[a].

[27] Analogous personages being invested with a common symbol, for instance, the tripod of Apollo is given also to Hercules and Dionysus; the cestus to Here as well as Aphrodite. The true owners of the Ægis are the superior Triad Zeus, Athene, and Apollo.

[28] Iliad, xviii. 205. 214.

[29] Iliad, xix. 383.

[30] Iliad, xvi. 800; xvii. 201.

[31] Iliad, xix. 398; xxii. 29. 135. Compare the expression in the Homeric Hymn, No. 32, to Helios—"fearfully his eyes glare from beneath his brazen helmet"—with Iliad, xix. 16. 366.

[32] Hephæstus (Iliad, xv. 306; xvii. 593).

[33] Il. xix. 374.

[34] Uschold, Vorhalle, i. p. 297.

[35] "Οἱ ἀπὸ Σισυφου." Philostr. Heroic. 19. 14, p. 739. Eurip. Cyclops, 104. Paus. ii. 3. 8. Müller, Mythol. Transl. 300 sq. Völcker, Japetus, 119.

adviser, and diplomatist. His contest with Irus "Arnaios"[36] is a dramatic subdivision of himself, for he is himself Aries, or Hermes Criophorus[37], married to "Polymele,"[38] and father of Pan[39]. His companions slaughter the herds of Helios, which Hermes stole; he marries the virgin of the Zodiac in "Callidice" queen of Thespotia[40]; he is the invincible wrestler, runner, archer, and quoit player, who outwatches the cold night[41], and brings death to Argus[42]; he wears the cap which Hermes wore as conductor of the dead[43]; his sword being the golden wand with which he performs the office of the god among the darkling Cimmerians and Phœnicians, in evoking the shades and dismissing them[44]. His return to Ithica in the disguise of an aged beggar, clothed in stag's hide[45], may allude to the decrepitude and barrenness of winter[46], as does the equivocal prediction of his death "from the sea,"[47] his metamorphosis into a horse by the sea nymph "Halis,"[48] or his murder with a fish bone by his own son[49]. Agamemnon, king of men, is also king of

[36] Odyss. xviii. 5.

[37] Odyss. ix. 117. 432. Comp. xxiv. 231. Iliad, iii. 197.

[38] Parthen. Erot. ii. p. 154, Westermann.

[39] Schol. Theocrit. i. 123.

[40] See the "Telegonias" of Eugammon, Cycli frag. Didot, p. 585.

[41] Odyss. xiv. 475.

[42] His dog; Hermes-Cynocephalus being himself a dog. Odyss. xx. 14; the son of a dog, "Hylacides."

[43] Eustathius to Iliad, x. 265. Müller, Archäologie, S. 416, p. 660. Lycophr. Cass. 703. 711. Ib. Tzetzes.

[44] Odyss. xi. 48. Lycophr. 685.

[45] Odyss. xiii. 436. Comp. iv. 245.

[46] The stag seems to have been a solar emblem (comp. Virg. Æn. vii. 481. Hygin. Fab. 205); but the sun as connected with the water which altered the form of Actæon, *i. e.* Dionysus-Hyes clad in a roe skin. Aristoph. Ran. 1211.

[47] Odyss. xi. 134. The element which may be said either to destroy the Sun-God, or to rescue him and bring him to repose.

[48] He was said by some to have contrived the Trojan horse, which others ascribed to the art of Epeios, the water carrier of the Atridæ.

[49] Lycophr. 796. Eustathius to Odyss. xi. 134. After death, if he ever died, his remains became oracular in Ætolia, and he was also buried in Epirus and in Tuscany.

gods[50]; his sceptre, as well as himself, receives divine honours[51]; he carries the gorgon on his shield[52], and his dominion would be inconsistent with that ascribed in the Homeric catalogue to Diomedes, if it were not in a transcendental sense identical with it. The comparison of Agamemnon with Zeus, Ares, and Poseidon, in the Iliad[53], is probably not a mere magniloquent figure, but a symbolical and monumental resemblance. He is described as quarrelsome, avaricious[54], rejoicing in carnage[55]; and it is probable that the transmission of the celebrated sceptre[56], that magic staff, combining the wand of the herald with the warrior's lance[57], indicates identity in the character of its possessors. The curse of the house of Atreus, like the doom of Troy, was a result of the fatal amour of Hermes and Persephone, repeated in that of Myrtilus and Hippodamia, of Helena and Paris. The golden lamb of Thyestes is the gift of Hermes, which bore Phrixus through the sky[58], and the murderous deed of Atreus is Winter destroying the offspring of Summer, giving them to be food for the prolific power which produced them[59], so that the sun recoils in horror at his own act[60]. From the date of this ill-omened banquet,

"Ατρεως, χαλκου θοινατηρος,"[61]

the avenging Fury never quitted that gloomy Argive or Amyclæan

[50] Lycophr. Cassandr. 1123. Paus. vii. 5. 12; ix. 40. 6. Schol. Eustath. to Il. ii. p. 127.

[51] Paus. u. s. Strabo, xiii. 3. Diod. S. v. 57.

[52] Iliad, xi. 36.

[53] Iliad, ii. 478.

[54] Iliad, i. 122. 171.

[55] Odyss. viii. 77. Comp. Iliad, viii. 278, and Soph. Œd. Tyrann. "Hades made rich by groans."

[56] Iliad, ii. 102.

[57] Comp. Paus. v. 27. 5; x. 40. 6. Hymn Merc. 530. The sword of Ulysses, but also the rod of treasure which grew into a tree overshadowing Mycenæ. Soph. Electra, 423.

[58] Apollod. i. 9. 1. Eurip. Orest. 802.

[59] Thyestes, "πολυμηλος." Il. ii. 106. Comp. Hes. Works and D. 163. Theog. 444.

[60] Eurip. Electra, 727. Plato, Politicus, 269. Photii, Bibl. 721.

[61] Æschyl. Agam. Bothe, 1387.

palace[62], which the inspired Cassandra pronounced to be a reeking charnel-house, hated by the gods, undistinguishable from the dungeons of hell. The Cthonian nature of its vindictive and licentious master[63] who lavished his caresses on every Chryseis[64], made him appear under another aspect as himself a victim whose doom was justly ratified by heaven[65], though he might at the same time justly plead that the fault was not in him, but in the inevitable decree of Zeus[66]. Having sacked Troy about the setting of the Pleiades[67] he was himself murdered in the bloody bath prepared by Clytæmnestra[68], on the 13th of Gameleon[69], or the winter solstice, his infant son being in the meantime preserved at Delphi, under the care of the Phocian "Strophius," or the solstice personified; and though it be difficult to conceive a grander description of the rising sun than that of Achilles appearing at early dawn on the ocean verge[70], looking terribly beneath the eyelids (of the morn)[71], and robing himself in armour of light supplied by the sea goddess, while Agamemnon, the "victim of destiny," remains recumbent in his presence[72]; the setting luminary is with equal beauty depicted in the imagery of Æschylus, its sinking through the

[62] Müller, Orchom. 313. "Πολυφθόρον δωμα Πελοπιδων." Soph. Electr. 10. The mansion "conscious of many a parricide." Æschyl. Agam. Bothe, 976 sq. 1177. 1195.

[63] Whether called Hermes, or Hades, or Zeus Areios. Comp. Eustath. to Iliad, ii. 25. Æschyl. Chöeph. 1. Aristoph. Ran. 1126.

[64] Agam. Bothe, 1327.

[65] Ibid. 1321. 1373. 1410.

[66] Iliad, xix. 90.

[67] Ib. 732. *i. e.* the autumnal equinox, at the time of full moon; according to others, at the vernal equinox or 12th Thargelion. (Comp. Hellanic. frag. Sturz. p. 167. Stanley to Agam. 834.) The line, "Nox erat et cœlo fulgebat luna sereno," seems translated verbatim from the Little Iliad.

[68] ?The wave made ruddy by the setting sun. Comp. Frag. Æschyl. Prom. Solut. Didot, p. 67; and Welcker's Trilogie, p. 36. The story of the murdered sun and the murderous moon would seem to be reversed in the flight of Dictynna from Minos. (Höeck, Kreta, ii. 170.) Minos, while in the bath of Cocalus, suffers the fate of Agamemnon.

[69] Soph. Electra, Schol. 275.

[70] Iliad, xix. 1. 40.

[71] Iliad, xix. 17.

[72] Ibid. v. 19. 52. 77. 80. 86.

embroidered clouds into the empurpled ocean being represented by the victorious monarch walking over the gorgeous tapestry supplied by Ocean's inexhaustible profusion[73] on his way to the treacherous bath about to be dyed with his blood.

The gods had sworn that the death of Agamemnon should be the signal for the return of his son[74], that far renowned "man of the hills,"[75] the Hyperion descended from Agamemnon[76], as Apollo from Zeus[77]. His return is part of the necessary revolution of the year, of the healing operation of time[78]; his murder of his mother is day destroying night, or summer winter[79]; life overcoming death[80]; his marriage to Hermione[81] denotes his reconciliation with the Fury who persecuted him, and upon the bite of the autumnal serpent[82] ensues the stony death of Nature which he meets at Delphi. He was said to be buried in many other places, as at Trœzene, in Arcadia[83], in Thrace[84], even at Aricia, in Italy[85], and it might be a reasonable subject of astonishment how a mere Achæan prince could be simultaneously present at so many distant localities, at Rhegium[86], in Macedonia[87], Eubœa[88], Tauris[89], Lesbos[90], Athens[91], and Bœotia, unless an explanation be found in the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and the migrations of

[73] Agam. 864, Bothe.

[74] Æschyl. Agam. 1166. 1176, Bothe.

[75] "Orestes." Comp. Odyss. i. 30. 299; xi. 459; *i. e.* the sun rising from behind the hills to end the reign of darkness. Comp. Soph. Electra, 17. 66. 75. 83. 685. 699. Æschyl. Chöeph. 895. 904, Bothe.

[76] Paus. i. 43. 4.

[77] Apollod. i. 7. 3. 5.

[78] Soph. Electra, 173. 176. He was not "ἀτροπιτρόπος," "without tropics." Comp. Iliad, ii. 295.

[79] Clytæmnestra, *i. q.* Leda, Latona, Leto; called by Cassandra, a "raging dam of hell." Æschyl. Agam. Bothe, 1121.

[80] Schol. Soph. Electr. 62.

[81] Demeter Erinnys, worshipped at Hermione.

[82] Tzetzes to Lycophr. 1374.

[83] Paus. ii. 31. 11. Schol. Eurip. Orest. 1647.

[84] Strabo, xiii. 1.

[85] Serv. Æn. ii. 116.

[86] Müller, Dor. 1.

[87] Strabo, ix. 434.

[88] Strabo, x. 1.

[89] Lycophr. 1332.

[90] Schol. Lycophr. 1373.

[91] Odyss. iii. 306.

the Æolian and Achæan tribes who worshipped them[92]. His sister Iphigenia was well known to be identical with the goddess she served, or to whom she was sacrificed[93]; and when made a child of Helena by Theseus[94], she might be considered as identical with the Helena married to the immortalized Achilles at Leuce[95], fitly mated as two kindred powers in league to destroy mankind[96]. Helen, the cause of universal love and universal strife[97], who weaves the tissue of war[98] as well as the spell of beauty, who, as daughter of Leda or Nemesis[99], may either be that child of night who first threw the apple of discord among the gods[100], or the daughter of Leto, to whom she is compared by Homer[101], passed through a succession of events and alliances[102], which, had she been mortal, would have ill qualified her to be the reward of Achilles in the islands of the blest. But she was in reality the immortal offspring of Zeus or of Aphrodite[103], worshipped as Artemis in Rhodes and Sparta[104], nominally perishing in the arms of Thetis[105], and buried at Therapne, but really continuing to circle in the heaven as the moon[106], conceived by early theology to have

[92] Uschold, Geschichte des Troj. Krieges, p. 192; and Müller, Orchom. p. 306, last edit.

[93] Paus. i. 41 and 43; ii. 35. Hesych. ii. 85.

[94] Tzetzes to Lycophr. 103.

[95] Paus. iii. 19. 11. Tzetzes to Lycophr. 183.

[96] Müller's Greek Litterat. p. 69.

[97] Comp. Æschyl. Agam. 1440, Wellauer. [98] Iliad, iii. 127.

[99] The latter according to the Cypria of Stasinus, Athenæ, viii. 334. Sometimes she was called a daughter of Helios (Ptol. Hephæst. in Photius, 247 or 480); sometimes of Oceanus. (Schol. Pind. Nem. x. 150.)

[100] Hes. Theog. 225.

[101] Odyss. iv. 122. Comp. Iliad, iii. 158. 164.

[102] Hence called πενταλικτρος, "the bride of five." Lycophr.

[103] Ptol. Hephæst. lib. 4, in Phot. Bibl. p. 479.

[104] Herod. vi. 61. Paus. iii. 19. 10. [105] Photius, ub. sup.

[106] Artemis-Hecate, or "Selene;" changing into the correlated forms Clytæmnestra, Iphigenia, and Medea, &c. (Schol. Lycophr. 143. 174.) Photius, ub. s. Hence the propriety of comparing her to a dog (Iliad, iii. 180; vi. 344. 356); and the story of her being stolen when dancing in the temple of Diana. Plutarch, Thes. 31. Hence, too, Menelaüs dragged his unfaithful wife out of Troy by the *hair*. Eurip. Helen. 116.

sprung with the sun out of a cosmical egg[107] engendered by the funereal swan[108], so that she was naturally a common object of pursuit to the solar heroes of the Iliad, and, without effort, was able to mimic the voices of all their several wives[109]. Her capture, commonly attributed to Paris, whom she followed "as a god,"[110] was in reality performed long before by his father, the ithyphallic Hermes[111], who "enwrapped her in the folds of æther,"[112] and the discrepancies in the legend were reconciled by the story of the phantom made by Here by help of Uranus in the skiey chambers[113] supposed to have been carried by the adulterer to Troy, while the real Helen was concealed in the remote fastnesses of the Nature-god[114], or, as Euripides intimates, in Hades[115]. Electra, "the brilliant," in reality shares the sternness of her immortal sister[116], though usually wearing a milder aspect when the lunar offspring of Oceanus and Tethys[117], the Pleiad daughter of Atlas, consort of Zeus, and mother of the Cabiri, or of Harmonia and Dardanus[118], acts the part of human mourner in a Greek drama. She keeps vigil while all others sleep[119], and her favourite is the mournful bird, "Jove's harbinger," who nightly bewails the fate of Itys[120]. Seated before the door of Persephone[121], she waits her brother who loves yet comes not, who, though always wishing to arrive

[107] Plutarch, Qu. Symp. ii. 3. 12.

[108] Eurip. Helena, 20. The swan, pursued by an eagle, was rescued in the embraces of Leda; swans drew Apollo's car to his winter retreat among the Hyperboreans, the Graiæ are "κυκνόμορφοι" (Æschyl. Prom. 773, Bothe); in short, the swan is a Cthonian emblem. Comp. Plat. Phædo, p. 85.

[109] Odyss. iv. 279.

[110] Ptol. Hephæst. v. supr.

[111] Priam, Apollo Priapeius.

[112] Paus. iv. 30. 2. Eurip. Helen 44.

[113] Comp. Iliad, xiv. 166.

[114] Proteus. Herod. ii. 112. Paus. iii. 19. Müller, Gr. Litt. 201.

[115] The palace of "Theoclymenus." Helena, v. 69; *i. e.* of Busiris or Osiris (ib. 155), the Egyptian god of the dead; the palace of Menelaüs having probably the same meaning. (Iliad, iii. 233. Odyss. iv. 2.)

[116] Comp. Soph. Electr. 1020. 1023.

[117] Apollod. i. 2. 2.

[118] Schol. Apollon. i. 916.

[119] Soph. Electr. 92. 105. 164.

[120] Ibid. v. 147.

[121] Ibid. v. 110.

at his journey's end, never seems to fulfil the wish[122], while the unnatural mother, celebrating the anniversary of her husband's death as a festival to the preserving gods[123], threatens to banish the baffled mourner to the "sunless cavern,"[124] to weep among the dead.

Thus were the horrors of tragedy developed out of the vicissitudes of the elements, when superstition, viewing all things through a gloomy medium, made Nature herself seem unnatural and cruel. The legends of Thebes commence with an array of evidently physical names in Cthonius, Hyperenor, Pelorus, and Oudæus, the Sparti of Cadmus. Labdacus, son of Polydorus by Nycteis, daughter of Cthonius, was confided to the guardianship of Nycteus (night), who in spring surrendered to him the sovereignty of Thebes, or, what amounts to the same thing, gave up his ward to his brother Lycus (day), yet received him back again by survivorship[125]. The guardianship of Lycus and Nycteus was followed by that of Zethus and Amphion[126], sons of the Corinthian Epopeus[127], or that of Zeus[128], whom Müller chooses to treat as emblems of a new heroic dynasty, distinct from the Cadmean, like Ion among the Attic Erechtheidæ. Cadmus[129], Labdacus, and Laius, are named as successively under guardianship of these "Polemarchs," probably in a sense not unlike that in which Erechtheus was ward of Athene, or else Labdacus and Laius, as Cthonian emblems, are expelled by the symbols of day[130], Labdacus suffering the fate of Pentheus as adversary of Dionysus, from whom (as from Polydorus) he might be considered as descended; while his twin successors, born at Eleutheræ (Dionysus, too, was called the Liberator), less involved in the humanizing imagery found necessary to interpret the symbols of a Cthonian or dying power,

[122] Soph. Electr. v. 166.
[123] Ibid. v. 280.
[124] Ibid. v. 381.
[125] Apollod. iii. 5. 5. Paus. ix. 5. 2.
[126] Müller, Orchom. 222 sq.
[127] Iliad, iii. 277; xiv. 345. Odyss. xii. 323. Hymn to Ceres, 62. Comp. Europs, Lynceus, Oxylus, &c. Pind. Ol. iii. 44. Nem. x. 117.
[128] Paus. ii. 6. 2.
[129] Pherecydes, in Schol. Apollon. i. 735.
[130] Comp. Apollod. iii. 5. 5.

received from Hermes the seven-stringed lyre (of Apollo), and built with it the walls of Thebes[131]. Amphion killed Apollo in the person of Lycus, and again Apollo killed Zethus and Amphion[132], yet revived in a new Amphion. The reign of Laius was succeeded by that of Œdipus, who, educated on the wintry Cithæron, the birthplace, as it were, of the sun[133], was adopted and brought up by Polybus[134], and became the Feridoon of Corinth. But, as in the case of other solar powers[135], a question arose as to his legitimacy. Alarmed by the oracle which threatened him with incest and parricide, he fled from his birthplace, measuring his course by the stars; and through an unforeseen coincidence, meeting Laius in the height of summer at the earth's centre Delphi, the murder of his father was the inevitable result of the destruction of the Greek solstitial year by its successor, as the Sphynx, too, was fated to die when her riddle had been solved by the arch interpreter Time. Nature is both mother and wife of the sun or year god, as she was also wife of his predecessor; and Œdipus, the sport of destiny, whose faults were "rather suffered than committed,"[136] more than atoned for his misdeeds by his misfortunes[137]; he was banished from Thebes, like his predecessor Cadmus[138], without compunction, for the new year brings with it new ideas and hopes, and no one has a word to say for the detention of the old[139]. The exiled parent prognosticated his revenge in the fratricide of the new candidates for the empire of the sky[140], but was obliged to follow the fortune of the past,

[131] The Cosmus.

[132] Hygin. Fab. 9. For time destroys itself. Comp. Ovid. Met. vi. 271.

[133] Uschold, Vorhall. i. 192.

[134] Pluto or Hermes Cthonius.

[135] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 54.

[136] Œd. Colon. 267. 525.

[137] Œd. Colon. 439.

[138] In Syncellus.

[139] Œd. Colon. 443.

[140] Comp. v. 381. There seems a curious analogy between the lame Œdipus and the lame Jacob; it had been customary for the sons of Œdipus to present a part of each sacrifice ("ἀπαρχας θυσιων") to their father: on one occasion they sent the hip instead of the shoulder; Œdipus enraged at this supposed attempt to deceive his blindness, invoked the curse which caused the destruction of his sons. (Schol. Œd. Colon. 1440.)

for he carried in his "swollen feet" the same distemperature which infected Eurydice, Hercules, and Philoctetes[141], the wound of Nycteus and Epopeus[142], of Thersites, and of Ulysses[143]. Time may be imagined either as advancing with unconquerable footsteps, like Hercules, Perseus, or Jason with his one sandal; or, as maimed and halting, overthrown either by a rival, or by some failing, exhaustion, or violence of his own, bringing his career to a conclusion. In the darkening days of autumn, Œdipus becomes blind through the contrivance of the gods[144], and a mere shadow of himself[145] is a personification similar to his adopted father[146], when consigned to his grave in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eteonus[147], or when, according to the Attic poets, he found a divinely-appointed grave at Colonos in Attica, near the sanctuary of Poseidon, the brazen threshold of the shades[148].

§ 13.

END OF THE APOTHEOSIS THEORY.

The apotheosis of heroes was effected by means as exceptional and extraordinary as the circumstances of their lives. They were often said not to die, but to be translated. The expression used in such cases by Greek writers is the same as that employed in the histories of Enoch and Elijah; "he was not,"

[141] As also Talus, Acrisius, and Hyacinthus. Apollod. i. 9. 26; ii. 4. 4. Anything weakened, but not utterly destroyed, might be said to be lame. Comp. Micah, ch. iv. 6. Hence lameness was an attribute of the year god, as in the instances of Harpocrates, Hephæstus, Palæmon the lame Argonaut (Ap. Rh. i. 204), Podalirius, "weak footed," and may we not add "Ancus" Martius, the feeble son of the god of the first month, and Jacob who halted at "Peniel," *i. e.* sight of God?

[142] Paus ii. 6. 2.

[143] Odyss. xix. 391. 450.

[144] Eur. Phœn. 871.

[145] Œd. Colon. 110.

[146] Polybus, *i. q.* Polymelus, Hermes-Cthonius. Compare the sheep of Œdipus. Hes. Works, 162.

[147] Müller, Orchom. 223.

[148] Soph. Œd. Colon. 58. 1590.

"he ceased to be among men," or "was removed to the gods,"[1] meaning, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews explains, that such beings were transferred to heaven without dying[2]; Ganymede and Clitus are Homeric instances of this kind[3]; Amphiaraus becomes divine when swallowed by the earth, Ino by leaping into the sea. Yet the Greeks knew that everything human must die[4], nor had they in general any very exalted conception of an existence beyond the grave. "Oxen and sheep," says Achilles[5], "may be taken as spoil, and by the strong arm we may get tripods and horses, but man's spirit cannot be arrested or recalled when once it has passed the boundary of his lips." The Greeks thought, like the author of Ecclesiastes[6], "that a living dog is preferable to a dead lion." Death was the end of human action if not of human hope; Jove himself could do no more than bury his Lycian offspring Sarpedon[7], nor could the muse reanimate "her enchanting son." To exist beyond the grave otherwise than as a shade in Hades was in general as impossible for a mortal, as to die was irreconcilable with the notion of a god. To reconcile this belief with the theory of Apotheosis, it therefore became necessary to imagine a distinct class of beings whose fate was different from that of common men. Some heroes, as Perseus, were not admitted to have even died at all[8]; this was also the case with Menelaus, who was more than a mere hero at Therapne[9]; and with Diomed, the originally Thracian god worshipped at Argyripa, Metapontum, and Thurii[10]. Others, as Achilles, were variously stated as having suffered death or escaped it; and Hesiod seems to have felt a difficulty similar to that of Herodotus when he adopts the same obvious plan of explanation[11] by distinguishing the heroes into two classes, one of

[1] "Ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἦν," or "ἠφανίσθη." Taylor's Note to Lysias, p. 66. Diod. Sic. Wesseling, iv. 38, p. 284[n]. Paus. i. 32. Philostrat. V. A. 827. Apollod. ii. 8. 1.
[2] Ch. xi. 5.
[3] Iliad, xx. 233. Odyss. xv. 250.
[4] Odyss. iii. 236. Comp. iv. 78.
[5] Iliad, ix. 406.
[6] Ch. ix. 4.
[7] Iliad, xvi. 674.
[8] Herod. vi. 53.
[9] Isocrat. Helen. Enc. ch. xxvii.
[10] Schol. Pind. Nem. 10. 12.
[11] Herod. ii. 44, at the end.

whom had fallen before Thebes or Troy, and those others whom Zeus had at once transferred to an immortal colony far away in the islands of the blessed[12]. The heroes whom the Greeks were taught to venerate[13] were not the souls or shadows dismissed to Hades, but the "αυτοι,"[14] the brave and good in their human forms, whose apotheosis was in general not the resuscitation of the dead, but the transfer of the living[15] to a distant though earthly Elysium, just as Ulysses by accepting the offers of Calypso might have continued to banquet with her for ever on ambrosia[16]. "Dearest Harmodius," said the popular melody, "thou art not surely dead; they say thou art in the islands of the blessed along with the swift-footed Achilles, and Diomed, son of Tydeus." Yet with perhaps natural inconsistency, the notion of heroes was often confounded with that of the ghostly demons or genii supposed to dispense wealth[17]; and still more inconsistent was the feeling which induced each country to secure the bones or relics of its deceased heroes as pledges of abundance, security, and victory[18]. Contradiction was inevitable, because the whole doctrine was founded on a misconception or inversion of the truth; and as the Greeks believed many rites and customs which they derived from foreigners to have been invented and communicated by themselves to their real authors, so gods transformed into legendary men were to them no other than their fellow countrymen elevated into gods. Apotheosis was rather an exegetical expedient than a consistent theory; it was practically renounced or explained away by the Greeks themselves. Had it been implicitly or unreservedly received, there is no conceivable reason why the great men of historical times should not have shared the honours of the demigods of antiquity. But the

[12] Works, 166. [13] Porphyr. de Abstin. iv. 380.
[14] Iliad, i. 4. Creuz. S. iii. 745.
[15] Odyss. iv. 563. Comp. Bottiger's Ideen, vol. i. 246, n. 12.
[16] Odyss. v. 136. [17] Hesiod, Works, 126.
[18] Herod. i. 68. Paus. iii. 3; ix. 30. Soph. Œd. Colon. 1765. Lobeck. Agl. 281. Creuz. Symb. iii. 734.

heroic age had properly ceased with the elemental war of Troy[19]; and it was rather national vanity than religious faith which placed Harmodius and Aristogeiton in company with Achilles and Diomed. The date of a proceeding so contrary to all ordinary experience should, like the Egyptian "dynasties of gods," be thrown back to a period of the remotest antiquity, to the mythical golden age, when "men were better and nearer to heaven."[20] The days of real apotheosis had long passed, never to return, when Pausanias, judiciously discriminating between the well-established claims of Hercules, Polydeuces, and Castor, and the modern excess of contemptible adulation which would deify an Augustus or a Cæsar, feelingly deplored the credulity and degeneracy of his age[21]. "No glorious or durable promotion was any longer to be found, nor was any one enrolled among the gods except those who presumptuously assumed the name among their vain titles, and whose arrogance was met by the obsequious flattery of their dependents." But the divinity which flattery or fear ascribed to cotemporary men was soon forgotten when the family or friends of the dead were no more, and never obtained an established place in general belief. "If any man," says Plutarch, "elated by arrogance has claimed the attributes of a god, his credit has ever been but short, and he has then been ignominiously driven out of the temples he desecrated. Of this brief and uncertain kind were the honours paid to Hephæstion, to Alexander, and to the Cæsars; for, in truth, offerings and prayers were not made to them but to their descendants, and to the tyrant ruler or tyrant opinion of the day."[22] Notwithstanding the anthropistic descriptions of poets, the Greeks, like the Egyptians, possessed too keen a sense of propriety as well as too deep a veneration for their deities, seriously to confound the human with the divine. Pindar was not misled by the cant of honorific praise to forget the wide

[19] Cleomedes was pronounced by the oracle the last of the heroes. Paus. vi. 9. Philological Museum, i. p. 74. Creuz. S. iii. 742.

[20] Plato, Phileb. p. 16.

[21] Paus. viii. 2.

[22] Isis and Osiris, ch. xxiv. Sext. Empir. Mathem. ix. p. 320.

difference, "the insuperable line," intervening between man and God. The wisdom of moderation, which he impresses as the legitimate inference of self-study upon a being who

"Θνατας απο μητρος ιφυ,"[23]

was little consistent with the vain ambition which would aspire to be a Zeus; mortal things, he tells us, should content mortal men[24]; the pillars of Hercules are the extreme limit of human enterprise[25]; and without, indeed, abandoning the ennobling claim to spiritual affinity with higher natures[26], we should remember we are not yet qualified to tread heaven's vault[27]. In Euhemerism Greek anthropomorphism and apotheosis were carried to their absurd extreme, and it was only a just retaliation that the same derogatory construction which the Greeks had placed on other gods should at last be applied to their own. If the demigods and heroes had once been mortal, it was only a step further to say with the Sicilian free-thinker, the great betrayer of heathen faith[28], that all the gods, without exception, were no more than deified men. At a time when poetic legend was losing its influence under the simultaneous assaults of reason and corruption, this practically atheistic[29] system could not fail to be received with favour; and Callimachus, Plutarch, and other religious men made every effort to resist a theory so pernicious. It was well observed by Sextus Empiricus[30], that they who attributed the origin of religion to apotheosis forgot the real difficulty of the question; for they omitted to explain how the first idea of deification could have arisen, or whence men derived that superhuman standard with which they compared their mortal cotemporaries. Yet Euhemerism, though

[23] Fr. Incert. 99.
[24] Isthm. v. 18. 20; vii. 61.
[25] Olym. iii. 80.
[26] Nem. vi. 4.
[27] Pyth. x. 42.
[28] Plut. Isis and Osiris, p. 360.

[29] The crime of Euhemerus was not atheism, but a contemptuous treatment of the conventional gods of the people, and also the critical error not unusual with ourselves, that of supposing mythology to be a representation of facts rather than of ideas. See Hoeck, Kreta, iii. 329.

[30] Adv. Math. ix. 34, p. 557 or 313.

denounced by all the more judicious among the Greeks, who saw in its author only a madman or impostor, became a useful polemical weapon against heathenism, of which the Christian fathers did not scruple to avail themselves[31]. For us the interest of the controversy has ceased as well as its danger, and the heathen gods may be now harmlessly degraded into men or even demons. But the Euhemeristic interpretation is critically unsound, and as little to be depended on as applied to the heroic legends as to those of the higher gods. Mythology records not facts but opinions. The Deity is beyond the objects suggesting the idea of him; but in philosophy, as well as poetry, language easily becomes confounded with being, thought with things[32]. Man created a conception of the divine, but the conception being only a reflection of his own consciousness, of his actions, feelings, and aspirations, was easily mistaken for a portrait of himself[33].

§ 14.

HERCULES.

The conception of Hercules may be said to represent the meridian of the system of apotheosis, as the ultraism of Euhemerus was the token of its decline. It would seem as if the northern ancestors of the Greeks had maintained with hardier habits a more manly style of religious symbolism than the effeminate enthusiasts of the south, and had embodied in their Perseus, Hercules, and Mithras the consummation of the qualities they esteemed and exercised. The heroic is the ideal

[31] Arnob. ad Gent. iv. 29.

[32] Comp. Aristot. Metaph. Bek. 8. 10.

[33] "Der Mensch ist sich nirgends selbst zum Mythus geworden, zum Heros und Gott, sondern Umgekehrt der Gott zum Menschen; und die erste Menschengeschichte ist eine Götterhistorie. Alles was einmal war ist vergessen, und nur das Unwirkliche ist wirklich geworden." Kanne, alteste urkunde d. Geschichte, p. 11. Comp. Buttman, Mythol. i. 249.

perfection of the ordinary life of the Greeks[1], as a further exaggeration of the hero invested with immortality became the standard of the god. And as the advantages of personal prowess, of virtue, or of beauty, the distinctions of the monarch or noble, were exalted in patriotic recollection, poetry, on the other hand, brought down its divinities to meet their mortal rivals within the sphere of the senses, until, through the intervention of heroes, who themselves had once been divine[2], the name of God became part of the genealogy of man, and the reigning princes were made literally sons or descendants of the supreme objects of worship. The apotheosis of the Greeks was an imaginary link connecting man with God like the emanation of the East, but proceeding in a different way. It was an application of speculative metaphysics which reversed the true order of the succession of ideas. Both systems had a principle in common; both acknowledged an essential divinity in the eminent good, and a possible association or connection of the godhead with humanity. That God by generation became flesh was agreed both by Greek and Oriental; but the latter seemed to keep more strictly within the consciousness of symbolical illustration, while the Greek, adopting literally the idea of divine affiliation, attempted, by appealing to familiar examples, such as the prominent one of Hercules, to show how by the practice of heroic virtue the real son of God may evince his divine extraction and earn his eventual restoration to the authors of his race. Hercules was latterly understood as an allegory of human effort ascending the arduous path of valour, the most highly-prized virtue[3]. He was the great epic subject of the poets who preceded Homer, the model of the chiefs who fought at Thebes or Troy. But the drama of his achievements

[1] Aristot. Eth. 7. 1. Herod. i. 30.

[2] It seems probable that the word "Hero" is connected with ἐῤῥος, or ερος, a name of Zeus (Hesych. Albert. i. p. 1445), with ερα, Earth, with Hera, Herus, and the German Herr.

[3] "Αρετα πολυμοχθε γενει βροτειῳ," &c. Aristotle in Athenæus, xv. p. 696; and Aristoph. Frogs, 1034.

was originally taken from the course of Nature. Almost every nation will be found to have had a mythical being, whose strength or weakness, victories or defeats, more or less nearly describe the sun's career through the seasons. There was a Celtic[4], a Teutonic[5], a Scythian[6], an Etruscan[7], a Lydian Hercules[8], all whose legends became tributary to those of the the Greek hero[9]; even in Greece itself there were many distinct conceptions which eventually merged in one, such as the Thessalian and the Argive Hercules, the Hercules of Orchomenos who made the emissaries of the Copais[10], and the Theban son of Zeus who closed them[11]. The name of Hercules was found by Herodotus to have been long familiar in Egypt and the East, and to have originally belonged to a much higher personage than the comparatively modern hero known in Greece as son of Alcmena. The temple of the Hercules of Tyre was reported to have been built 2300 years before the time of the historian; and the Deity, whose Greek name has been sometimes supposed to be of Phœnician origin, in the sense of "circuitor," *i. e.* "rover" and "perambulator" of earth, as well as "hyperion" of the sky[12], was the patron and model of those famous navigators who spread his altars from coast to coast through the Mediterranean to the extremities of the West, where "Arkaleus" built the city of Gades[13], and where a perpetual fire burned in his shrine[14]. But the genealogy of the Greek hero was connected also with Persia and with Egypt. He was lineally descended from Perseus, whose mortal mother

[4] Ritter, Vorhalle, 375 [sq].
[5] Tacit. Germ. 9.
[6] H. Ichnæus. Ritter, ib. 341. 349.
[7] Micali, Monumenti Inediti, pl. 1, fig. 11, 12. 23; pl. 15 and 19.
[8] H. Candaules, or Sandon, Creuzer, Briefe, p. 104. Müller, Kl. Schriften, ii. 101.
[9] Tacit. Germ. 34.
[10] Müller, Orchom. 60.
[11] Diod. S. iv. 18, end.
[12] Creuzer, S. ii. 85. 614. Munter's Carthager, p. 43.
[13] Etym. M. ad v.
[14] Aristid. in Herc. Cant. i. p. 59. Livy, xxi. 21.

claimed connection with an Egyptian emigrant[15]. Ingenious attempts have been made to show how Perseus, the luminous child of darkness, conceived within a subterranean vault of brass, may be a representation of the Persian Mithras[16], rearing his emblematic lions above the gates of Mycenæ, and bringing the sword of Jemshid to battle against the Gorgons of the West. Mithras is similarly described in the Zendavesta as the "mighty hero, the rapid runner, whose piercing eye embraces all, whose arm bears the club for the destruction of the Daroodg."[17] According to Persian accounts, Perseus was a Persian or Assyrian who settled among the Hellenes[18]; but Greek vanity inverted the order of transmission, making the son of Perseus by Andromeda the Jemshid or Achæmenes of the East. The Lydian Heraclidæ were, according to Herodotus[19], descended from the kings or divinities of Assyria, and the destruction of the usurping dynasty succeeding them was regarded as a divine retribution to avenge their fate. The attributes and adventures of a being resembling Hercules were recognised in regions still further eastward by the companions of Alexander[20], as they had long before been found in countries adjacent to Greece, for instance, in the axe of the Carian Zeus Stratius, which Hercules was represented to have stolen from Hippolyta for Omphale. To the earliest Greek antiquaries the legends of Egypt were more familiar than those of Persia, and it was more honourable to find an Egyptian parentage for men or gods than to have recourse to the barbarian genealogies of Asia. Hercules, therefore, was found to be a son of Ammon; and notwithstanding the fanciful character of his Egyptian symbols[21], to have

[15] Herod. ii. 43. 91; vi. 53, 54.

[16] Creuz. S. i. 253. 286.

[17] Jesht Mithra, in Kleuker, Pt. 2, pp. 221. 232.

[18] Herod. vi. 54; vii. 61. 150.

[19] Herod. i. 7. 13.

[20] Megasthenis Frag. Schwanbeck, i. 34, p. 90.

[21] Hercules-Chronus, an astronomical god represented by lion, bull, and serpent. Damasc. de Princip. Kopp. p. 381. Creuz. S. i. 93. Laur-Lydus, p. 220. Macrob. Sat. i. 20. Movers, die Phenizier, 261, 262.

vanquished Antæus and Busiris, and during the absence of Osiris, his near relative, to have been vicegerent of the realm[22]. He had there, as in other lands, undergone the reverses of the Nature-god, and when fainting in the desert had been resuscitated by eating a quail, or by the timely succour of the symbolic ram[23]. Every year at Thebes the entry of the sun into Aries was dramatically represented on the festival of Ammon[24]. Hercules, it is said, was eager to behold the face of his immortal father, and the figure of Ammon being clothed in the hide of a ram sacrificed for the occasion, the image of Hercules was brought before it. A legend so dramatized may be regarded as the simplest type of the epic Heracleas. But the elements of those compositions were complex, the legends of Thessaly, Thebes, and Argos, being probably more indebted to the adventures of the Scythian god Thor, whose descendants "returned" in right of hereditary succession to Tyrins[25], than to any original connection with Egypt or Phenicia, or even with the effeminate robes and occupations of the Lydian or Assyrian Sandon. The Heraclean story is a great picture to which foreign countries contributed, but whose fundamental outlines belonged to Hellas itself. Commerce and civilization had in unrecorded times followed the path of the sun and moon, symbolically represented by Paris and Helena[26], by Zeus and Europa, with whom may be classed Hercules and Hermes Ὀδιος, the Odin, Ogmius, or Gwodan, of Goths and Teutons[27]. There was a Hercules, whose beneficent footstep first marked on the shores of the Borysthenes[28], was found further on in Thessaly (Ichnæ), in Iapygia, and the island of Sardinia (Ichnusa)[29],

[22] Diod. S. i. 17.

[23] Creuz. S. ii. 91.

[24] Herod. ii. 42.

[25] Dion. Hal. i. 28. Herod. iv. 59. 82. Serv. Æn. vii. 662.

[26] Comp. Iliad, vi. 292.

[27] Uckert. Germ. 238. Ritter, Vorhalle, 375. 378.

[28] Herod. iv. 82, "ἴχνος," like that of Perseus at Chemmis in Egypt (Herod. ii. 91), and many other instances of the foot-print of the returning god in India, Ceylon, &c.

[29] See the migration of Aristæus compared to that of Dædalus. Paus. x. 17. 3.

and eventually immortalized his name by opening a passage over the Alps to Iberia and Celtica[30], along whose course nations reputed barbarous combined to protect the traveller long before the day of Hannibal or the conquests of Rome. He was not so much an Ares, a god of war[31], as a patron of roads, of markets, of landmarks, of travellers[32]; he abolished the savage custom of sacrificing strangers[33], he founded cities[34], and, like Hermes, was author of wealth and increase[35]. This Being was asserted to have been known from the earliest times in Greece[36]. We hear of a Hercules, the oldest of the Idæi Dactyli, who, long before the birth of the Theban hero, brought the infant Zeus and the elements of civilization with the olive tree to Olympia[37], and it is probably to him, as a Cabirus or servant of Demeter[38], or, what amounts to the same thing, to the age which witnessed his worship, that we must ascribe those colossal works in Bœotia and elsewhere which excited the wonder of succeeding times. It was a gross error which would have converted such a being into a deified star-gazer, learning astronomy from Atlas[39]. Yet he who, borne on the chariot of the sun[40], was the object and source of astronomy, was justly addressed[41] as "Father of Time, ever changing and eternal, the all producing and all devouring, who bears evening and morn upon his head, and walks from East to West through twelve

[30] "Ὁδὸς Ἡρακλέους." Aristot. de Mirab. Ausc. 85. 97. Ritter, Vorhalle, 391 sq. 345. 351. Justin. xxiv. 4; and Supr. vol. i. p. 212.

[31] On the union of Ares with Hercules and Hermes, comp. Tacit. Annal. xiii. 57. Weishaupt to Tacit. Germ. 8 and 9, pp. 129. 144. 200. Grimm's Mythol. i. p. 122.

[32] "Mercurius." Cæsar, B. G. vi. 17.

[33] Dion. Hal. i. 38. Diod. S. iv. 19.

[34] Steph. Byz., voc. Νίμαυσος, &c. &c.

[35] Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 13. Creuz. S. ii. 614. Macrob. Sat. p. 428, and the legend of the Ara Maxima.

[36] Comp. Uckert's Germania, p. 238; and supr. vol. i. p. 265, n. 50.

[37] Paus. v. 7. 4.

[38] Paus. ix. 11. 3; ix. 14. 4; 27. 5, 7.

[39] Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 15. 73, p. 360, Pott.

[40] Plutarch, Isis, ch. xli.

[41] Orphic Hymn, 12, or 11.

labours." Nonnus calls him "the star-clad hero[42], lord of fire, director of the world, the sun, far-glancing shepherd of human life, who rides circling through the sky on his glowing ball," &c. He was "nursling of a saffron cradle,"[43] the genius of Nature[44], worshipped at evening and at dawn[45], the eye of Jove, as he is called by Milton,

"Thou sun of this great world both eye and soul,"

who struggles for a time against the difficulties opposed to him by the jealousy of the queen of heaven, but is at length victorious, and after closing his phœnix-like career in the flames of Mount Æta, received into the arms of Hebe, the eternal youth of Nature and of the year[46]. The details of the popular adventures of Hercules may readily be formed into a mythical calendar. Night was the elder born of Nature, and it was therefore necessary that, despite the golden or scarlet circlet which seems to give universal supremacy to the god of day[47], that the bright should be subservient to the dark, that Hercules should serve Eurystheus[48]. Conceived in a triple night, according to a story resembling that of his confinement within the belly of the fish[49], he begins his career with the encounter with the lion, the battle commencing with the solstitial year, though the victory was not said to be complete until the thirtieth day[50].

[42] Αστροχιτων. [43] Pind. Nem. i. 58.

[44] Iambl. vit. Pyth. Kiess. 326. Τον Ἡρακλεα, την δυναμιν της φυσεως. Damasc. de Prin. p. 381.

[45] Creuz. S. i. 102. [46] Schol. Hes. Th. 950.

[47] Comp. Genes. xxv. 26; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 29. Josh. ii. 18. Zerah means "day-break," the rising light. Comp. Gesen. voc. זֶרַח.

[48] *i. e.* Hades, confined like Danäe in a brazen vault. Apollod. ii. 5. Iliad, xix. 113. Comp. Strabo, x. 482, where Polydectes is older than Lycurgus.

[49] He issued forth with the loss of his "hair;" Menelaus dragged Helen by the hair out of Troy; and we may refer to the story of the blind fisherman who recommended the Erythræans to use a rope made of human hair to secure the floating effigy of Hercules. Paus. vii. 5. 3.

[50] Apollod. ii. 4, 5. Probably the old Greek year, like that of Romulus, was of ten months only, corresponding to the ten years of the siege of Troy, in which Achilles at the critical age of nine was summoned to take part. Hercules in Theocritus

The three oxen of the three-headed monster Geryon, the three heads of Cerberus, the three apples of the Hesperides, the tripod stolen from Apollo, &c., allude to the ancient tripartite division of the seasons[51]. The far-famed pillars, the limits of the earthly career of Hercules, correspond to the solstitial points, dividing the year into the two hemispheres of Hermes. The Egyptians expressed at once physical and geographical ideas by placing the images of the sun and moon in boats[52]; and instead of the golden couch on which some supposed Helios to be carried asleep from the land of the Hesperides to Æthiopia, Hercules navigated the circumambient ocean in a golden cup to his rising in the East[53]. In the land of Læstrygonia beyond the western horizon, where night and day met and saluted each other[54], were placed the herds of the sun, and the gardens of the Hesperides adjoined[55] the isle of Erythia, ruddy with the setting ray. There lived the aged Geryon or Cronus[56], the three-bodied giant of the West, guarding as Hades[57] in a darksome lair[58] his herds of oxen, or the years sunk beneath the wave[59]; but Hercules, in character of the vernal sun, and perhaps, too, of Greek heroism warring against the gods of Phœnician superstition, slays the dog Orthros and the gloomy

(Idyll. xxiv. l. 90) is only ten months old when he destroys the two serpents at midnight; his labours too were at first ten only, two more having been afterwards added.

[51] Τριμερης ὁ χρονος. Laur. Lydus, p. 220, Roth. Diod. S. i. 16.

[52] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 34. Porphyr. de Antr. Notæ. p. 99. Macrob. i. 23.

[53] Stesichori, Frag. 3. Comp. Pherecyd. Sturz. 103. Athenæus, xi. 469.

[54] Hom. Ody. κ. 86, μ. 3, 4. Schol. Arat. v. 62. Hes. Theog. 746.

[55] According to Hesiod (Th. 215. 274. 518) they were in the ocean or beyond it, or among the Hyperboreans. Apollod. ii. 5. 11.

[56] Hes. Works, 169.

[57] Apollod. ii. 5. 10. 7. Strabo, vii. 452; or of Moloch-Saturn, the Phœnician ancient of days, whose throne or citadel, famous in the mystical physiology of the East (see particularly the 14th chapter of the book of Enoch), still continued among the Phœnician settlements of the Western Mediterranean. Comp. Daumer, "Molochdienst der Hebraër, p. 9. Movers, "Phœnizier," p. 436[sq].

[58] Theog. 294.

[59] On the connection of Cronus with Chronos, see Movers, ib. p. 262. Böttiger, Ideen, i. 225, note 11, and supr.

herdsman Eurytion[60], and brings back the lost kine to Argos[61]. Under the guidance of Minerva, or divine wisdom presiding over Nature, he is enabled to wield his arms of light against the prince of darkness in his proper person[62], and to achieve the task justly esteemed the most arduous, though really the most familiar, of all[63], the dragging Cerberus, the guardian of the lower world, into the light of day. Yet these labours are but exhibitions of solar power which have ever to be repeated, for both the apples and the dog are carefully restored by Minerva to their original and rightful places.

§ 15.

LIBERATION OF PROMETHEUS BY HERCULES.

Hercules ingeniculus, who bending on one knee uplifts his club, and tramples on the serpent's head[1], was sometimes not unreasonably confounded with Prometheus or Tantalus[2], for all these are only varying aspects of the struggling and declining sun[3]. The true scene of the punishment of Prometheus is the dark or underworld, the abode of night and winter, of the Homeric Titans[4], the Tartarean depth to which Prometheus himself is at last condemned[5]. Tartarus, however, is itself only an imaginative reflection of the real[6]. Acheron and Avernus

[60] *i. q.* Eurystheus (?). Hes. Theog. 294.

[61] In the mythology of the Vedas it is a personification of devotion and prayer. Brihaspiti, who rescues the kine "dropping fertility" from the caverns of Bala. (Roth in the Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft, i. 73. Lassen, Antiq. i. 757. 766.)

[62] Pind. Ol. ix. 43. Hom. Iliad, v. 395. Paus. vi. 33.

[63] Odyss. λ. 623. Paus. ix. 34.

[1] Eratosthenis, Catast. 4. Aratus, v. 70, and Schol. to v. 62. Ideler, Sternnamen, p. 63.

[2] Theon to Arat. 12. Hygin. ii. 6, fin.

[3] "Οὐρανοθὶν καταβαίνων."

[4] "Γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι." Hes. Th. 157; comp. 717. 818. 851. Strabo, xi. 495. Iliad, viii. 478; xiv. 274.

[5] Prom. 1004, Bothe.

[6] Lucret. iii. 992.

were rivers of Campania or Thesprotia[7] before they were transferred to the lower world, as the Tigris, Euphrates, or Nile had long fertilized the plains of Mesopotamia and Egypt before they became part of the Eden of the Hebrews. With the extension of geographical knowledge it became easy to find many localities appropriate for the exile of Cronus, the hiding-place of Hercules or Ulysses[8], the punishment of Typhon or Atlas[9]. The scene was at length removed from Sipylus or Hæmus to the inhospitable mountains or Scythia, where the pinnacle of Caucasus, called the "couch of Boreas,"[10] seemed as it were to overlook the confines of the world, its summit being rarely deserted by the sun[11], anticipating as it were his rising, and illuminated through a portion of the night[12]. The arrival of Hercules to the liberation of Prometheus belongs to the same period in his astronomical career, the season of winter and cold[13], which witnessed his descent to the shades; it was as he drove the oxen of the West towards the gates of morning, and bore the golden apples stolen by the Atlantides or Hesperides[14] once more to make the circuit of the seasons. For the voyage of Hercules, like that of the Argo, brought the West into proximity with the East, so that he sailed from Libya to Perge[15], and left his name on both extremes of the boundary of Oceanus. The Greek colonists of the Euxine interwove into the story of their favourite hero analogous local legends, and increased his accumulated glory[16] by referring every heroic achievement to his name. They conceived, therefore, that as while navigating the circumfluent ocean, and coasting the extremities of the earth, the sun prepares the renewal of time and light for its inhabitants, so the earth-encircling champion at

[7] Comp. Müller, Mythol. 298.
[8] "Αιστος." Odyss. i. 235. [9] Apollod. i. 6. 3.
[10] Ps. Plutarch de Fluv. p. 11, in Hudson. Geogr. Minor.
[11] Aristot. Meteor. i. 13. 18.
[12] Comp. Plin. N. H. vi. 22. Uckert, Skythien, 105.
[13] Herod. iv. 8.
[14] The daughters of evening. Hyg. A. ii. 6. Eratosthenis Catast. 3.
[15] Uckert, Skythien, 331. [16] Hes. Theog. 530.

length arrived among the Hyperboreans[17] and Scythians among whom they lived, and many of whose traditions had a resemblance to their own. They went on to tell how his foot, the measure of the Olympic stadium, imprinted that memorial on the banks of the Borysthenes which to many nations of the East was the same token of divine favour as the pledge of the bow given to the Hebrew patriarch[18]; that there, divested of his lion's skin, he lay down to sleep, and for a time lost the horses of his chariot; and again, that wandering in search of them through those gloomy regions he met the dragon Echidna in her cavern, and passing in her arms the winter night became father of the patriarch of the Scythians[19]. Henceforth that northern region of gloom, called the "place of the death and revival of Adonis,"[20] that Caucasus whose summit was so lofty, that, like the Indian Meru, it seemed to be the goal and commencement of the sun's career[21], became to Greek imaginations the final bourne of all things[22], the abode of winter and desolation, the pinnacle of the arch connecting the upper and lower

[17] The gardens of Atlas and the Hesperides were sometimes placed among the Hyperboreans (Apollod. ii. 5. 11. 2. Pherecyd. Frag. Didot. 33, 33[a]), who were "servants of Apollo," and "Titans." Pherenicus in Schol. Pind. Ol. iii. 28.

[18] Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 232sq. The sign of fertility denoted by the foot of Buddha, or the gigantic sandal of Perseus at Chemmis. Herod. ii. 91; iv. 82; or the sandals of Ægeus hid with the sword beneath a stone. Apollod. iii. 15. 7. Comp. the "χαλκοπους ὁδος" at Colonos, called "ερεισμ' Αθηνων." Wunder, Pref. to Œdip. Colon. p. 24.

[19] Another story told how during his stay in the cavern he slew the giants. (Strabo, xi. 495.) In Diodorus, Zeus takes the part of Hercules as father by Echidna of the Scythian kings. (ii. 43.)

[20] Guigniaut, Rel. ii. 42. The daughters of Israel looked for the return of Adonis from the North (Ezek. viii. 14), and while Cybele in company with the Sun-God was absent among the Hyperboreans, Phrygia abandoned by its protectress suffered the horrors of famine. (Diod. S. iii. 58.) Delos and Delphi awaited the return of Apollo from the Hyperboreans, and from thence Hercules brought the olive to Olympia. (Pind. Ol. Paus. x. 19. 2. Herod. viii. 55.) The north is thus the mythical equivalent of Hades. In the climate of Egypt, the dominion of Typhon was over the dry places of Libya, his agents the heats and simoom of Ethiopia.

[21] Photius, Hœschl. 998.

[22] "Παντων πηγαι και πειρατ." Theog. 738.

world, and consequently the appropriate place for the banishment of Prometheus[23]. The sun's proper home is the place from which he comes and to which he returns. Wherever that may be, whether in the East or West (for between these two the distinction is merely relative and conventional), whether in the Ambracian gulf, in Sicily, or the Eastern Erithya in the district of the Tauric Hypanis[24], there are found the land or city of Helios, his herds guarded by Titanic or giant keepers[25], stalls for the repose of his wearied horses, and pastures where they feed. Scythia became what Thrace had been before, the ideal of the extreme north, the place of the sun's concealment, that dwelling of Boreas to which Cronus, after the Titan war, withdrew, in order to escape the observation of Zeus[26]. There were preserved in the ancient names of Corocandame and Phanagoria[27] traces of an ancient sun worship, and it was there that the memorable passage of the "bull-stealing Titan" over the waters gave its well-known name to the Cimmerian Bosphorus[28]. Heraclitus compared the stars to boats floating in æther with the keels outwards, so that we are enabled to behold the luminous meteors within them; and through the imaginary voyage of the Argo, a fable probably constructed out of a similar idea of stellar navigation, the most distant regions were connected, and it was easy to bring the waters of Cuban (the Antikites or Hypanis-Phasis) to the Colchian home of the children of the sun, Æetes, Perses, Medea, Hecate, Asterie[29], on the banks of that river (the Phasis), which, like the Cyrus[30], was supposed to bear the name of their celestial parent[31]. But the idea which placed a

[23] "Τερμονιος πατηρ." Prom. Bothe, 117; comp. v. 282. 645.

[24] Strabo, 494. Orph. Argon. 1050.

[25] Alcyoneus, Geryiones, &c. Apollod. i. 6. 1. 4.

[26] Ps. Plutarch, de Fluv. et. Mont. p. 11.

[27] From Coros and Phanes. Ritter, Vorhalle, p. 194 sq. 206. Kanda, city, and αγορα, market; one name being a translation of the other.

[28] Orph. Argon. 1060. Porphyr. de Antro. Mithras, Hercules, or Alcyoneus; *i. e.* Helios.

[29] Orph. Argon. 1040. Hes. Th. 377. 409. 956. Diod. S. iv. 45.

[30] Kur, Koros.

[31] Ritter, ib. 203. Plut. de Fluv. 10.

Titan at the portals of the East[32] was probably supported throughout by analogous local legends, such as that of Feridoon and Jemsheed, the ceremonies of mourning which awoke the Bithynian echoes with the name of Hylas, which made Rhodope and the Hebrus bewail Eurydice[33], or betokened the sympathy of the Asiatic tribes for Prometheus[34]. By the flatterers of Alexander the mountains of Khorasan were found to possess a Prometheus of their own bound in a cavern on account of his good will to man[35], and in the true home of Iapetus[36] and of the rock-descended Mithras[37], an autochthonous Hercules, or some great hero from the East, was discovered to have been the deliverer of Prometheus and destroyer of the bird which tortured him[38]. As Mithras heralds the sun's return in spring, Prometheus chained in his cavern betokens the continuance of winter. In him, as in Œdipus, Antigone, or Danaë, the omnific power is sentenced for a time to a prison or tomb[39]; or he may be the wintry giant himself, like Lycurgus, bound in chains of adamant by the sunny Dionysus. Chains and captivity were the usual punishment of those immortal beings who, under the name of Titans, seemed to have disappeared from the sphere of gods. For this chaining there might be several reasons; the first "Dædalean" statues with parted legs were chained, it is said[40], after the rude idea attributed to the Carian barbarians in Athenæus, to prevent their escape; the god of Nature was also "bound," in order to force him to answer the spell of the

[32] Tityos, Tantalus, Orion following Kedalion towards the Sun's rising. Müller on Orion. Kleine Schrift, p. 126. The land of Æetes, Æea, is also called Τιτηνις. Apollon. Rhod. iv. 131.

[33] Virg. Georg. iv. 460.

[34] Comp. Lucian, Prom. iv.

[35] Philostrat. Vit. Ap. ii. 3. Diod. S. xvii. 83. Strabo, xv. 505. (688.)

[36] Lenormant, Histoire Ancienne, p. 289.

[37] "Πετρογενης." Creuz. S. 251. 272. Zoega, Abhandl. 132. Laur. Lyd. iii. 26, p. 124. Strabo, vi. 224.

[38] Arrian, Ind. v. 519, and viii. 523.

[39] "Τυμβηρης θαλαμοις." Soph. Antig. 816; or the "κευθεα γαιης," the "atra ostia Ditis," &c.

[40] Plato, Meno. 97. Paus. iii. 15. 7. "Δαιδαλος διεπλα χειρας, ποδας." Tzetz. Chil. i. 9. Schol. Eurip. Hec. 838. Diod. S. iv. 76.

enchanter, or as an exegetical expedient, to reconcile his immortality with his disappearance[41]. Generally, however, the idea of a suffering or punished deity is merely an attempt to rationalize the essential attributes of his nature; the banishment or imprisonment, the weakening or death of the divinity have an analogous meaning. The alternate position of Hermes in the upper or lower world was repeated in the privilege of his son (Æthalides); and the all-nourishing son of Panthus descends not only twice to Orcus, but at the close of each day and year; winter is a temporary abdication or chaining of Nature, and in ceremonies founded on this notion in Phœnicia, Paphlagonia[42], and Italy, the chains attached to the images of the sun-god were loosened at the return of spring, the anniversary of his emancipation in the heavens, which at the same time unchained the earth, and gave the signal of universal freedom to its inhabitants[43]. Every Nature-god was dualistic or alternate; and it was a necessary consequence that when superseded in his supernal functions by the Olympians, the older deity should be confined to his dark or subtelluric office, as the Baal or Moloch who in the Old Testament usurped the worship, and, as will hereafter appear, invaded even the temple of Jehovah, was limited to Gehenna in the New. It is probable that the Homeric Titans, called "Hypotartarean" and "Cthonian,"[44] were at first thought to inhabit by right the region afterwards made the place of their imprisonment, when heaven or Olympus became exclusively the seat of Zeus[45], and when the lower world came to be regarded with so much aversion that Achilles preferred the "most loathed earthly life" to the throne of Hades[46], a senti-

[41] Compare the chaining of Zohâk at the vernal equinox on Demavend, of the evil spirits "for a season," according to the angelogy of the Hebrews, and the corresponding imprisonment of the stars. Gesenius to Isaiah xxiv. 21, 22. Book of Enoch, ch. x. and xviii. Rev. xx. 3. 7. Job iv. 18.

[42] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. lxix.

[43] The Saturnalia. Macrob. Sat. i. 8. Creuz. S. ii. 615. Comp. Höeck, Kreta, iii. 39. Ephorus in Athenæ, vi. 263.

[44] Comp. Theog. 697.

[45] Hes. Th. 689.

[46] Odyss. xi. 489.

ment shared even by the infernal queen herself[47]. The singular legend in Homer of the binding of Ares by the sons of Alöeus (Poseidon?) in a brazen jar[48] is probably only another form of the same general idea in which Peleus or Œdipus were exposed to the desolation of a mountain, or Lycurgus enclasped within a rock[49]. The brazen jar is the "brazen house" of Hades[50], the same probably as that in which Eurystheus concealed himself in terror at the sight of the Nemean lion or Erymanthean boar[51]; the fair step-dame Heeribœa, another Ino with a milder aspect, the Io of the spring, who warns Hermes to come to release the suffering deity, may be a subdivision of Nature representing its successive aspects in time; while Ares himself is the king of Terrors[52], supposed, according to a commonly recurring idea, to be an unwilling prisoner in the gloomy realm over which he reigns,

"Αργαλέ', ευρώεντα, τα τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ."[53]

The symbols of servitude and captivity are applied with less reserve to heroes than to gods, yet Ulysses is not less a god because concealed ("αιστος")[54] or "bound"[55] in respect of his return; and even Zeus himself, who occasionally deserted Olympus to visit the Æthiopians, is saved from imprisonment only by the same oceanic personification, the consort of Cymopoleia ("the wave tossing"), with the wide encompassing arms[56], who had already assisted him against the Titans, that

[47] H. Ceres, 363.

[48] Iliad, v. 385 sq.

[49] "Πετρωδεϊ καταφράκτος εν δεσμῳ." Soph. Antig. 955.

[50] The "χάλκειον ερκος" of Tartarus. Hes. Th. 725. 811. Hom. Iliad, viii. 15. Comp. Scut. Herc. 254; also Schol. Œd. Colon. v. 56. Soph. Electra. 54; the "brazen vessel" supposed to contain the remains of Orestes.

[51] Apollod. ii. 5. 1. Diod. S. iv. 11.

[52] "Hades;" comp. the epithet "αιδηλος" applied to Ares. Iliad, v. 897. Odyss. viii. 309.

[53] Comp. Iliad, viii. 368; ix. 159. 312. Odyss. xiv. 156. The word στυγέουσι implying superstitious fear as well as hatred. Comp. Il. v. 112; xv. 167.

[54] Odyss. i. 235.

[55] Odyss. iv. 469.

[56] Briareus or Ægeon. Iliad, i. 399. Pherecyd. in Schol. Apollon. i. 831. Fragm. 62. Comp. Serv. Æn. vi. 287. So Thetis rescues Dionysus and Hephæstus, and Poseidon intercedes on another occasion for Ares. Odyss. viii. 344.

is, against undergoing the change which would have made a Titan of himself[57]. When the ground is said to have remained unfruitful until Lycurgus was torn to pieces by wild horses[58], or Peleus, deprived of his sword, to have lain at the mercy of the Hippocentaurs on Pelion[59], it is easy to predict how the restoration of the golden falchion will enable the deity to change his defeat into victory, when the seeming anger of Nature evaporates in a series of transformations, and Ares, changed into the horse form (Arion), produces Hippocrene and Aganippe, the sources of plenteousness and song. The natural analogies which suggested the first hints of immortality[60] took the form of apologue; the Thracian Xamolxis and Spartan Lycurgus disappeared for a time from among their followers, and the "golden luminary" Zoroaster having received from heaven the sacred fire of the word and of life, afterwards descended into hell, and at the end of his prophetic mission retired to meditate on Mount Alborj[61]. Mountains are frequently the scene of the punishment of the Nature-god, either as being the abodes of winter, the hiding places of the sun, or because they were the fancied residences of the divinity, or the actual sites of his worship. The sinews of Jove were cut out on Mount Casius by Typhœus, afterwards himself buried under Hæmus, Ætna, or Caucasus[62]; Tantalus was confined to Sipylus, Lycurgus on Pangæus. Many actual mountains were deemed sacred or Olympian[63], but the real Olympus is the celestial Empyrean[64] whence the sun appears to issue forth as a "giant out of his chamber," and to which in the evening he retires as behind a screen or tabernacle to his repose[65]. The Persian beacon on the mountain top represented the rock-born divinity enshrined in his worthiest temple, and the funeral conflagration of Hercules

[57] Comp. Supr. vol. i. p. 278. 280, 281.
[58] Apollod. iii. 5. 1. 7.
[59] Pind. Nem. iv.
[60] Schol. Soph. Electra, v. 62.
[61] Creuz. S. i. 186.
[62] Apollod. i. 6. 3. Apollon. Rh. ii. 1214.
[63] Schol. Apollon. i. 599.
[64] Humboldt, Cosmos, note 27 to p. 56, p. xiii.
[65] Guigniaut, Rel. i. 146. Psalm xix. 5, 6.

was the sun dying in glory behind the western hills, as by a maritime people he would be made to sink to his repose, not behind his "Delphian rock," but beneath the waves in which he was observed to plunge. The scene of the decline and suffering of the deity was often the same which had been the witness of his living glory; and the pillar to which Prometheus was bound, like the stone of Sisyphus or tree of Peleus or Pentheus, was probably but a familiar emblem[66] of the god converted into the instrument of his humiliation[67]. It was the Hermetic pillar comprising so many symbolical meanings, at once the rude block of infant sculpture and the heavenly axis supported by Atlas, the column of the palace of the Styx[68] or of the house of Dagon, or one of those sun obelisks called pillars of Seth, of Atlas, of Hercules, or of Dionysus, which were placed both in the East and West at the supposed limits of his course[69]. In the contest of the sons of Aphareus with the Amyclæan Tyndaridæ, Idas with a stone pillar belonging to his father's tomb stuns for a time the immortal Pollux, until Zeus interposes to release him; Phocus is killed by the stone hurled by Peleus[70], Ares, and even Hercules, by that of Athene[71]; Theseus descending to the infernal world is there chained to a stone until rescued by Hercules, and is finally hurled from a rock by Lycomedes. It is the stony oppression of winter's abeyance, the stone roofing of the Styx[72], the rock of Niobe which lives and weeps in summer[73], and the sword of Ægeus underneath it is the penetrating warmth softening the torpid ground, the same golden weapon borne by Perseus and by Jemsheed, of which Peleus during his desolation was

[66] The tree.

[67] Pillar gods, as Vishnou, Hermes, Dionysus περικιονιος, Jupiter Meilichius. Paus. ii. 9, &c.

[68] Hes. Theog. 746. 780.

[69] Tacit. Germ. 34. Herod. iv. 8. Dion. Perieg. 64. 643. 1164. Scylax, Caryan. 51.

[70] Paus. ii. 29.

[71] Iliad, xx. 69; xxi. 403. Paus. ix. 11. 1.

[72] Hes. Th. 778.

[73] Paus. viii. 2. Argus is killed by Hermes with a stone, and the stones animated by Orpheus and Amphion denote the advent of life as well as of civilization. Comp. Paus. ix. 17. Schol. Pind. Ol. ix. 68.

deprived, and which the legislator of Athens, the conqueror of the equinoctial Minotaur, is in his turn to recover and to wield. Hercules himself suffers the vicissitudes of nature; his servitude to Omphale in the effeminate Lydian robe, or his sleeping in the arms of Echidna, are mysteries akin to that of Helena-Erianys[74] or of the change in the sex of Tiresias; he was led chained to the altar by Busiris[75], and when stooping to bear the burden of Atlas, narrowly escaped becoming himself the suffering Titan, the Prometheus of the West. But the solar hero of Greece is the liberator rather than the victim or slave, and even during his temporary eclipse is engaged in destroying the dragon powers of darkness[76] and adversaries of prosperity. The distinguishing attributes of beneficent deity, those of "liberator" and "saviour,"[77] belong pre-eminently to Hercules. The symbols of physical change and renovation were of course infinitely varied. Sometimes the gods abdicate their thrones, and relinquish them to an hereditary successor. The bright Charops succeeds Lycurgus on the throne of Thrace, and as Cronus "the ancient of days"[78] had been banished by Zeus, it was darkly intimated that the authority even of Zeus was transitory, and that he might one day have to bow before a son mightier than himself. Sometimes, as each year is the destruction of its predecessor, the heroes of light destroy or emasculate each other. Antilochus, the "swift runner," the "never resting,"[79] is killed by Memnon; Memnon, the son of morning, by Achilles; Achilles, by Apollo; Neoptolemus, by Apollo's priest[80]; and Emathion Memnon's brother, by Hercules. In the same sense

[74] Paus. i. 33. 7.

[75] *i. e.*, Hades, or "grave of Osiris." Diod. S. i. 88. Plut. Isis, 21. Müller's Anct. Art. 636. Laur. Lydus. R. 220.

[76] Orthos, Eurytion, &c. Theog. 294.

[77] Guigniaut, R. ii. 175. Wieske. Prom. 297. Philostrat. V. A. 8, 9, at the end, p. 342.

[78] "Μακρόβιων." Guigniaut, R. ii. 229. Cic. N. D. ii. 20. 25. Virg. Æn. vii. 49. L. Lydus. Roth. p. 72. Dan. vii. 9.

[79] Odyss. iii. 112; xxiv. 16. Paus. iii. 19. Philostr. Heroic. 4.

[80] Paus. x. 24. So in the Zendavesta, the angel of light, Ardibehescht, is invoked to destroy the Daroodg of winter. Zend. Pt. 2, p. 146.

many of the Greek heroes are parricides, or destroyers of their children, for life and death, summer and winter, are reciprocally parent and child, the destroyer and the destroyed. Zeus, whose sinews are sometimes the prey of the bear[81], is under another aspect nursed by it[82]. The course of time is as the burning of a brand, a protracted war, the voyage of an ark or ship, the transfer of a necklace, the stealing of bulls, of dogs, or of apples. Nature is an oscillation between two contending powers[83], divided between Aloidæ or Dioscuri; beautiful women arise from water or out of fish, and men are turned into stones; life and death follow and supplant each other; Bellerophon becomes an object of hatred like Hades, and a continuing curse attends the house of Laius and the Atridæ. But though the transitory manifestation suffers or dies, the abiding and eternal power liberates and saves. It was an essential attribute of a Titan, the omission of which in mythological accounts produces an evident incongruity[84], that he should arise again after his fall, for the revival of nature is as certain as its decline, and its alternations are subject to the appointment of a power which controls them both. It was through this inevitable revolution that the fortunes of Prometheus were destined to a redeeming change[85]; he was to come back from Tartarus to the light of day[86]; nature cannot be permanently confined by a net or chest, a subterranean prison or vault of brass; she conquers imprisonment and death, and the symbol of her victory is Hercules, the offspring of divine beneficence, the undying energy which lives within herself. The release of Prometheus was to be dependent on the disclosure of a secret, on the expiration of a term of years, and on the voluntary self-sacrifice of a god. The secret was the mystery of Nature's change, on which depends the government of the universe, the same which elevated

[81] Apollod. i. 6. 3.

[82] Servius, ad Virg. Georg. i. 246.

[83] "Αμειβομενοι μιγαν οὐδον." Hes. Th. 749.

[84] Comp. Apollod. i. 1, 2; 5, ch. ii. s. 1.

[85] Hes. Th. 157. 626. 652. 658. Æschyl. Prom. Blomf. 1057.

[86] "Αψορρον ἡξεις εις φαος." Comp. the case of Agamemnon. Soph. Electra, 419.

the vanquisher of the Sphynx to succession of the Theban throne; and it was a beautiful invention of the artist which brought forward Io, the wandering moon-goddess, an ancestor of the great deliverer, to cheer the suffering deity by a prospect of a termination of his woes at the expiration of a lunar cycle[87]. Orpheus conquered death by melody; Hercules, after the fashion of the heroic age, by force[88]; but there were many ancient traditions in which the idea of physical succession was blended with the theological dogma of sacrificial satisfaction. For death is the universal condition of life, and the two Dioscuri could enjoy only an alternate immortality. "Hercules," says Apollodorus[89], "killed the eagle and released Prometheus on condition of his assuming the willow wreath or olive crown[90], and gave to Zeus Chiron, an immortal, but willing to resign his immortality in favour of Prometheus." Chiron therefore sinks as Prometheus rises; he becomes a voluntary sacrifice when wounded in the foot by the same power who liberates his antithesis[91]. To this substitution Æschylus is supposed to allude in the remarkable lines:—

> "Of these your sufferings expect no end
> Until some god succeeding to the burthen
> Shall come to your relief, and for you be willing
> To descend to gloomy Hades and the murky deep of Tartarus."[92]

Chiron was a Nature-god, a son of Cronus[93], and brother of Zeus[94]; he was in fact another beneficent Prometheus, healer

[87] Thirteen years of twelve lunar months each make twelve solar years. Æschyl. Prom. Bothe, 752. Comp. Schol. to Pind. Ol. i. 127. Threni, Fr. 6.

[88] As in Cacus compared to Hades by Virgil (Æn. viii. 243), or in the house of Admetus (Eurip. Alcestis, 65. 224. 367. 1140), as well as in his attack on Cerberus, and many other repetitions of the same story.

[89] ii. 5. 11, 12.

[90] This alludes to a mystic ceremony in which the initiated were invested with certain emblems denoting purification or reconciliation. Comp. Welcker, Trilogie, p. 49 sq. Eurip. Ion, 1432. Æschyl. Persæ, 585, Bothe. Athenæus, xv. 672. 674. The ring was a badge of similar meaning. Creuz. S. ii. 131. 141. 213. Lobeck, Aglaoph. 972. Catull. lxiv. 295.

[91] Comp. the wounds of Diomed, Philoctetes, Acrisius, &c. Iliad, xi. 377. Apollod. ii. 4. 4.

[92] Prom. 1001.

[93] Pind. Pyth. iii. 5.

[94] Xenophon, Cyneg. ch. i. s. 5. Tzetzes to Lycophr. 1200.

and founder of religion and art[95], teacher of poetry and music; he was foster father and teacher of many a divine being, of Jason, of Achilles, of Æsculapius. But the healer of others could not heal himself. Unlike the intrepid Prometheus, he wished to die, or sought death as the only means of recovery from his wound; he was in fact the presumed inventor of expiatory sacrifices[96]. Under the figure of the horse, the child or creation of Poseidon, the well-known emblem of the waters, he is the autumnal centaur Sagittarius, the rainy season born of the fiery embrace of Ixion (son of Phlegyas) with a cloud, and wounded in the heel upon the Zodiacal path[97]. He is identical with his parent, the horse form assumed in Arcadia by Poseidon, when pursuing at the close of the year the reluctant Demeter (Medusa) he became father of renewed vegetation (Persephone), or of the mysterious courser rode by Hercules and Adrastus, the repetition of himself[98]. The horse was a common sacrifice to the sun. Tyndareus sacrificed a horse to ratify the compact entered into by confederate Greece preparatory to the war of Troy[99]. The Indians, the Massagetæ, the Persians, the Scythians, practised the same rite[100], from the horse of the Acwa-medha immolated on the sacred grass by the Hindoo, whose members were the body and whose breath the soul of the universe, extending to the "October horse" who in the Campus Martius was the antithesis of the vernal bull[101], and

[95] Clem. Alex. Str. i. 5. Suidas, ad. v.

[96] "Θυσιαι ἱλαςηαι." Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 15, p. 73.

[97] Comp. Genes. xlix. 17. Arat. Phœn. 306.

[98] It should be recollected (see above, vol. i. p. 213. 281) that the old Pelasgian Poseidon (Erechtheus-Theseus), the patron of the Nelidæ of Jolcos, of Trœzene, &c., was not a mere sea-god, but the general power of prolific nature (φυταλμιος, γενεθλιος), often united with Demeter, co-equal with Hades and Zeus (Iliad, xv. 187), yet again dualistically opposed to Athene, Hera, or Helios.

[99] Paus. iii. 20. 9.

[100] Ovid, Fast. i. 385. Herod. i. 216, end. Xenophon. Cyrop. viii. 3. 12. 24; comp. viii. 7. 3. Anab. iv. 5. 35. Herod. iv. 61. 72. Philostrat. Vit. Apol. i. 31, p. 39. Compare the story of Hippolytus.

[101] Plut. Qu. Rom. ch. xcvii. Festus. p. 302. Smith's Antiq. p. 699.

whose blood was used in the ceremony of the Palilia, or nativity of Rome, that is, the commemoration of the renewal of the universe of which the city was an emblem[102]. The Greeks, as well as the Teutonic and Slavonian tribes, sacrificed horses to the genii of their streams and mountains[103]. Twice through the instrumentality of the horse was the cosmical city of the Elements[104] given up to destruction and pillage[105]; as in Persian legend, a new empire, a spiritual and a temporal, was established by the same symbolical sanction in the instances of Gushtasp and Darius[106]. Chiron, as Nature-god, is the universe verging to its decline, and hence first institutor and type of expiatory sacrifice, the autumnal sacrifice, that is, which prepares the year's renewal, when the sun plunges to the point of his deepest depression, or commences an upward progress in Capricorn. He is then supposed to have been wounded by the solar arrow[107], and relinquishes a painful existence in favour of a kindred spirit, Prometheus, the water in lieu of the fire, which Zeus then consents to set free[108]. Chiron admitted to the society of the gods endeavours to relieve Achilles from his grief, while Prometheus, and after him the children of men, adopt the willow or olive crown in memory of their chains and their emancipation[109]; the crown, which symbolically used in the mysteries, and worn either by priest or victim, the living or the dead[110],

[102] Plutarch, Romulus, ch. xi. Lassen, Ind. Antiq. i. 793.

[103] Iliad, xxi. 132. Paus. iii. 20. 4; viii. 7. 2.

[104] Troy, built by Neptune and Apollo, or fire and water. Iliad, xxi. 444. To whom Pindar adds a third architect, Æacus, or Earth.

[105] Once when the immortal horses, the ransom of Ganymede, were refused by Laomedon to the Sun-God; and again, when from the entrails of the fatal horse issued the destroying heroes of Greece. Hellanici, Frag. 137, p. 161. Tzetzes, Lycophr. 33.

[106] Herod. iii. 85. See the inscription lately deciphered by Lassen in the Zeitschrift fur Künde des Morgenlandes, vi. p. 22.

[107] Eratosthen. Catast. 40. Apollod. ii. 5. 4. 5.

[108] Diod. iv. 15, p. 155.

[109] Apollod. ii. 5. 11. 13. Athenæ, xv. 13, p. 672; xvi. p. 674.

[110] Creuz. S. iv. 115. Aristoph. Eccles. 538.

was an emblem of victory and immortality, of devotion and devotional consecration[111].

So far the drama is a physical one; but Nature schools not only the eyes but the sentiments, and Hercules and Prometheus are not mere physical powers but intellectual and moral symbols of humanity. The punishment of the Titan was supposed to have occurred at the close of the golden age, "when want and disease in dread array invaded earth, and destiny hastened the lingering steps of death."[112] Man, actual or "fallen," is bound by many fetters, of which he must not only feel the smart but understand the mechanism before he can be emancipated. The chains of Prometheus attach not only to the criminal, the vassal, or the slave, they are in the cabinet as in the workshop, in the study of Faust as in Auerbach's cellar.

Οὐκ ἐστι θνητων ὁστις ἐστ' ἐλευθερος,
Ἡ χρηματων γαρ δουλος ἐστιν ἡ τυχης[113].

The infant is bound

> "Ere it has life; yea, all its chains are forged
> Long ere its being."[114]

Gold, love, ambition, ignorance as well as knowledge, rivet fetters as securely as imprisonment or servitude; society has its thousand ties whether of affection, profession, or opinion; by want we are bound to labour, by knowledge to duty; in short, every element of experience may be called a new chain, binding man either to endurance or action. Many characters are blended in Prometheus; he is not only the suffering god and the struggling enterprise of man, but the mediatorial being who raises man out of his first helpless condition, ministering to those material wants the feeling and acknowledgment of which constituted his earliest impression of "a Fall." The mediation

[111] Tertull. de Cor. 10. Pliny, xvi. 4; xviii. 2. Clem. Alex. Pæd. ii. 8. 70, p. 213, Pott.
[112] Hor. Ode, i. 3. 30. Virg. Ecl. vi. 41. Hes. Theog. 535.
[113] Eur. Hec. 853. [114] Shelley.

specifically attributable to Hercules is of a higher kind. Prometheus, as first inventor of social institutions, is an imperfect type of Hercules; and though by the poet he is said to have rendered men self conscious and intelligent,

"Εννους και φρενων επηβολους,"

the dawn of knowledge was accompanied with doubt, apprehension, and estrangement. In other words, the æra of Prometheus was properly that of the "Fall," when the divine government seemed harsh and arbitrary[115], and the claims of labour and duty the tyrannical imposition of a taskmaster. His liberation, philosophically interpreted, marks a higher æra of development, when the first superficial impressions are removed, and the divine character is better understood. The Deity is then no longer at variance with a being instrumental in raising the condition of mankind; and though the acropolis of Zeus is still intellectually inaccessible[116], the advent of Hercules announces a hope of final success in a higher moral and mental maturity. He pursued the active course of beneficence which Prometheus began; he was the perfect representative of his divine father, performing on earth what Zeus wills in heaven[117]. He cleansed the Augean stable of the accumulated contamination of time, or of the herds of Helios; he was the scourge of wrong doers, purger of injustice and crime[118], averter of evil[119]. Even his deeds of violence were to purify and save[120]; he battled like Perseus with the effeminate superstitions of Asia[121], and against the gigantic power of physical and moral evil represented

[115] Æschyl. Prom. 150. 186.

[116] "Ες την του Διος οικησιν ουκετι ενεχωρει εισελθειν." Plato, Protag. 331 c.

[117] Hes. Theog. 529. "Συνεργος τῳ πατρι." Aristid. Orat. i. p. 57, Cant.; comp. Æschyl. Suppl. 589.

[118] "Καθαρτης ανομιας και αδικιας." Arrian, Indic. 8. Dissert. Epictet. i. 6; ii. 16; iii. 24. Guigniaut, R. ii. 162. Institutor of the Saturnalia, Bottiger, Ideen, i. 223.

[119] "Αλεξικακος." Pind. Nem. vii. 87. Aristoph. Nubes, 1354, Schol. Hellanicus. Sturz. 163. Welcker, Trilogie, 45.

[120] Olympiodor. in Plat. Alcib. p. 157.

[121] Guigniaut, R. ii. 55. 163.

by Antæus. He was indeed the sun, but he is also that sun of virtue which supplies a divine model for man's imitation, and which alone can create in him a resemblance to the Deity[122]. Prometheus, as well as Hercules, assisted the gods in their wars against the Titans or giants[123], the insubordination of wild nature which he contributed to make subservient to human wants; the career of Hercules implied more than this, for it exhibited man rising by the resources of fortitude and virtue to the dignity of a god[124], indicating by the very expression of the idea that the highest aspirations of his nature were prospectively satisfied, and his mind reconciled with heaven and with itself. Man is no longer bound by the god of Nature to the pillar of necessity, to a wearying round of hopeless privation and unrequited toil, for the burden which at first appeared intolerable becomes by perseverance unexpectedly light and easy[125]. God did not spare his own son, or exempt him from the calamities incidental to humanity[126]. The Theban progeny of Jove had his share of pain and trial[127]. It was by vanquishing earthly difficulties that he proved his affinity with heaven. His life, through the agency of Até, was a continued struggle, but the mischief-making power was now for ever expelled from the communion of the gods[128]. Hercules fainted before Typhon in the desert[129], and in the commencement of the autumnal season, "Cum longæ redit hora noctis," descended under the guidance of Minerva[130] to Hades; he died[131], but first applied for initiation to Eumolpus, in order to foreshow that state of

[122] "Hercules est ea solis potestas quæ humano generi virtutem ad similitudinem præstat Deorum." Macrob. Sat. i. 20, p. 320, Zeun. Comp. Max. Tyr. Diss. vi. 1, 2.

[123] Pind. Nem. i. 100. Æschyl. Prom. 227.

[124] Archilochi, Frag. 1. Stobæ. Floril. p. 615.

[125] Hes. Works, 292.

[126] Maxim. Tyrius, Dissert. xxxviii. 20.

[127] Hom. Il. xi. 620. Yet it has been sometimes said that the salutary influences of sorrow and suffering were first revealed in Christianity.

[128] Iliad, ix. 511; xix. 91. 126.

[129] Eudoxus ap Athenæ, ix. 449. Creuz. S. ii. 99.

[130] Iliad, viii. 366.

[131] Iliad, xviii. 117.

religious preparation which should precede the momentous change. Yet his descent was not like that of Æsculapius, an infliction or penalty, but a beneficent expedient exhibiting the energy of divine goodness potent even in the grave. He there rescued Theseus, and removed the stone of Ascalaphus; he reanimated the bloodless spirits[132], and dragged into the light of day Cerberus, the monster justly reputed invincible[133], because an emblem of Time itself; he burst the chains of the grave (for Busiris is the grave personified)[134], and triumphant at the close as in the dawn of his career[135] was received after his labours into the repose of the heavenly mansions[136], living for ever with Zeus in the arms of eternal Youth[137]. For though in a probably corrupt passage of the Odyssee[138], his phantom, like those of deceased men, is said to be found in Hades, yet unlike other heroes he lingers neither in the lunar sphere nor in the western ocean, still less is he a victim of the grave, or left to be torn by vultures on the field of battle; but himself, the "αυτος," is preferred to Olympus by the side of his immortal father, when he unites the hero with the god[139], continuing the friend and intercessor of man[140], and by his illustrious example encouraging him to fulfil the noblest purposes of his existence[141].

[132] Apollod. ii. 5. 12. 7.

[133] Soph. Œd. Colon. 1568.

[134] Diod. S. i. 88. Creuz. S. ii. 92. 94. Pherecyd. Sturz. 132.

[135] Pind. Nem. i. 35.

[136] Hes. Theog. 955. Hom. Odyss. xi. 601. Την του Διος οικησιν. Plato, Protag. 321 c.

[137] Pind. Nem. i. 62. 110. Hor. Od. iv. 8. 30. Diod. S. iv. 38, 39.

[138] xi. 602, and Nitsch's Note.

[139] A union first recognised in Attica (Diod. S. iv. 39. Paus. i. 32; ii. 10. Herod. ii. 44), but which probably existed in the Caucasian Hercules of the Scythians, among whom the Prometheus who was bound, the Hercules who released him, and the Zeus who authorized the release, appear as one being. Comp. Schol. Apollon. Rh. ii. 1253. Diod. S. ii. 43. Supr. vol. i. p. 212.

[140] Pind. Nem. vii. 140. Philostr. Vit. A. 8, 9, p. 341.

[141] Pind. Nem. ix. 44.

§ 16.

GREEK DÆMONOLOGY.

Greek anthropomorphism, itself a qualified or incipient euhemerism, was insufficient to satisfy or repress those natural feelings of awe in regard to the unseen, which, according to the mode of their exhibition, are either religion or superstition. In order to express these deeper apprehensions, whether of divinity in general, or of its diversified agencies and manifestations, it became necessary to imagine, or, more properly speaking, to revert to a class of beings behind that array of personifications which the common mythology had rendered too sensuous and familiar. The word "hero," in poetical terminology, was properly "a distinguished personage among men,"[1] etymologically akin to Herus, Hera, and the German Herr[2], and connected with the supernatural or divine[3] only indirectly through the personifying system which contemplated the gods, and inclusively all derivative beings under a humanised form. But the word was afterwards differently used, and popularly or even systematically confounded with the more mysterious conception conveyed by the word "dæmon." The Δαιμονιον and Θειον, the former term perhaps still more than the latter[4], implied the general notion of the supernatural or divine without distinction of rank or person[5]. It conveyed that vague feeling of the spiritual within, above, and beyond humanity which exists everywhere[6]; and though we

[1] "Οἱ ἡγεμονες των αρχαιων," in contrast with the "numerus," or common people. Aristot. Problem. xix. 48. 2. Ethics, vii. 1. Xenoph. de Rep. Laced. 15, end.

[2] Zeus was called "Errus." Hesych. Albert. i. 1445; and Juno, Hera.

[3] Ἡμιθεων γενος ανδρων. Iliad, xii. 23. Comp. Plato, Apol. 28ᶜ. Here the term "ἡμιθεοι," if not an interpolation, must be understood as a mere laudatory appellative.

[4] Nitzsch to Odyss. i. p. 89.

[5] Hom. Odyss. xi. 134. Karsten's Xenophanes, p. 114.

[6] For instance, in the spirit-powers of the air or ειδωλα, which from the Magi down to Lady Hester Stanhope have always been favourite subjects of Eastern fancy. Creuz. S. iii. 757. Ephes. ii. 2.

have only the loose testimony of later writers as to the exact form which it may have conventionally assumed among the early Greeks, Hesiod probably speaks in accordance both with theology and with popular belief when he alludes to a generically distinct class of dæmons, identical with the spirits of the men of the golden age, and appointed by Zeus to perform those offices of moral censorship and superintendence over human affairs which in Homer are assigned to the Olympian gods themselves[7]. The genius of Homer shuns the indefinite and mystical, and his dæmons are generally synonymous with his gods[8]; he implies rather than expresses the wide world of spirituality by a class of anomalous personifications such as Ατη, Φοβος, Κραταιις[9], Θανατος, Ὕπνος, &c., superadded to the ambiguous immortality of the Olympians, who sometimes suffer the dint of mortal weapons, yet make themselves or others invisible at pleasure. The mythology of Homer is not a complete and finished system, but one still growing and forming; though he has no open dæmonology, we yet discern an illimitable background of Pantheism which is ever contributing accessions to the lists of his polytheism. The two systems, though essentially distinct in nature, the one being the most part traditionary and prescribed, the other an immediate revelation to the poet, coexist even in the epic, and specific powers or attributes which seemed to have no commensurate or precise expression in the recognised personifications most nearly allied to them, assume a place beside them as separate agents; for instance, Deimos and Phobos as ministers of Mars, Moira and Aisa of Zeus[10]. We may also observe traces or germs of a dæmonology in the "Ειδωλα" in Hades or in dreams, and in the supposed influence of the unburied dead over the living[11]. If, then, the extreme model of the externalizing and æsthetic vein indirectly assumes, though without acknowledging, the existence

[7] Works, 122. 231. 252. Odyss. xvii. 485.
[8] Eustathius to Iliad, i. 122. Staveren to Fulgentius, p. 712.
[9] Odyss. xi. 595.
[10] Comp. Eurip. Alcest. 978.
[11] Iliad, xxiii. 75; comp. Völcker, Japetus, pp. 265, 266.

of pantheistic dæmons, whom he draughts from time to time into the number of his gods, it seems unnecessary to suppose with Völcker[12] that the dæmons of Hesiod were an interpolation of the Orphici or Pythagoreans, or with others[13], that they were an importation from the East, for Hesiod himself, as well as Homer, passed for a son or disciple of Orpheus, and in the former the epic form is little more than a clothing of the Orphic spirit. The universal apprehension of invisible existence, which, whether summed up in a simple being or dispersed among many, necessarily forms part of every religion, and which in the Theogony and the true epic produced a multitudinous race of children or relatives of Zeus and other gods, assumes for the first time a double expression in the Hesiodic "Works;"[14] on one hand the epic race of heroes, who but a few generations before had been made or engendered by Zeus son of Cronus, and who having performed their part before Thebes or Troy were now dismissed from further interference with living men[15]; on the other, a race of dæmons, the still existing and superintending spirits of the men of the Orphic golden age, connected indeed with the epic religion as "*αθανατοι Ζηνος*," yet approaching the distinctness of classification sometimes said to have been first introduced by Thales[16], righting the weak against the oppressions of the powerful, and performing the same offices of ghostly supervision which Homer ascribes to the gods[17]. The

[12] Japetus, p. 267[n].

[13] As Göttling to Hesiod, Works, 122; conf. 253. Lennep to ditto, v. 123.

[14] *Ἑλλήνων δε—Ὁμηρὸς μεν φαινεται κοινως αμφοτεροις χρωμενος τοις ονομασι, και τους θεους ισστιν ὁτε δαιμονας προσαγορευων.—Ἡσιοδος δε καθαρως και διωρισμενως πρωτος εξεθηκε των λογικων τεσσαρα γενη, θεους, εἰτα δαιμονας πολλους κ'αγαθους, εἰτα ἡρωας, εἰτα ανθρωπους, των ἡμιθεων εις ἡρωας αποκριθεντων.* Plut. de Defect. Or. ch. x. p. 415.

[15] V. 158.

[16] Athenag. Legat. p. 28. Plut. de Placit. i. 8.

[17] The sombre spirit of the "Works and Days," and its appeal to invisible protectors against the oppressions of lordly rule, may indicate the feeling of the ancient labourers of the soil under the usurped authority of feudal chiefs, a feeling which reverted with regret to the golden age of wealth and security they formerly enjoyed under favour of the divine "givers of good" ("*πλουτοδοται*," v. 126) and of the

philosophy of Greece was partly a commentary on its poetry (*i.e.*, its Orphic materials), partly a reaction against its æsthetical effects; but the philosophic dæmonology was said to have been more immediately inherited by Pythagoras, Xenocrates, and Chrysippus, from that earlier theology whose symbolism had always adhered to the forms and language of pantheism[18]; and its general psychological origin may be inferred from the use of the word "δαιμονες," in explanation of the animated universe of the earliest philosophy. When, for instance, Thales is reported to have said that the world is "full of dæmons," his probable meaning, as interpreted by Aristotle and Cicero[19], is to express a belief in an all-pervading life or "Ψυχη;" the same pantheistic feeling was at the root of the dæmonology of the early theologers, whether Thracian, Egyptian, or Pythagorean, and was propagated downwards through the philosophy of Greece from Empedocles and Heraclitus to Plato. The Θειον or Δαιμονιον is, properly speaking, the essence or soul of the universe; the source of movement in wind or stream, in plant or animal; the life of the one, the instinct or will of the other; under one aspect the aggregate deity of pantheism, or, under another, the infinite diversity of being which constitutes the population of the unseen world, and which the fancy may individualize either as gods or goblins. Dæmonology and polytheism were dissimilar yet concurrent developments of pantheism; the same feeling of the universal dispersed through the particular, and as susceptible of indefinite multiplication as the diversities of forms, the subdivisions of time, or the aspects of thought, gave rise to the three hundred millions of Brahminical gods, the antetypical world of the

sacerdotal kings now dead and beatified (hence "βασιλησιον") who then governed them, and who, like the gods they served, exercised the kingly privilege of doing good.

[18] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. xxv. De Defect. Orac. p. 699. Wytt. ch. 10. 12, 13. 15. Eustathius ad Iliad, A. pp. 17. 167. 36, attributes the fourfold division, the Θειον φυλον, consisting of Θεοι and Δαιμονες, and mortals, of heroes and men, to the "παλαια σοφια." Aristot. Probl. xix. 49.

[19] Arist. de Anim. i. 8. Cic. de Leg. ii. 11. N. D. i. 10.

magi, the humanized pantheon of Homer, and the thirty thousand "watchers" or "guardians" of Hesiod[20]. The theory of intermediate beings becomes a necessary part of an advance in speculative religion; the idea of spiritual natures, whether supreme or subordinate, is effected by a decomposition and mental re-construction of the visible; and the same process, which by a coarse and decided personification produced the gods and heroes of Greece, by a partial or equivocal re-organization of the abstract generated its dæmons. The dæmon might be a manifestation of the world within or the world without; there were local and family dæmons, the spirits of deceased men, particularly the "Ψυχαι," as opposed to the more substantial "αυτοι" of historical heroes; there were personified divisions of time and space, as the horæ, or the equivocal "to-morrow,"[21] the "city" or "senate" of Rome, the elements, and the nymphs and satyrs of fountain and forest The same sort of modified deification was applied to the abstract speculations of the human mind; men were not content to treat conceptions as mere entities, but raised them to the rank of deities; and if they were content to idolize in their standard gods the creations of the fancy of another, Empedocles or Plato might fairly venture to realize a transcendental or ideal world of supernatural abstractions on their own account, who were either to be parts of the Supreme Being, or as dæmons subordinate ministers of his will[22]. Every arrangement of human economy or science would reflect its array of ghostly personifications; astronomy, for instance, is said to have supplied 365 celestial ministers to Orpheus[23], as it suggested the Apsaras and Ghandarvs of Indra, the twelve zodiacal Adityas of the Brahmins, and the 365 myriads of angels to the Jewish rabbis. Socrates, who preferred to search the "God within the mind" rather than those problems

[20] Works, 250. Comp. Daniel, ch. iv. 23.

[21] "Δαιμονα του αυριον." Callim. Epigr. 15.

[22] Thus Empedocles deifies Nature, Death, Sleep, Love, Strife, &c. Karsten, p. 506.

[23] Lactant. de Fals. Relig. 7. Guigniaut, i. 836.

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of the external world which had hitherto proved fruitless, spoke of an internal monitor or "dæmon" which he supposed to have attended him from childhood, and whose suggestions he had always found it advantageous to obey. The rapidity and subtlety of thought are often so unaccountable, that it can be no surprise to find a man of enthusiastic temperament intent on self-study ascribe the internal evolutions of the faculties to divine promptings in conformity with cotemporaneous belief in dreams, oracles, and other direct influences supposed to be exerted by the Deity over the human mind[24]. The intimations of the "dæmon" of Socrates were always, it is said, of a negative character[25], acting invariably by way of restraint, never, or very rarely, by way of impulse or instigation; perhaps because the negative theory of a "preventing grace" appears a kind of concession to the reason, a more moderate and probable form of the doctrine of inspiration than the general hypothesis; or perhaps because the restraints and cautions of conscience and foresight are really more likely to be correct and safe than the active impulses, particularly the incitements of the passions. The Socratic "dæmon," it is said, was not prudence or conscience, for its possessor never referred to it on subjects clearly penetrable by human means, or questions of moral right and wrong; like Apollonius[26] he ridiculed those who expected to obtain by divine interference victory in the games and success in amorous or lucrative pursuits[27]. Nor, though philosophy was admitted to be a divine gift, did he ascribe its inferences to the promptings of that particular form of inspiration which he called his dæmon. He believed himself to be divinely commissioned to instruct mankind[28]; and while admitting the absurdity of attributing common things to divine interference, he claimed it for more important things and higher gifts, especially the

[24] Xenoph. Mem. i. 1. 9 and 19. Wiggers' Life, p. 26.
[25] Plato, Theages. 128d. Apology, ch. xix. Xen. Mem. i. 1. 4.
[26] Philostrat. Vita. vii. 16.
[27] Comp. Memor. i. 1. 9.
[28] Plato, Apol. ch. xvii. pp. 30, 31. 33.

crowning one of intelligence and virtue. The homeliness as well as the exaggeration of language attributed to Socrates had a common source in the perception of divinity in the commonest things. In him, as in other reflecting minds, a clear intellect contended with what we should now call a tinge of superstition; and though internally conscious of independence and freedom, he yet, from temperament and habit, clung to the dogma of inspired wisdom, the lofty notion of original genius inherited from antiquity[29]. Of this tendency the notion of the dæmon was part. Socrates believed in external oracles and in internal inspiration; from the latter source he obtained intellectual and moral truths, from the former an insight into future events. The dæmon was a kind of intermediate revelation, belonging psychologically to the latter class, in form and subject to the former, constituting in short a domestic or personal oracle. It was a warning voice, not in regard to general truths, but to specific events; it was a term derived from common phraseology suited to his own characteristic tendencies, in order to designate the mysterious intimations, which though really resulting from superior sagacity appear to an enthusiastic imagination to transcend any possible discovery of unaided reflection; it was that ready presentiment as to the expediency or inexpediency of certain acts, that penetrating tact, which however naturally gained by a correct and persevering observer, seems at last to act involuntarily or instinctively. In order to express its lofty but vague conceptions, philosophy was often compelled to make free use of supernatural imagery; in so doing it exemplified the danger of "pouring new wine into old bottles," and the ideas of poetry revived in philosophical language seemed to renew the transcendentalism of the East. Socrates called the internal monitor a "divine voice" or "sign," without attempting any more distinct description of its nature. It was otherwise with his successors. The mysterious influence exerted over the mind by the external which Socrates did not venture to define, was more familiarly treated by men who could not see that by personifying a part of

[29] Pind. Ol. ii. 155; ix. 42. Cic. de Div. i. 3.

themselves they but repeated what had been already done by the rudest superstition. The notion of the "το δαιμονιον," like that of the deity of which it is but another form, lost its dignity in proportion to the effort made to explain it, and the nobleness of the mystery evaporated in the process which transformed it into an array of intermediate beings, only in a slight degree less gross than the polytheism of the epic pantheon. These inventions, like all others of a similar kind, act as a palliative for the mental disappointment occasioned by the endeavour, inevitable but unsatisfying, to elevate the Deity beyond the world, when on a sudden the proceeding is reversed, and pantheism is inconsistently invoked to furnish a new machinery for filling the vacant place[30]. Plato calls everything Δαιμονιον which occupies an intermediate position between the human and divine[31]; he defines dæmons to be "beings who bring down into the world the oracular responses and good gifts of heaven, and who interpret and convey to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men. The divine, he adds, never mingles directly with the human; all the association vouchsafed by the gods to mankind, either sleeping or waking, is transmitted through these intermediate beings, one of whom is Eros, or Love. "Behold," says Apuleius[32], "two races of intelligent beings, on one hand the gods, pre-eminent in place, eternal in duration, perfect in their nature; on the other, man, feeble, perishable, and unhappy. What, then, is the chain of nature interrupted and broken? Is being divided into two opposite and irreconcilable diversities of class, since Plato tells us that no god mingles with mankind, nor suffers the contamination of mortality? Are men utterly banished from the communion of the immortals to this

[30] The only other alternative is to make the Deity himself interfere fitfully, or by way of miracle, in certain emergencies.

[31] "Το μεταξυ Θεων και ανθρωπων." Sympos. p. 202. Comp. Epinomis, ch. viii. p. 984; and Politicus, 271. Proclus in Cratylum. p. 73, Boisson. One of the suggested etymologies of "Dæmon," Deva-mouni, "God-man," would aptly express this. Proclus. ib. p. 82. See the fourfold division of beings made by the Platonists. Creuz. S. i. 91 n.

[32] De Deo Socratis, ch. iv.

terrestrial Tartarus, without hope of the visit of a celestial shepherd to his mortal flock to control the unruly, to heal the afflicted, and to assist the needy? Plato would probably reply that there are certain middle powers stationed between heaven and earth, through whom our desires and deserts are forwarded to the gods. The Greeks call them dæmons; by others they are called 'vectores' or carriers. By these, as Plato tells us in the banquet, all denunciations, oracles, and presages are directed." "These things are ordered by the power and authority of the celestial gods, but effectuated through the offices and ministration of the dæmons."[33] It is not indeed fitting that the supernal gods should descend to offices of this kind. This is the province of intermediate gods, who dwell in the regions of the air, on the confines of earth and heaven; just as in every part of nature there are animals inhabitant in the regions to which they are appropriate, the volant in air, the gradient on the earth[34]. The gods pass a perfect and equable existence superior to passion and change[35]; but intermediate beings are nearer to mortals not only in position but in mental affections, sharing immortality with the gods, and passion and suffering with men; they possess, in short, rationality of intellect, passivity of moral feeling, aërial bodies and eternal duration. A peculiar tutelary dæmon, according to Plato[36], is allotted to every man, who is an unseen yet ever-present witness of his conduct, and who is the arbitrator not only of his deeds but even of his thought[37]; and when at the close of life the soul has to return, then the dæmon who presided over it immediately seizes and leads it as his charge to judgment, and is there present while it pleads its cause. There, this dæmon reprehends it, if it has acted on any false pretence; solemnly confirms what it says if it asserts anything that is true; and sentence is passed in strict conformity to this testimony. "All

[33] De Deo Socratis, ch. vi. [34] Ch. vii. [35] Ch. xii.

[36] Plato, Rep. v. 469[a]. Timæ. 90[a]. Phæd. p. 1070. Conf. Censorinus de Die N. ch. iii. Servius to Georg. i. 302.

[37] Ch. xvi.

you, therefore, who hear this divine opinion of Plato, so form your minds to whatever you do or purpose, that you may know there is nothing concealed from those guardians either within the soul or external to it, but that the dæmon who presides over you inquisitively participates in all that concerns you, sees all things, understands all things, and in the place of conscience dwells in the most profound recesses of the mind."

The dæmons, approximatively distinguished by the mystery of their nature from the heroes of the epic, were in later times more accurately separated from the gods, partly by their subordinate rank and partly by their questionable moral character. The original idea of the δαιμονιον as well of the θειον was as undefined in respect of character as of dignity; it was a vague feeling of superhuman power, of power either for evil or good. At first the good aspect appears to have preponderated; the dæmons of Hesiod are a sort of moral police (εσθλοι, επιχθονιοι), checking insolence and injustice, and presiding over the gifts of wealth. The vague superstition attached to the idea of dæmon was employed by ancient Greek moralists and legislators[38] in the same manner apparently as afterwards by the Apostle Paul[39], and which, had it been the primary conception instead of an after thought, might have justified the anti-religious theory of Critias, as a bugbear to enforce moral and civil obligations; thus at length evil dæmons were recognised[40] as instigators of physical and moral mischief or punishers of crime, and generally in all cases where it was inconsistent to admit the agency of a good genius, or of God. In the vague use of the term hero, it was as often confounded with the dæmon in a bad sense as in a good; bad heroes were the departed spirits of bad men[41], often owing their sinister canonization to some accidental characteristic in the story of their lives[42]. In the later times of Judaism good

[38] As Zaleucus, Charondas. Creuz. S. iii. 736. Stobæus. Serm. xliv. 221, p. 291. Gaisford.

[39] 1 Cor. xi. 10, with Wettstein's note.

[40] Δαιμονις ιξοικιστοι, αλαστορες, παλαμναιοι.

[41] Pseud. Plut. de Placit. i. 8, p. 882. Diog. Laert. viii. 32.

[42] Conf. Creuz. S. iii. 738. 742, in the instances of Euthymus and Cleomedes.

spirits were called angels, the word dæmon being exclusively appropriated to the bad; and the Christians, like other religionists, both Jew and Gentile, retorted upon the gods of their adversaries the title of "δαιμονες" originally belonging to them, but which, instead of being a title of their dignity, was now made the mark of their disgrace[43].

§ 17.

THE MYSTERIES.

Dæmonology seems less prominent in the early age of Greece owing to the peculiar form it took in the developments of poetry, and was afterwards almost exclusively confined to philosophy and to the mysteries, both of which were practical acknowledgments of the insufficiency of the popular religion to satisfy the deeper thoughts and aspirations of the mind. In Egypt and the East all religion, even its most poetical forms, was more or less a "mystery;"[1] and the chief reason why in Greece a distinct name and office was assigned to mysteries, was because the superficial theology of the epic, from which Euhemerus drew the only legitimate inference, left a want unsatisfied which religion in a wider sense alone could supply. The vagueness of symbolism might perhaps reach what a more palpable and conventional creed could not. By its indefiniteness it acknowledged the abstruseness of its subject; it treated a mysterious subject mystically; it endeavoured to illustrate what it could not explain, to excite an appropriate feeling, if it could not develop an adequate idea, and made the image a mere subordinate conveyance for the conception which itself never became too

[43] Orig. against Cels. vii. p. 377; v. 234. Justin M. Apol. i. 9, p. 57. Procl. in Cratyl. Boiss. 80. "All the gods of the Heathen are Devils," said the Hebrew psalmist, Psalm xcv. 5, LXX. De Wette to 1 Cor. x. 20. The Indian gods were the Persian Deves. Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 524.

[1] Comp. Von Bohlen, "Indien," p. 155.

obvious or familiar. The instruction now conveyed by books and letters was of old conveyed by symbols, and the priest had to invent or to perpetuate a display of rites and exhibitions which were not only more attractive to the eye than words, but often to the mind more suggestive and pregnant with meaning[2]. With the Greeks as with Asiatics or Egyptians, almost any mythical narrative, whether heroic or directly theological, might be called in some sort a "mystery;" that is, it might be shown to possess a physical meaning involving analogies mysteriously interwoven with man's hopes and destination. The difference lay chiefly in the mode of treatment, and in varieties of feeling, which, from accident rather than reason, attached a higher sanctity and deeper meaning to one class of legends than to another. Popularly speaking, Dionysus as well as Hercules was a Theban hero, born of a mortal mother; both were sons of Zeus, both persecuted by Here. But in Hercules the god is subordinate to the hero; while Dionysus, even in poetry, retains his divine character[3], he is son of Semele, but, at the same time, son, or "assessor"[4] of Demeter[5], and in general estimation identical with the "Dæmon Iacchus," the presiding genius of the mysteries[6]. The powers revered in the mysteries were all in reality Nature-gods, none of whom, as Herodotus perceived, could be consistently addressed as mere heroes, with the "ἐναγισμα" in lieu of "θυσια,"[7] because their nature was confessedly superheroic, *i.e.*, dæmoniacal or divine. And when Plutarch, in opposing euhemerism, attempts to reconcile the symbolical beings, Ceres, Isis, and Dionysus, with common opinion, without giving up their claim to divinity, and styles them, not indeed gods, such as the immortal Olympians,

[2] "Αι των μυστηριων τιλεται εν συμβολοις διεξουνται και τυποις." Schol. Dionys. Areop. i. 58. Creuz. S. iv. 514. "Ὑποθισις διδασκαλιας." Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 689. Lobeck, pp. 133. 140. 144. Demetrius Phal. de Eloc. s. ci. p. 45. Schn. and Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 317.

[3] Comp. Il. vi. 130.

[4] Παρεδρος.

[5] Diod. S. iii. 62. Cic. N. D. ii. 24. Schol. Pind. Isthm. vii. 3.

[6] Strabo, x. 468.

[7] Herod. i. 167; ii. 44.

but dæmons or divine mediators, in whom the human and superhuman were blended[8]; he means what a modern would express by saying that Dionysus, &c. was a god whose physical characteristics were less concealed than those of other gods by the humanizing or epic spirit. The birth of the oxen-hoofed hero Dionysus is as ubiquitous as the power he represents; he is summoned to his temple by the Mænades from the depths of ocean[9], on which, like Osiris in winter, he is represented floating on a raft or chest; ushered into the world amidst lightning and thunder[10] as son of Semele, Thyone, or Demeter[11]; he becomes the "liberator" celebrated in the festivities of Thebes, delivering Earth from winter's chain, conducting the "nightly chorus of the stars,"[12] and the celestial revolution of the year[13]. His symbolism is the inexhaustible imagery employed to fill up the stellar devices of the zodiac; he is the vernal bull[14], the lion, the ram, the autumnal goat, or serpent; he is in short the varied deity, "essentially inferior to none,"[15] yet changing with the seasons, and undergoing their periodical decay. The tendency to convert a dying god into a hero never entirely absorbed the real character of Dionysus, though it created a doubt as to the meaning of his worship, and gave occasion to the unfounded surmise that the mysteries were a direct refutation of the popular religion, explaining the stories of the gods after the fashion of

[8] "Οὐκ ἀμιγὲς οὐδὲ ἀκρατον το θειον." Comp. Eurip. Bacchæ. 42. 215. 252. 268. 411, &c. Isis and Osiris, ch. xxv. De Defect. Orac. ch. xv.

[9] Plut. Qu. Gr. 36. Isis and Osiris, 35. Eurip. Bacchæ. 1015.

[10] "Πυριγενης." Moser to Nonnus. p. 216.

[11] Moser. ib. 188. Diod. S. iii. 62. Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 64. 233. Lydus de Mens. Roth. 198. Apollod. Frag. 29.

[12] Soph. Antig. 1118. Aristoph. Frogs, 343.

[13] *i. e.* the Sun, as invoked by the Eleans (Etym. M. ad. v. Paus. vi. 26. 1. Virg. Georg. i. 6), the mighty hunter of the Zodiac (Eurip. Bacchæ. 1180. 1226), or Zagreus (Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 235), the golden, or ruddy-faced (Bacchæ. 545. 1071), "στικτον ιχων δωρηκα, τυπον κεχαραγμενον αστρων." Nonn. D. xiv. 240. The D'Orsay Vase in Guigniaut, Plates, 727, fig. 463.

[14] Eurip. Bacchæ. 908. 1005. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, 35.

[15] Eurip. ib. 766. "Αιολου, Ποσειδωνος δ' ισοπαλησιν." Paus. iv. 2, 3.

Euhemerus as annals of deceased men[16]. Yet though there is no reason for supposing that the Eleusinian Hierophant once every year proclaimed the religion of poetry to be false, it is probable that the mysteries, which were in fact only a more solemn expression of the same religion, suggested though they did not preach that doctrine of the Theocracia, or "Divine oneness," which even poetry does not entirely conceal[17]. The ancient deity nursed by the Ægean[18], and rising out of the waters (Ζευς αποβατηριος) as Butes, Jason, or Deucalion, who in so many parts of Greece was said to have founded his own worship in the persons of Eumolpus[19], Orpheus, or Eleuther[20], who, among Ionians and Pelasgians, was made according to circumstances a god of the sea[21] or of the shades[22], might more truly have been said to be created, or to have received the outlines of his specific character from the local peculiarities of his rites, from the funeral dirges of Asia[23] or the orgiastic rites of Thrace[24]. The power whose oneness is a seeming mystery but really a truism, whose connection with Demeter or Persephone under various forms, as Hermes, Prometheus, or Poseidon, has been often before alluded to as the essence of the oldest religion of Greece, and one of the most abundant sources of its heroic legend[25], reappears under the name of Dionysus, the god of Nature, or of the moisture which is the life of Nature, who prepares in darkness (Hades, Iasion, &c.) the return of life and vegetation, or who is himself the light and

[16] Lobeck, 138.

[17] Thus Zeus became a criminal adulterer through the many changes in his outward identity, and Hera, the mother of Nature, seemed as it were doomed to sterility (Lactant. i. 17) from the many nominal usurpations of her rights.

[18] Aristid. i. 406, Dindorf.

[19] Master of the harmonies of the universe—son of Poseidon, and grandson of Boreas (Paus. i. 38), who was father of Butes.

[20] Hyg. Fab. 225. Diod. iv. 49. Eustat. Od. p. 1528. 4.

[21] Poseidon, patron of Eleusis. Paus. i. 38. [22] Hermes.

[23] Æschyl. Prom. 400.

[24] Herod. iv. 79. Paus. ii. 2. 5; ii. 7. 6. Comp. Müller, Kleine Schrift, p. 29.

[25] Comp. supr. vol. i. 265, 266, 267.

change evolving their varieties. In the Ægean Islands he is Butes, Dardanus, Himeros, or Imbros[26]; in Crete he appears as Iasius or even Zeus[27], whose orgiastic worship remaining unveiled by the usual forms of mystery betrayed to profane curiosity the symbols which if irreverently contemplated were sure to be misunderstood[28]. In Asia he is the long-stoled Bassareus coalescing with the Sabazius of the Phrygian Corybantes[29], and he seemed to be born anew[30] when he laid aside a part of the quaintness and mystery of his character, and when Greek art transferring his grotesque deformities to attendant Satyrs and Sileni, embodied the fundamental conception of him under the fairest form of human beauty and eternal youth[31]. Yet notwithstanding this partial transformation he still remained theologically one with the mystic Iacchus or Prometheus, the "nursling" or son of Ceres[32], and with the dismembered Zagreus, the son of Persephone. Zagreus was an ancient subterranean Dionysus[33], or rather a mystic version of the god whose character was most nearly represented by Dionysus among the poetical "immortals." He was the "horned" progeny of Zeus in the constellation of the serpent[34] entrusted by his father with the thunderbolt, and encircled with the protecting dance of Curetes. Through the envious artifices of Hera the Titans eluded the vigilance of his guardians and tore him to pieces; but Pallas restored the still palpitating heart to

[26] Diod. S. v. 48.

[27] Comp. vol. i. pp. 263 sq. 320 sq. Hence the Eleusinian Demeter might seem to have come from Crete. H. Dem. 123.

[28] Diod. v. 77.

[29] Strabo, p. 470.

[30] Herod. ii. 49. 145. Hom. Hymn. Dion. 26. Eurip. Bacchæ. 22. 86. 456. 474. Cic. N. D. iii. 23.

[31] Comp. Guigniaut, iii. 330.

[32] Suidas in v. Iacchus. Guigniaut, iii. 232. Paus. ix. 25. 6.

[33] Tzetzes to Lycophr. 355. Hesych ad v. Nonnus in Guigniaut, iii. 238; and in Mitchell's Introd. to the Frogs, xcviii.

[34] Hence the saying, "Taurus Draconem genuit et Taurum Draco." Clem. Alex. Protr. ii. s. 16, p. 14, Pott.

his immortal father, who commanded Apollo to bury the dismembered remains upon Parnassus[35].

The religion of Ceres and Dionysus is admitted to have been long anterior to the heroic or Homeric age[36], the conformity of the sacra of Ephesus and Attica proving that the parent worship must have existed before the Ionian migration[37]. Homer possibly knew of no mysteries; at least the spirit of his poetry is alien to them, exploring the wilds of fancy rather than fathoming the depths of thought, turning religion into the pageant of a carnival, and as it were spreading flowers upon graves. Yet he cannot on this account be presumed to have been personally devoid of deeper feeling. He was acquainted with the deities to whose worship the principal mysteries eventually became attached; he speaks of Dionysus as a god, describing by the word "μαινομενος" the general character of his rites; and the subordinate position held by these Deities in the epic proves not any real inferiority, but merely that they were considered inappropriate to be directly brought forward among its descriptions[38]. The general characteristic of the oldest Pelasgian religion was a worship of Cthonian powers or Cabiri, of those "givers of good things" who promised wine to the Argonauts at Lemnos, and whom the Attic youth of the olden time appeased with anniversary offerings of lambs and bulls[39]. The success of Pelasgian agriculture was mythically commemorated in such stories as that of the birth of Plutus from Iasion and Demeter, of the hospitable reception of the latter goddess by Pelasgus at Argos, by Dysaules at Phlius, by Prometheus at Thebes, by Keleos at Eleusis[40]; and more

[35] Clem. Alex. Protr. 15, Potter. Firmicus Maternus, de Errore P. R. p. 13. The passage in Pausanias (viii. 37) mentioning the alterations in Bacchic legend effected by Onomacritus, is understood to refer to the employing "Titans" eo nomine as actors in the tragedy, not to an invention of the far more ancient legend of the death of the Nature-God. Supr. vol. i. p. 194.

[36] Müller, Kleine Schrift, p. 91. [37] Strabo, xiv. 633. Herod. ix. 97.

[38] Müller, ib. 66. 91. [39] Iliad, ii. 547. Völcker, Japetus, 372.

[40] Müller, Orchom. 120. Paus. i. 14. 2; ii. 14. 3; ix. 25. 6. Lobeck, Agl. 43.

historically in the anniversary festivals of Thessaly and Attica, in traditions of the wealth of Mycenæ or Orchomenos, or of the rich harvests won by Pelasgian Tyrrheni from the stony slopes of Hymettus[41]. When the mountain tribes, Ionian, Bœotian, or Dorian, under the name of "sons of Hercules," invaded the plains, converting the old sacerdotal kingships into a feudalism of warrior chiefs[42], a mental accompanied the political revolution, when the old religious legends which the conquerors neither attempted nor wished to obliterate received a new aspect by becoming interwoven with their own poetical traditions[43]. The old symbolical religion now began to assume its eventual character as a mystery, the mystery consisting not so much in the enigmatical complexion of its symbols, as in the attitude which the old forms of thought assumed in respect of the new. The latter were exhibited in a superficial poetry calculated to delight rather than to instruct, to give

Δησμοσυνην δε κακων, αμπαυμα δε μερμηρεων[44]

to the energetic agent or hero self-conscious of elevation above nature, while the mystic or meditative feeling inherited from an age when man was yet a part of nature was obliged to seek a distinct organ for its expression. The accounts of the initiation of Hercules and the Dioscuri by Eumolpus or Triptolemus[45] may suggest how the conquerors took part in the religious solemnities of the conquered, and how the spirit of the age which appeared most opposed to mysteries became directly instrumental in creating them. For, as Thucydides observes that there could be no notion of "barbarians" until the opposite scale of the antithesis was filled by that of Hellenic nationality, so the establishment of a sensuous and poetical theology

[41] Herod. vi. 137.

[42] Still called, however, "βασιλεις" (comp. Pind. Ol. ix. 84), as well as "εξοχοι ανδρες," "στρατηγοι," &c., opposed to Teleontes. Comp. Müller, Orchom. 180. Apollod. i. 9. 16. 8. Paus. ix. 25. 6.

[43] Müller, Orchom. 181. 446.

[44] Hes. Th. 55. Völcker, ib. p. 371.

[45] Aristid. vol. i. p. 58, and 417, Dind. Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 3. 6.

which discarded mystery, was the necessary antecedent of the formal recognition of a system confronted and contrasted with it. That the transition was not the introduction of any novelty, but rather the parting of the current of thought into separate channels, is implied in the remarkable account given by Herodotus[46] of the "preservation" of the mysteries of Eleusinian Demeter in Arcadia, the goddess so often worshipped there as a Cthonian power or Erinnys by the aborigines, and in the analogous description in Pausanias[47] of the "discontinuance" through the Bœotian invasion of the Theban worship of Cabiri, and its subsequent revival with greater sanctity by "Pelarge," a name probably personifying the more ancient performers of it. Thus the cause of the mysteries was partly the inherent obscurity of natural religion, but chiefly the accidental change which confronted poetical with more ancient forms. The Greek mystery was neither a thing inscrutable, nor a thing intentionally secreted; it was a symbol implying more than it seemed to convey, a rite distinguished by unusual solemnity. Nothing could be more apparently opposed to the immortal gods of poetry than the notion of a dying god, accompanied by the rites of Cthonian powers, and the ceremonies of lustration and purification substituted by Orphic prescription for the heroic virtue exemplified in Hercules. Yet the mysteries were not in any open hostility with the popular religion, they were only a more solemn exhibition of its symbols, or rather a part of itself in a more impressive form. The essence of all mysteries[48], as of all polytheism, consists in this, that the conception of an unapproachable Being, single, eternal, and unchanging, and that of a god of Nature whose manifold power is immediately revealed to the senses in the incessant round of movement, life, and death, fell asunder in the treatment, and were separately symbolized; and that though the

[46] Herod. ii. 171, and v. 61. Comp. Paus. viii. 37. 6; 42. 2. Clem. Alex. Cohort. i. 2. 13.

[47] Paus. ix. 25. 6; comp. iv. 1. 4. Müller, Orchom. 118.

[48] Comp. Müller, Orchom. 450.

connection between the two was in some measure restored by other symbols, such as those of marriage and generation, the popularity of an epic literature, together with the simultaneous and universal passion for the vague and mysterious, prevented them from absolutely converging and reuniting. Or if it be objected that externally the symbols were both in substance and in treatment the same[49], the aim of poetry might be said to be gained when the imagination was amused, while the mysteries offered a perpetual problem to excite curiosity, and even if failing to suggest wisdom to the understanding, at least contributed to satisfy the all-pervading religious sentiment, which if it obtain no nourishment among the simple and intelligible finds compensating excitement in a reverential contemplation of the obscure.

§ 18.

FORM OF THE MYSTERIES.

Nature is as free from dogmatism as from tyranny; and the earliest instructors of mankind not only adopted her lessons, but as far as possible adhered to her method of imparting them. They attempted to reach the understanding through the eye, and the greater part of all religious teaching was conveyed through this ancient and most impressive mode of "exhibition" or demonstration[1]. The mysteries were a sacred drama[2], ex-

[49] Compare the story of Dionysus in the Iliad, also Schol. Ambros. to Odyss. viii. 266; and Bacon, De Augm. Scient, bk. ii. ch. 13.

[1] Hence the expressions, "Δεικηλα," "αῤῥητα φασματα" (Aristid. Eleus. Jebb. p. 257), "εξηγησις," "ανεφαινεν," "εξεφηνεν." Herod. ii. 49. 171. Hom. Iliad, i. 87. Odyss. x. 302. Hym. Cerer. 479. Eurip. Phœniss. 533. The proper business of the diviner was to "infer" by sagacious conjecture (εικαζουσι, Herod. i. 84, and iv. 132, Valcn.) the meaning of natural appearances.

[2] "Τα δρωμενα." Paus. ii. 37. 3; ix. 25. 5. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iii. 1. 1. Clem. Alex. p. 680. Weiske, Prometheus, 437. The mysteries consisted seemingly of two parts, the scenic exhibition, and a commentary on it; "δρωμενων εκπληξις" and "μυθων φημαι." Aristid. Eleus. 256, vol. i. p. 415, Dind. The latter, the "λεγομενα επι ταις δρωμενοις," or "ἱεροι λογοι," were most probably only stated collaterally and occasionally.

hibiting some legend significant of Nature's change[3], of the visible universe in which the divinity is revealed, and whose import was in many respects as open to the Pagan as to the Christian. Beyond the current traditions or ἱεροι λογοι of the temple, few explanations were given to the spectators, who were left, as in the school of Nature, to make inferences for themselves. It has been said that the method of indirect suggestion (allegory or ὑπονοια) is a more efficacious instrument of instruction than plain didactic language[4], since we are habitually indifferent to that which is acquired without effort; "the initiated are but few, though many bear the thyrsus,"[5] and it would have been impossible to provide a lesson suited to every degree of cultivation and capacity unless it were one framed after Nature's example, or rather a representation of Nature herself, employing her universal symbolism instead of technicalities of language, inviting endless research yet rewarding the humblest enquirer, and disclosing its secrets to every one in proportion to his preparatory training and power to comprehend them[6]. Yet though destitute of any formal or official enunciation of those important truths which even in a cultivated age it was often found inexpedient to assert except under a veil of allegory, and which, moreover, lose their dignity and value in proportion as they are learned mechanically as dogmas[7], the shows of the mysteries contained suggestions which, in the opinion not of one competent witness only but of many, were adapted to elevate the character of the spectators, enabling them to

[3] Cicero, N. D. i. 42.

[4] "Το μεν δι' ὑπονοιας σημαινομενον αγαστον, το δε φανερως λεγομενον ευτελες. Plut. in Lobeck, p. 161.

[5] Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 19, p. 372. Plato, Phædo, 69 d.

[6] Comp. Herod. ii. 3; where the names or symbols open to all men, appear to be contrasted with the interpretations, more or less conjectural and unauthorized, which could not be published with safety or advantage.

[7] The very permanence of the mysteries is a proof that their form was not dogmatical but suggestive or illustrative, susceptible of modifications of interpretation like the notion of Zeus or of Elysium, and connected with those hopes and fears which attend mankind from their lowest state to their maturity.

augur something of the purposes of existence as well as of the means of improving it, to live better and to die happier[8]. Unlike the religion of books or creeds, these mystic shows and performances[9] were not the reading of a lecture but the opening of a problem, implying neither exemption from research nor hostility to philosophy; on the contrary, philosophy might be justly called the great "mystagogue,"[10] the arch-expounder of symbolism, the soul's best guide through the labyrinth of mythology as through that of Nature, and it has been already noticed how from its outset the philosophy of Greece eagerly undertook the task of interpreting its mythi, endeavouring, often rashly and injudiciously, to find support in ancient symbolism for its own physical or moral dogmas. It is as indisputable that in many instances its interpretations were ill founded as that in others they were correct. It was impossible to deny that within the mass of Hellenic mythi might be found a purpose and a use, that some were illustrative of physical phenomena, some calculated to inspire consolation or to dissipate groundless fears; but it was alleged that these possible advantages were practically of small amount, owing to the limited number of those who from habits of reflection were likely to use and appreciate them[11]. Yet neither the rarity of philosophical thought nor the uncertainty of its interpretations can be said to demonstrate the absolute superiority, at least in these matters, of the didactic method over the symbolical. If one be more definite and perspicuous, the other is more forcible and comprehensive; and no better means could be devised to rouse a dormant intellect than those impressive exhibitions which addressed it through the imagination, which instead of condemning it to a prescribed routine of creed invited it to seek,

[8] Cicero de Leg. ii. 14; 269, Creuz. Aristoph. Frogs, 346. 455. Aristides, Eleusin. 256. 415, and 421, Dind. Pind. Frag. 128. Lobeck, 39. 69. 73.

[9] "Τα δεικνυμενα και δρωμενα." Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. iii.

[10] "Λογον εκ φιλοσοφιας μυσταγωγον." Plut. ib. ch. lxviii. The true Bacchanal, says Plato, is the true philosopher. Phædo, 69[d].

[11] Dionys. Hal. Antiq. ii. 20.

compare, and judge. The alteration from symbol to dogma is as fatal to beauty of expression as that from faith to dogma to truth and wholesomeness of thought. The first philosophy often reverted to the natural mode of teaching as well as to mythological imagery, and Socrates in particular is said to have eschewed dogmas, endeavouring, like the mysteries, rather to awaken and develop in the minds of his hearers the ideas with which they were already endowed or pregnant, than to fill them with ready-made adventitious opinions[12]. This negative or reserved method was not devised for the purpose of concealing the truth, but as a mode of expression when other modes were defective or wanting. The earliest speculation endeavoured to express far more than it could distinctly comprehend, and the vague impressions of the mind found in the mysterious analogies of phenomena their most apt and energetic representatives. Nature may be studied either in its wide bearings and analogies, or to ascertain its immediate links of causation and succession. In regard to the former, or things transcendental, mankind can scarcely be said to have advanced beyond the religious symbolism of India, Egypt, or Eleusis, for even Christianity admits the invisible world to be inconceivable, and that men can know God only so far as they become acquainted with his laws, and act in conformity with his will. "Behold," exclaims Lobeck[13], "the vaunted results of the august mysteries of the Pelasgian philosophers; they knew the great truths that wine inebriates, that fruit and corn are the food of man, that the fields begin to yield their increase in spring, and that in autumn their produce dies away!" These are indeed but trifles, yet the lessons of Nature, however trite, and often unheeded from their very simplicity, contain a wisdom still unfathomed, and every discovery either in theology or science may exemplify the remark of the Roman, that it was only by attending to trifles that his country acquired a power which overcame the world. All nature is as nothing to those unable to comprehend it, the

[12] Diog. Laert. i. 16. Cic. de Or. iii. 16. Brandis, Hist. Philos. ii. 19. 24.

[13] Aglaoph. p. 180.

firmament but a collection of vapours, the earth a lump of common dirt. "If," says Lobeck[14], "there was no distinction in the mysteries of exoteric and esoteric, all hope of maintaining their dignity is at an end." As well may it be said that because Nature is open to all, without being comprehended by all, her operations are but an insipid and undignified routine, the mechanism to which the unreflecting are harnessed in order to turn them to material account. The steps of initiation were inseparably bound up with the constitution of phenomena, and had their necessary existence in the minds of the novitiates. The poet or philosopher might be said by virtue of their office either to have been initiated or to be above the want of initiation, since they had already felt in nature those eloquent analogies of which the mysteries were but a false or feeble image, revealing no new secret to those unprepared or incapable of interpreting their significancy. The eventual separation of the office of philosopher from that of priest[15], that is, from a technical acquaintance with traditions about days and seasons and peculiarities of temples and deities, affords no proof that the latter were destitute of foundation in what may be called the philosophy of the times in which they originated. Pythagoras might have sought the initiation which Socrates from an obscure statement was thought to have neglected, since philosophy itself was in many respects the offspring of theology and of the lore commonly ascribed to Orpheus[16], a name not to be understood pragmatically of an historical being distinct from Eumolpus or Musæus[17], but as a general personification of the old Thracian theology and theological poetry in the sense understood by Pindar[18], including, as presumed author of the

[14] Aglaoph. p. 43.

[15] Plato, Polit. 290 d.

[16] Apollod. i. 3. 2. Eurip. Rhesus. 940. Lactant. i. 22.

[17] Plato, Protag. 316, compared with Aristoph. Ranæ, 1032. Comp. Lobeck Agl. 187. 239.

[18] Pyth. iv. 177. Ἀοιδᾶν πατὴρ ἐναίνητος Ὀρφεύς. Höeck, Kreta, iii. 195. Orpheus is chiefly described as a τελεστὴς in relation to Dionysus, Musæus as Cresmologos in relation to Demeter; but the gods and offices were united. The oldest mention of Orpheus by Ibycus proves that the name was already celebrated. That

heroic metre, the names of Homer and Hesiod among his descendants and disciples[19]. From this common source of religion and poetry flowed in one direction the inspiration of the epic, in another the symbolism and ceremonial of the Hierophant[20]. Both were connected with the same mythical personage, who, like Hermes or Zoroaster, unites human attributes with divine, and is himself the god whose worship he introduced[21], teaching rude men the commencements of civilization through the influence of song, and connecting with the symbol of his death, emblematic of that of nature, the most essential consolations of religion[22].

§ 19.

THE WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS.

To say that Orpheus founded the mysteries[1] is tantamount to the assertion that the first religionists were poets. Poetry arose long before Homer, whose silence in regard to the name of Orpheus no more disproves his existence, *i. e.*, as an ideal personification, than the occurrence of his name with those of Phemius and Thamyris would have affirmatively established it. The lyric expression must have preceded the more staid and artificial epic, and through unrecorded ages the pæan had been sung and the incantation employed to heal bodily wounds[2] and to assuage moral discords[3]. When Hermes

he is not mentioned by Homer as little proves his non-existence, and the mention of Phemius or Thamyris, Polyidus and Theoclymenus, proves affirmatively the historical existence of these personifications.

[19] Göttling. Pref. Hes. p. 9. Plutarch de Music. 5.

[20] Plato, Protag. 316[d].

[21] Augustin de Civit. xviii. 14. Athenæus, xiv. 632. Conon. in Photius, Narr. 45. Lucian, vol. iii. p. 110. Adv. Indoct. 11.

[22] Comp. Eurip. Alcestis, 970 or 990. He might to the Greeks represent the great "ἀγαθός" whom Socrates wished to be sought for throughout the world. Phædo, p. 78.

[1] Aristoph. Ranæ, 1032.

[2] Odyss. xix. 457.

[3] Comp. Hes. Theog. 90. 98.

assumed the exclusive jurisdiction over the lower world, he resigned to Apollo the lyre whose use seemed inconsistent with calamity[4], and which seemed more suited to the heroic Hellene than to those whose proverbial impressions as to the divine φοβος became part of their history, making them ever seem as outcasts after the destruction of Ilium, or as driven by force or famine from their homes[5]. The course of the worship of Dionysus, originally scarcely distinguishable from that of Hermes[6], was probably one with that of Greek development from its source among the Clodones and Mimallones of Thrace[7], whence arrived within the sphere of the Pierian musicians the god formed a sort of coalition with Apollo, migrating together with his votaries before the Temenidæ[8] to Parnassus and Bœotia, that "metropolis of Bacchanals,"[9] and thence uniting with the Ceres worship of Attica and Arcadia. In a later age admiration of Egyptian wisdom made it seem as if the Thracian sage had imbibed his precepts on the banks of the Nile[10], and Herodotus, who though rejecting as spurious the so-called Orphic compositions of his time, yet admits the venerable antiquity of the name by the very circumstance that he undervalues the pretensions of the poetry, regarded the Orphic or Bacchic institutions as virtually the same[11] with the Egyptian and Pythagorean. Nor does he deny the existence of theological teaching or tenets, whether Pelasgian or Orphic, or derived through Melampus from Phœnicia and Egypt, long antecedent to the artificial[12] theology of Homer and Hesiod, which he calls a creation comparatively of yesterday[13]. The

[4] Eurip. Alcestis, 315. Comp. Psalm cxxxvii.

[5] Dionys. H. i. 17.

[6] The divine ancestor of the Thracian kings. Herod. v. 7. Supr. vol. i. 211.

[7] Herod. ib., and vii. 111. Pomp. Mela. ii. 2., 2. Plutarch, Vit. Alex. 2. Hoeck's Kreta, iii. 172 sq.

[8] Thuc. ii. 99.

[9] Soph. Antig. 1122.

[10] Diod. i. 23. 96.

[11] Containing, among other things, the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul. Comp. ii. 81. 123.

[12] "Ποιησαντες."

[13] Bk. ii. 53.

name of Orpheus accompanied the propagation of the religion of the Muses by those Pierian bards who afterwards spread towards the south, and carried the legend of the Aloidæ to the islands of the Ægean[14]. But it would appear as if more than one school or class of symbols had been included under the term "Orphic." There was, it seems, a son or pupil of Apollo-Helios, the same who "in the woody pavilions of Olympus charmed beasts and trees by his lyre,"[15] yet perished by the hands of the Bassarides for neglecting the rites of Dionysus[16]; and there was an Orpheus from whom the worship of Dionysus originated[17], nay, whose death is that of the Deity himself[18]. The variation must be ascribed either to the preconceptions of theorists as to the distinct and antithetical nature of the gods, or it may be understood as indicating divergent forms of the worship of the same Deity, relieved by his Pierian votaries from the tumultuous character of his older rites; so that in this way the Orphean lyre of the Apollinic school for a time appeared antagonistic to the orgiastic or Bacchic worship more nearly resembling its Thracian or Berecynthian original. The stories of Scyles, Lycurgus, and Pentheus, may be even partly indicative of a real opposition between rival religions[19]; and the mythical catastrophe of Orpheus is sometimes related in a way implying an actual feud between the patrons of the pæan and the dithyramb[20]. But the antithesis is more properly a physical one, the hostile array of opposing elements represented in the Homeric challenge of Apollo and Poseidon, the dualism of Zethus and Amphion, the god who outwatched the night considered as an enemy of the rising luminary[21], or the superior god killing, *i. e.*, absorbing

[14] Diod. v. 50, 51. Steph. voc. Nysæ. Müller, Orchom. 387.

[15] Eurip. Bacchæ, 560. Iphig. Aul. 1211.

[16] Eratosthenis, Catast. 24. Göttling, Pref. to Hesiod, xi. Apollod. i. 3. 2. Hyg. Poet. A. 7. "Quòd Orpheus Apollinem maximè laudaret."

[17] Herod. ii. 81. Paus. v. 26. 3.

[18] Höeck, ib. iii. 186.

[19] Comp. Herod. vii. 49. Iliad, vi. 130.

[20] Comp. Plutarch, Ei Delph. ch. ix.

[21] Eratosthenes, Catast. 24.

the antiquated or inferior. At all events the antagonism, whatever its source, was not continued. Analogous personifications were incorporated or taken up by newer ones, either vanquished as rivals or adopted as sons; for example, when Trophonius or Asclepius (son of Ischys) was adopted by Apollo[22], or when the priestly descendant of the Amythaonidæ (Amphiaräus or Melampus) became his friend[23]. It seems a strange inversion when Apollo is made son of Silenus and to be killed by Python[24], or when his attributes become intermixed with those of representations of Dionysus or Hermes, the dying and reviving power, in Pythagoras, Abaris, Euphorbus, or Xamolxis[25]. Yet Dionysus as well as Apollo was leader of the Muses[26], the tomb of one accompanied the worship of the other[27], they were the same, yet different, contrasted, yet only as filling separate parts in the same drama[28], and the mystic and heroic personifications, the God of Nature and of Art, seem at some remote period to have proceeded from a common source[29]. Their separation was one of form rather than substance, and from the time when Hercules obtained initiation from Triptolemus[30], or Pythagoras received Orphic tenets[31],

[22] Paus. ix. 37. 3. Müller, Orchom. 143. 195.

[23] Diod. S. vol. ii. Excerpt. p. 546. Hom. Odyss. xv. 225.

[24] Porphyr. in Vit. Pythag. 18 or 30, Kiessl. He was also called "Dionysodotus." Paus. i. 31.

[25] Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 140. 294, Kiessl. Comp. Paus. iii. 13. Or again, when the temple of Apollo Ptöus is built by a son of Athamas (Paus. iii. 23. 3), as was that of Delphi by Trophonius. Erginus, father of Trophonius, is himself a sort of Apollo. Lutat. to Theb. Stat. vii. 345. Comp. Phorbas, Zethus, Xuthus, Tenerus, &c.

[26] Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 146. 185. 291. Strabo, 10. Creuz. S. iv. 71.

[27] *i. e.*, on Pierian Olympus as well as on Parnassus. Paus. ix. 30. "Apollini et Libero Patri in eodem monte res divina celebratur." Macrob. Sat. i. 18.

[28] Plutarch de ei Delph. 9. Lobeck. 1113. 1133. 1179.

[29] "Aristoteles—Apollinem et Liberum patrem unum eundemque Deum esse—asserat." Macrob. i. 18.

[30] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 3. 6.

[31] To the Pythagorean Orphici we owe the greater part of the so-called Orphic poetry, and it was they who practised the Orphic life alluded to in Euripides and Plato.

the two conceptions were tending to re-combine. It was said that Dionysus or Poseidon had preceded Apollo in the oracular office[32]; and as the victory of Perseus over the Bacchanals[33] was unexpectedly followed by the domestication of the Cretan Zagreus at Argos[34], so Dionysus continued to be esteemed in Greek theology as "healer" and "Saviour," author of life and immortality[35]. Apollo forgot his old antipathy to the pipe of Marsyas[36], and the remains of Dionysus were buried on Parnassus[37] by the side of a kindred god who was his superior only because immortal[38].

§ 20.

SUGGESTIONAL IMAGERY OF THE MYSTERIES.

The mysteries embraced the three great doctrines of ancient theosophy. They treated of God, man, and nature. In sym-

[32] Paus. x. 5, 6; x. 32. 7.

[33] Paus. ii. 20. 4; xxii. 1.

[34] Paus. ii. 23. 8.

[35] Paus. ii. 37. 2; 31. 2; 37. 5; x. 33. 11; i. 20. 3.

[36] Paus. ii. 32. 9.

[37] Paus. x. 32. Aristoph. Nub. 595. Soph. Antig. 1126. Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 15. Bacchæ. Eurip. 551. Plutarch, Isis, ch. xxxv. Philochori Frag. 22. Minuc. Fel. Octavius, p. 189 or 160.

[38] The fact that the dispersed Pythagoreans, the "sons of Apollo," should have immediately betaken themselves to the Orphic service of Dionysus, is of itself evidence that the gods and their worship were not dissimilar. The stories of inspired Apollinic priests riding through the air on arrows ("φοιβολαμπτοι"), of secret charms and a golden thigh, seem to indicate that there was always something Dionysiac in the religion of Apollo, though it did not come to conspicuous maturity till afterwards. (Οἱ μὲν πρότερον, οἱ δ' ὕστερον." Herod. ii. 81. 123.) Looking only to the reminiscences which have been preserved of genuine tenets or observances bearing the name "Orphic," it would seem as if its whole importance dated from the Pythagorean coalition; if on the other hand we consider the religion of Greece as consisting in its innumerable songs and mythi of which Orphic priests and bards must have been the guardians and expositors, the name would seem to expand even beyond the wide signification it bore in later times, and to embrace not only the orgies of Dionysus, but the foundations of the whole theological system of which the orgies were but a branch or part.

bolical (not dogmatical) forms[1] they exhibited the One of which the manifold is an infinite illustration[2], containing a moral lesson calculated to guard the soul through life and to cheer it in death[3]. Physical phenomena were throughout ancient theology made prolific of moral and mental lessons. The story of Dionysus was profoundly significant; he was not only creator of the world, but guardian, liberator, and saviour of the soul. The toys which occupied him when surprised by the Titans, the top, the wheel, the distaff, the golden Hesperian apples, were primarily cosmogonic; an emblem of similar class was the magic mirror or face of Nature, in which, according to a Platonic notion, but which existed probably long before Plato, the Creator beholds himself imperfectly reflected[4]; and the bowl, or "womb" of being, in which matter became pregnant with life, or wherein the pantheistic deity became mingled with the world[5]. Dionysus, god of the many-coloured mantle[6], is the resulting manifestation personified; he is the polyonymous[7], the all in the many, the varied year, life passing into innumerable forms. But according to the dogma of antiquity, the thronging forms of life are a series of purifying migrations[8] through which the divine principle reascends to the unity of its source. Inebriated in the bowl of Dionysus and dazzled in the mirror of existence, the souls, those fragments or sparks of the universal intelligence, forgot their native dignity, and passed into the terrestrial forms they coveted[9]. Consciousness is the true mirror in which Aristotle conceived the divine mind alone to enjoy a plenary beatitude; but individual consciousness is necessarily imperfect, reflecting only the limited truth attainable by its possessor. It

[1] "Traditio sacrorum." Lobeck, Agl. 39[n]. [2] Cic. N. D. i. 42.

[3] Diod. S. iii. 62, p. 138. Schol. Apollon. i. 917. Isoc. Paneg. 46[a]. Plato, Phædo, 69 (28, Bek). H. Ceres, 480.

[4] Proclus. in Timæ. iii. p. 163.

[5] Proclus. ib. 314. Plato, Timæ. 41[d]. Athenæus, xi. 478.

[6] "Αιολομορφος." [7] Soph. Antig. 1115.

[8] The Indian dogma that all change and generation is a punishment recurs in Anaximenes. Brandis, Gr. Philos. i. 87. 129.

[9] Macrob. Somn. Scip. i. 12, p. 66. Zeun. Phædrus, 248.

was in this mirror, faithful to the universal but treacherous in its partial use, and which was hence thought inherently deceitful, that the soul became enamoured of its own individuality, and its eventual fall was beautifully described in the stories of Hylas and Narcissus. The most usual type of the spirit's descent was suggested by the sinking of the sun and stars from the upper to the lower hemisphere. The descent was supposed to commence at the sign Cancer, technically, "the gate of men," the point of the sun's culmination and subsequent decline, and at each tropic was placed an emblematic dog or Hermanubis, one guarding the approach to the living, the other to the dead[10]. When the soul arrived within the portals of the proper empire of Dionysus, the "god of this world," the scene of delusion and change, its individuality became as it were clothed in a material form. Its tissue, manufactured in the loom of nature, was said to be the work of Clotho, Ilithya, Artemis, or Minerva Ergane, the many-named divinity of the distaff, in Egypt the veiled Neith, in India the seductive Maia, the weaver of destiny known also under the same name in Greece[11], or under that of Penelope-Proserpina[12], the wife and sister of Iacchus. And as individual bodies were compared to a garment, the world was the investiture of the universal spirit constituting the magic peplus of Zeus or Dionysus[13], the flowery tissue on which Proserpine with her attendant nymphs whose names are but repetitions of herself, was employed when surprised upon the plain of Nysa or Enna by Hades[14]. Again the body was compared to a vase or urn, mystically termed the soul's "recipient,"[15] the world being the mighty bowl which received the descending Deity, and each material bodily frame a vessel framed of earth by heat and moisture to retain its portion[16].

[10] Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 7. Porphyr. Antr. vi. 22.

[11] Porphyr. Abstin. Rhær. iv. 16, p. 352. Procl. in Tim. 63. 96.

[12] Porphyr. de Antro. 14.

[13] Apollon. Rhod. iv. 425. Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 307. 366. 551.

[14] Diod. S. v. 3.

[15] Hermes in Stobæ. Heer. p. 1085. Creuzer's Dionysus, 158. 178.

[16] Porphyr. de Antro. ch. 13.

In another image, ancient as the grottos of the Magi and the denunciations of Ezekiel, the world was as a dimly-illumined cavern, where shadows seem realities, and where the soul becomes forgetful of its celestial origin in proportion to its proneness to material fascinations[17]. In the cup or bowl of Dionysus, the "joyous" bestower of the vintage[18], where creation is not the Mosaic separation but the Orphic "intermixture," mantles the intoxicating beverage of which some partake guardedly, while others, like the besotted victims of Circe or Icarius, drench themselves profusely with the overflowing draught; for Nature is the moisture personified in Dionysus[19], it is a perpetually-flowing stream[20], and the period of the spirit's embodiment is as when exhalations are condensed, and the aërial element assumes the grosser form of water[21]. It is the stream in which Narcissus was dazzled by the reflection of his own image, and beneath whose surface he was submerged, or pining with sadness melted into its transparent depths. But if vapour falls in water, water is again the birth of vapours which ascend and adorn the heavens. If our mortal existence be the death of the spirit, our death may be the renewal of its life; as physical bodies are exalted from earth to water, from water to air, from air to fire, so the man may rise into the hero, the hero into the god[22]. In the course of nature the soul to recover its lost estate must pass through a series of trials and migrations. The scene of those trials is that grand sanctuary of initiation, the world[23];

[17] Plato, Phædo, p. 110. 84, Wytt. Politeia, vii. 1, p. 514. Porphyr. de Antro. ch. 9 sq. Plut. de S. Vindictâ, p. 97, Wytt. The cavern in which were deposited the treasures given to Ulysses-Hermes by the Phæacians (Odyss. xiii. 367. 398), afterwards covered by Minerva with a *stone*. Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 518, Potter.

[18] "Πολυγηθής." Hes. Op. 614. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. 35. Virg. Æn. i. 734.

[19] Plut. Isis, 34, 35. Eurip. Bacchæ. 275. Porphyr. de Antr. 9; or Zeus "ὑετιος." Creuz. S. i. 466; iii. 79 sq. 96. 141.

[20] The "ῥεουσα φυσις."

[21] Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 746, Pott. Heraclitus in Plut. de ei Delph. 18.

[22] Creuz. S. iii. 752.

[23] Called the most holy of temples. Plut. de Tranquil. 19. 34.

their primary agents are the elements; and Dionysus, as Sovereign of Nature, or the sensuous world personified, is official arbiter of the mysteries, and guide of the soul which he introduces into the body and dismisses from it[24]. He is the sun, that liberator of the elements, and his spiritual mediation was suggested by the same imagery which made the zodiac the supposed path of the spirits in their descent and their return[25]. Hephæstus, it was said[26], hurled by Here from the sky, contrived in revenge a magic chair in which the goddess became immoveably fixed; nor could any of the immortals prevail on him to release the captive until Dionysus overpowered his brother with divine frenzy[27], and led him to do the work of heaven attended by Harmony and Love[28]. And as he thus reconciles the telluric and atmospheric powers, the goddess of Nature with the Demiurgus who imprisoned her, so in a higher sphere he mediates and intercedes for man,

Οὑτος[29] Θεοισι σκινδιται θεος γιγως
Ωστι δια τουτου τ'αγαθ' ανθρωπους τυχειν[30];

he reconciles the unseen mind with the individualized spirit of which he is emphatically called the "Perfecter,"[31] and he effects this consummation first through the vicissitudes of the elemental ordeal[32], the alternate heats of summer and showers of winter[33], and secondarily and symbolically through the mysteries personified in his attendant genius "Telete." Man is lineally descended from those Titans who tore and fed on the flesh and blood of Dionysus; he possesses the rash and rebellious disposition of the one, yet also the divine spirit distributed through the universe by the dismemberment of the other. His aim should

[24] Dionysus-Hermes.

[25] Macrob. Somn. Scip. i. 12.

[26] Paus. i. 30. 3.

[27] "Ως παν το σκανορθωτικον του νου τοις Θεοις εγγυς ον." Strabo, x. 468.

[28] Guigniaut's Illustrations, pl. 142 and 143.

[29] Dionysus.

[30] Bacchæ. 280.

[31] Guigniaut, iii. 291.

[32] Schol. Apollon. Rh. iv. 816. Apollod. iii. 13. 6. 1. Fulgent. iii. 7.

[33] Fire and water are the trials or tests of an immortal nature. Schol. Apollon. Rh. iv. 816. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 16; and supr. p. 47.

be to mortify his animal propensities, and co-operating with Nature's purifying operations to convert the cup of Dionysus into a draught of wisdom. For the emblems of water, the cup and the cavern have a twofold meaning[34]. Dionysus holds two cups, the cup of generation, and also that of wisdom or initiation[35], whose influence is contrary to that of the other, causing the soul to abhor its material bonds and to long for its return. The first cup was the Lethe of the spirit, the second the urn of Aquarius quaffed by the returning spirit as by the returning sun, and emblematic of the exchange of worldly impressions for the recovered recollection of the glorious sights and enjoyments of its pre-existence[36]. Water nourishes and purifies, and the urn from which it flows was thought worthy to be a symbol of the Deity, as of the Osiris-Canobus who with living water irrigated the soil of Egypt, and also an emblem of the hope which should cheer the dwellings of the dead[37]. It was from Egypt, the valley created and ever regenerated by water, where Hermes held the mystic urn before the tribunal of Osiris-Amenthes, that Amymone with her sister Danaides seemed to have brought the Thesmophoria and with them the refreshing fountain called after her name to the dry plain of Argos[38]; in other words, she brought with her the consolatory doctrines of which water is the emblem, insuring to the initiated her title of the "Pure" and the "Irreproachable," while the broken urns of her sisters[39], if this portion of the story be equally authentic, may represent the aimless ebbing and flowing of unregenerate nature, the disconsolate condition of the uninitiated and ignorant. The second birth of Dionysus

[34] Porphyr. de Antr. ch. 10.

[35] "Κρατηρ σοφιας." Guigniaut, R. iii. 281. 302. 304. 309. Plato says, the object of the mysteries is to restore the spirit to that "bourne" (τελος) from which it took its departure. Phædo.

[36] Virg. Æn. vi. 715. Hyg. P. A. ii. 29; iii. 28. Guigniaut, iii. 323. 335.

[37] Guigniaut, iii. 321. 324. Creuzer Symb. iv. 140. Nork's Dictionary, Art. Krug. Hence probably the vast number of urns found in the sepulchres of Magna Græcia.

[38] "Πολυδιψιον Αργος." Iliad, iv. 171. Herod. ii. 171. Paus. ii. 15. 5.

[39] "Υδριαι ατιλεις." Æschin. Axioch. Paus. x. 31. Plato, Gorg. 493[b].

as offspring of the Highest is a type of the spiritual regeneration of man. The agents, and consequently the symbols of this regeneration, are the elements effecting Nature's periodical purification, the air indicated by the mystic fan or winnow, the fire signified by the torch[40], or again, the baptismal water[41]; for water is not only cleanser of all things, but the genesis or source of all[42]; it renews the disposition of the mind as it alters the constitution of the body[43], or as the virginity of Juno was restored when she bathed in the fountain Parthenion[44]. These notions clothed in ritual suggested the soul's reformation and training, the moral purity said to have been formally proclaimed by the Hieroceryx at Eleusis; and it is not unreasonable to suppose the exhortations attributed to the initiated by the comic dramatist to have been in this respect suggested by language really held in the mysteries[45]. "Happy the man," it might be said, "who purifies his life, and who reverently consecrates his soul in the thiasus of the god[46]. Let him take heed to his lips that he utter no profane word[47]; let him be just and kind to the stranger and to his neighbour; let him give way to no vicious excess, lest he make dull and heavy the organs of the spirit[48]. Far from the mystic dance of the thiasus be the impure, the evil speaker, the seditious citizen, the selfish hunter

[40] Serv. to Virg. Georg. ii. 388. Æn. vi. 740. Guig. R. iii. 225. Winckelmann, Allegorie, p. 142, 12mo. ed.

[41] "Το πᾶν οἱ Θεοι καθαιρουσιν ἡ πυρι ἡ ὑδατι, ἃ και οἱ μαντεις μιμοῦνται." Proclus in Cratyl. Boisson. p. 106. Paus. ix. 20. 4.

[42] Ἡ θαλασσα—της γενεσεως συμβολον. Simplic. in Epict. Ench. 12.

[43] Ovid, Met. iv. 287; xii. 197. "The sea washes out all human ills." Eurip. Iphig. Taur. 1193. Schol. Iliad, i. 314. Clem. Alex. Fragm. p. 991, Pott.

[44] The Hera of Stymphalus had three aspects; παρθενος, τελεια, and χηρα. Paus. viii. 22. 2. Comp. Grimm's Mythol. p. 554.

[45] Compare Libanius, Or. Corinth. 356. Origen in Cels. 3, p. 147. Lobeck, p. 15. "He who is of clean hands and ingenuous speech, free from all pollution, and with a clear conscience!"

[46] Eurip. Bacchæ. 75. [47] Ib. 70. Comp. Ps. 39.

[48] Aristoph. Frogs, 147. 355. 458. 460. Comp. Philostr. vit. Apollon. p. 242. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 79.

after gain[49], the traitor; all those, in short, whose practices are more akin to the riot of Titans than to the regulated life of the Orphici, or the Curetan order of the priests of Idæan Zeus."[50] Yet the Bacchic rule prescribed no unnatural mortification; its yoke was easy[51], and its mirthful choruses combining the gay with the severe[52] did but commemorate that golden age when earth enjoyed eternal spring, and when fountains of honey, milk, and wine burst forth out of its bosom at the touch of the thyrsus[53]. The alternate joy and sorrow of the ritual of nature were apt certainly to pass into the excesses which deservedly incurred the ban of the Roman senate; these, however, were abuses by no means necessarily connected with the rites out of which they sometimes rose. The enthusiasm of poets and the sacred frenzy of religionists flowed from a common source. Dionysus as well as Apollo was precentor of the Muses[54] and source of inspiration; "go ye," said Zeus to his tuneful daughters, "and with your hymns appease the resentful grief of Ceres;"[55] for music was both to philosopher and mystic a purifier of the spirit, the first stage in the process recalling the soul towards its home[56]. Nature may sometimes appear to look coldly on sublunary change, without either tears or unseemly joy, pursuing her even course[57]; and the Egyptian priest was said to emulate her solemnity in not allowing himself to laugh,

[49] Frogs, 359. Compare, in Sophocles Antig. v. 1114, the sentiment of Creon immediately preceding the invocation to Dionysus; and it may well deserve consideration whether the introduction of that and other choruses in the Greek dramas, sometimes deemed entirely abrupt and arbitrary, "thrust in," as Mr. Mitchell supposes (Introd. to Frogs, p. xi. note), may not have been naturally suggested by the dramatic ritual of the mysteries.

[50] Eurip. Frag. Cretenses.

[51] Bacchæ. 66.

[52] Frogs, 390. Bacchæ. 389. 420. 638.

[53] Bacchæ. 685. Cyclops. 65.

[54] In this character identical probably with the bard Eumolpus (Theocr. Idyll 24, 108), or Hermes Eleusinus inventor of the lyre.

[55] Eurip. Helen. 1340.

[56] Guigniaut, iii. 146. 185. 291. 393. Plato, Sympos. 215[e]. Phædo, 61[a]. Quintil. de Music. iii. 163.

[57] Lycophr. Cassandr. 116.

an act characteristic, he thought, of Satan or Typhon[58]. But the common world is of varied texture, arrayed in lights and shadows; and religion following the course of ordinary human passion which blends mirth with woe, the reverential feeling with the sarcastic[59], unreservedly abandoned itself, especially among the Greeks, to these natural influences, following up solemnities of woe with the jests of the Gephyræi or buffoonery of Baubo and Iambe, the laugh of nature re-echoed by man and reproduced in art by the satire of Archilochus[60]. The Pythagoreans made music a part of education, a virtuous life was to them as a well-tuned lyre, cherishing the inward harmonies. The fierceness of sorrow and joy exhibited in the earliest Nature-worship[61] was mitigated in the progress of cultivation[62], and though a disorderly tendency always clung to the Dionysia, it is probable that the accusations of the Christian fathers are in a great degree an exaggeration founded partly on the presumed character of the symbols, partly on the supposition of their being in all mysteries the same[63]. The true meaning of the Bacchic excitement was the old idea of identification or union with the Deity promoted by religious ecstacy or frenzy, producing those vehement sounds[64] and gesticulations of which remnants were preserved in the Prulis or Sikinnys, the dances of Satyrs or Amazons, yet connected with a moral

[58] Porphyr. Abstin. iv. 6.

[59] Comp. Hes. Theog. 214, and Iphigenia in Aul. 31.

Δεῖ σε χαίρειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι,
Θνητὸς γὰρ εἶφυς—

an alternation shown in the "τωθασμοὶ νομιμοι," or legalized ribaldry, prevalent in all nature-worship. Aristot. Polit. vii. 15. Herod. ii. 60. Apollod. i. 5. 1.

[60] Müller, Gr. Litt. p. 132.

[61] Compare the "Ἰυγοῦς ἀχή." Müller, Orchom. 169. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 16. Gen. l. 11.

[62] As by those ancient sages or "sophists," who like the Pythagorean Arignote, censured the rude Bacchic orgy, and gave to its symbols a more majestic meaning; "Μείζονας ἐξεφήναν." Herod. ii. 49.

[63] Lobeck, Aglaoph. i. p. 200 sq. Clem. Alex. Protrep. p. 17, Pott.

[64] Κρότος, a son of Pan by a Muse, was said to have been placed by Zeus among the stars. Eratosth. Catast. 28.

discipline of peculiar and even ascetic strictness[65], and being in fact only exhibitions of an unreasoning religion. The votary elevated beyond the sphere of his ordinary faculties, and unable to account for the agitation which overpowered him, seemed to become divine in proportion as he ceased to be human, to be a dæmon or god. Already in imagination the initiated were numbered among the beatified[66]; they alone enjoyed the true life, the Sun's true lustre[67], while they hymned their god beneath the myrtle groves of a mimic Elysium, and were really renovated or regenerated under the genial influence of their dances[68]. Human ceremonies are indeed but imperfect symbols; and the alternate baptisms in fire and water intended to purify us into immortality are ever in this world interrupted at the moment of their anticipated completion[69]. Life is a mirror which reflects only to deceive, a tissue perpetually interrupted and broken, an urn for ever fed yet never full[70]. All initiation is but introductory to the great change of death. Baptism, anointing, embalming, obsequies by burial or fire, are preparatory symbols, like the initiation of Hercules before descending to the shades, pointing out the mental change which ought to precede the renewal of existence[71]. Death is the true initiation, to which sleep is the introductory or minor mystery[72], the final rite which united the Egyptian with his God, and which opens the same promise to all who are duly prepared for it[73]. The soul was not con-

[65] Compare the expressions "κορυβαντιαν," "φοιβολαμπτος," &c., and the observations of Müller (Göttingen, gel. Anz. for 1825) on the compatibility of "καθαρσιων" and "μαινεσθαι τῳ Θιῳ;" the "διμυστας" of Apollon. Rhodius, i. 917, and the admission of Augustin, De Civ. Dei, ii. 6. Diod. S. v. 49. Plato, de Leg. vi. 782.

[66] Frogs, 323. Porphyr. in Stobæ. Phys. ch. lii. p. 1052.

[67] Soph. Frag. Triptol. Dind. 419. Comp. Frogs, 455.

[68] Ib. 336. 346. 427. Compare on the Mystic or Cnossian dance, Soph. Ajax, 699. Hoeck, Kreta, i. 214.

[69] As in the cases of the son of Metanira, of the son of the king of Byblus, Achilles, &c.

[70] Nonn. Dion. 24. 236.

[71] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 29. Matt. xxvi. 12. Guigniaut, R. i. 458.

[72] Plut. Consol. Apollon. 2.

[73] Phædo, 69[c]. 80[d].

demned to eternal banishment and imprisonment[74]. The father of the worlds permits its chains to be broken, and has provided in the course of Nature the means of its escape. It was a doctrine of immemorial antiquity, shared alike by Egyptians, Pythagoreans[75], the Orphici, and by that characteristic Bacchic sage, the "preceptor of the soul," Silenus, that death is far better than life[76], that the real death belongs to those who on earth are immersed in the Lethe of its passions and fascinations[77], and that the true life commences only when the soul is emancipated for its return. The immediate bestower of this inestimable privilege is Hades, the "Benefactor,"[78] and his consort Proserpina-Penelope who undoes by night the tissue she wove by day. But Hades and Proserpine are but the reverse or dark side of Liber and Libera, of Hermes and Aphrodite[79], as Amenthes was only a form or aspect of Osiris. It is in this sense, as presiding over change and death, that Dionysus is in the highest sense the "Liberator;"[80] since like Osiris he frees the soul and guides it in its migrations beyond the grave, preserving it from the risk of again falling under the slavery of matter or of some inferior animal form[81], the purgatory of Metempsychosis, and exalting and "perfecting" its nature through the purifying discipline of his mysteries[82], or

[74] As to the notion of the body as a prison of the spirit. Plato, Phædo, 62. Boekh's Philolläus, 181.

[75] Guigniaut, i. 459.

[76] Stobæus, Serm. 274, p. 883. Plutarch, Consol. ad Apollon. 27. Dio. Chrys. in Creuz. S. iv. 117[n]. Phæd. Plat. 114. Herod. i. 31. Plato, Gorgias, 493.

[77] *Οἱ ἀνοὶ νεκροὶ.*" Arist. Frogs, 405.

[78] Called "*θεὸς ἐνεργέτης,*" Plato, Cratyl. p. 105. Stallbaum. Phædo, p. 62 sq. Guigniaut, iii. 309. "*Εὐβουλεύς,*" or "Pæan," Æschylus, Philoctet. Frag. 105. Didot.

[79] Or Dionysus-Cthonius, *Πλουτεὺς* or *Πλουτοδότης*, Prosymnos and Prosymna, &c. Creuz. S. iii. 154. Guigniaut, R. ii. 607.

[80] "*Λυσιος.*" Comp. Bacchæ. Eur. 490. Horace, Ep. i. 16. 79. "Ipse Deus simul atque velim me solvet."

[81] Guigniaut, iii. 310. 312. Wyttenbach to Plut. D. S. N. V. pp. 113. 582. Plato, Gorg. 524.

[82] Proclus in Timæ. 330. 802, Schneider. Hermann's Orphica, 449. 509, 510.

what is virtually the same thing, the salutary lessons of philosophy[83]. For Plato ascribes to philosophy the effects which the theologian would have attributed to mysteries; the former employed mystic imagery for the purpose of illustration, and is often little else than a reflection, faithful even in minute particulars[84], of the scenic exhibitions of the other. "The great consummation of all philosophy," said Socrates, professedly quoting from traditional and mystic sources[85], "is death; he who pursues philosophy aright is studying how to die." Greek philosophy was an offshoot which far outgrew the ancient sacerdotal wisdom, yet the eventual separation of philosophical and religious teachers was never so complete as to prevent the one from borrowing much from the other. A striking instance of their parallelism may be found in the supernatural machinery of the Platonists, who borrowing the symbols and phrases of ancient theological lore, attribute the presidency over the mysteries as well as every other office of divine mediation to dæmons[86]. To every one, says Menander, is appointed at his birth a guardian dæmon, who becomes not only the inseparable companion, but the "Mystagogue" or spiritual director of his life[87]. According to this "Orphic" notion[88], the dæmon accompanies the soul after death to judgment, officiating as vindicator of the good or accuser of the wicked[89]. In reality the dæmon is the individualized soul or conscience, the diviner part of man theoretically distinguished and treated as the separate beings imagined as rising, struggling, or sinking in the Phædrus. But all soul is part of the universal soul whose totality is Dionysus; and it is therefore, religiously speaking, he who, as Dæmon of dæmons, leads back the vagrant spirit to

[83] Plato, Phædo, 108. 114. Phædrus, 248.

[84] Comp. *e. g.* Phædo, Wytt. 85. 89, the "πηλος αμηχανος και βορβορος," with Aristoph. Frogs, 272.

[85] Phædo, 62. 64.

[86] Plato, Symp. 203, a. 28.

[87] Creuz. S. iii. 757. 783. Proclus in Timæ. 17.

[88] Comp. Creuz. ib. Stalbaum to Pl. Sympos. 202, p. 176[n].

[89] Phædo, 107. (Bek. 82.) 90. Wytt. Axiochus quoted in Mitchell's Frogs, p. 95.

its home, and who accompanies it[90] through the purifying processes both real and symbolical of its earthly transit[91]. He is therefore emphatically the "Mystes" or Hierophant[92], the great spiritual mediator of Greek religion; but his mediatorial office is often popularly distributed among a multitude of inferior genii, the intellectual world like the physical being divided into innumerable manifestations. These spirits, as also Dionysus their chief, were often represented with wings, doubtless from the cause assigned by Plato, that wings are the apt symbol of spirituality and divinity. Their meaning was not the exhilarating property of wine as supposed by Pausanias[93], but the elevated aspirations promoted by religious meditation. Hence the wings of the consecrated ass, the secret of whose emblematic form was whispered out of the abysses of the earth[94], of the inspired horse Pegasus, and the mythical Eros specially named as one of the greatest among dæmons in the elaborate mystery of the Symposium. The soul in its winged condition raised itself above the low and earthly, the mire of the Acherusian lake[95], and aspired to the celestial region supposed to be its proper dwelling[96]; in short, approached nearer to the gods. In this sense the Greeks admitted the traditional deification of their heroes after death, as well as their translation or removal without dying to the happy islands, while in the two modes of expressing the same idea was implied all the difference between the sensuous and the mysterious, between the popular religion and the inner world of devotional thought. Hercules was an example of this double beatification; the soul of the hero, consigned to Hades, was honoured with the ritual of the dead[97]; yet he still lived as a

[90] "Συνιμτορος." Frogs, 396. "Συνοπαδος." Iambl. vit. Pyth. ch. 2. 8, p. 5. Plato, Phædo. 108.

[91] Guigniaut, iii. 291.

[92] Paus. viii. 54.

[93] Paus. iii. 19.

[94] Guigniaut, iii. 289. 295. 339. Compare the story of Midas.

[95] Aristoph. Frogs, 272. Phædo, pp. 69. 110. 113. (Wytt. 85. 89.)

[96] Phæd. 114.

[97] Εναγισμος. Herod. ii. 44. Paus. ii. 11. 7. Comp. Creuz. S. iii. 763. 768.

dæmon or divine being in the society of gods on Olympus[98]. The deification of Hercules, as also the similar instances of Diomed and Menelaus[99], was a recognition of their essentially divine character as Nature-gods; but the precedent was applied in a different sense by theologians and philosophers, who felt that the human soul is itself, "δαιμονιος," a "god within the mind,"[100] capable through its own power of rivalling the canonization of the hero, of making itself immortal by the practice of the good and the contemplation of the beautiful and true. The removal to the happy islands could only be understood mythically; everything earthly must die; man, like Œdipus, is wounded from his birth; his real elysium can exist only beyond the grave, the abyss of Cora-Proserpina, an entrance to which is to be found in all countries, in Caria, Argolis, Attica, and Sicily[101], for the doom of death was irrevocably sworn by Ceres when she failed in effectually glorifying the nature of Demophon, and was sanctioned by Zeus himself when he gave up his daughter to the periodical claim of Hades. Dionysus also died and descended to the shades. His passion was the great secret of the mysteries as death is the grand mystery of existence. His death, typical of the Nature's death, or of her periodical decay and restoration, was one of the many symbols of the doctrine of the "παλιγγενεσια," or second life of man[102]. Man descended from the elemental forces or Titans[103] who fed on the body of the pantheistic deity creating the universe by self-sacrifice, commemorates in sacramental observance this mys-

[98] Diod. S. iv. 39. Spanheim to Callim. Hymn Dian. 159.

[99] Ibyci. Frag. 20. Schol. Pind. Nem. 10. 12. Isocrat. Helen. Enc. ch. 27, end. Creuz. S. iii. 753.

[100] "Deus humanæ naturæ." Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 188. Diog. Laert. vii. 151. M. Antonin. 2. 3. 17. Epictet. Arrian, i. 14. Empedocles (Karsten, p. 142) calls himself a god, and Speusippus ranks among gods the soul of Plato. Anthol. Jacobs, iv. 31, p. 634.

[101] Hom. H. Ceres. 17. Ib. Rhunk. Schol. Hes. Theog. 914. Tzetzes ad Op. v. 32. Guigniaut, iii. 559.

[102] Plutarch, de Esu Carn. ch. vii.

[103] Orph. H. 36. Herm. p. 509.

terious passion, and while partaking of the raw flesh of the victim[104] seems to be invigorated by a fresh draught from the fountain of universal life, to receive a new pledge of regenerated existence. Death is the inseparable antecedent of life, the seed dies in order to produce the plant, and earth itself is rent asunder and dies[105] at the birth of Dionysus. Hence the superstitious value attached to the possession of the bones of the deceased Nature-god as pledges of fertility and victory[106], and hence too the significancy of the phallus, or of its inoffensive substitute the obelise, rising as an emblem of resurrection by the tomb of buried deity at Lerna or at Sais[107]. Dionysus-Orpheus descended to the shades to recover the lost virgin of the zodiac, to bring back his mother to the sky as Thyone[108], or what has the same meaning, to consummate his eventful marriage with Persephone, thereby securing like the nuptials of his father with Semele or Danaë the perpetuity of Nature. His subtellurio office is the depression of the year, the wintry aspect in the alternations of bull and serpent whose united series makes up the continuity of Time, and in which, physically speaking, the stern and dark are ever the parents of the beautiful and bright. Thus in analogy with the doctrine which made men's departed spirits the genii or dæmons of abundance[109], Dionysus Cthonius, the universal dæmon, is not only Pluto but Plutus, "bestower of wealth,"[110] not only the devouring Polydectes changed into a stone, but Polydorus, Triptolemus, and his brother Eubuleus;

[104] The "ωμοφαγια." Guigniaut, iii. 230. 276. Eurip. Bacchæ. 139. 726. Clem. Alex. Protrep. ch. ii. 12, p. 11. Pott.

[105] Semele, or "the Earth." Diod. S. iii. 62.

[106] As of Osiris at Sais (Herod. ii. 170), of Œdipus at Athens (Soph. Œd. Colon.), of Orestes, Pelops, Orpheus, Tisamenus and Theseus. See Herod, Pausanias, Plutarch; and the "deposit" made by Ceres with Prometheus. Paus. ix. 25. 6.

[107] Creuz. S. iii. 328.

[108] Paus. ii. 23. 37. Apollod. iii. 5. 1.

[109] Hes. Works, 122. Plato, Cratyl. Bek. p. 33. The Penates or Dii Ctesii of the Romans. Guigniaut, R. ii. 413. 570; iii. 569.

[110] Πλουτοδοτα. Schol. Aristoph. Ranæ, 479. Hymn Orph. 50. 52. Vacknaer, Diatr. Eur. 18. 154. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iii. 1. 4.

or again, Iasion, interpreted to mean "the Saviour," the father of Plutus, and Æsculapius whom the deadly bolt made immortal, and who by aid of his emblematic serpent restored the dead to life[111]. Persephone shares the functions of her husband; she is married alternately to Hades and to Zeus; she weaves the tissue of our bodily frame; she also "slits the thin-spun life" as Venus Libitina. She is the unity comprising the dualism of Ilithya and Artemis or Hecate, the creating power and the destroying[112]. For the magical divinity can renew the life which has been destroyed; Ceres in the Homeric hymn knows how to neutralize poison by healing balsams, and the withered limbs of Æson or of Jason[113] recovered the bloom of youth in the bowl of Medea[114]. The real sorceress is Nature, her art the loving gift of Here[115], or that with which Apollo remunerated the architects of his temple[116]. The renovating power is the Cthonian[117], that is, the Cthonian aspect of the general divinity. The greatest of the Herculean labours were performed among the dead; there Proserpina, too, eat the pomegranate, the emblem of fecundity, and there, or in an equivalent locality, as Scythia, or Cithæron, or beneath the brazen roof of Danaë, the marriage chamber of Amphitryon, or the Zerynthian cavern of Hecate[118], were consummated the nuptials of the deity. It was this aspect, sombre for the moment but bright by anticipation, which was contemplated in the mysteries; the human sufferer was consoled by witnessing the severer trials of the gods[119], and the vicissitudes of life and death expressed by apposite symbols, such as the sacrifice or submersion of the bull, the extinction and re-illumination of the torch[120], excited corre-

111 As Glaucus and Hippolytus.
112 Plut. de Facie in Orb. Lunæ, 27, 28. Orph. H. 29. Guigniaut, iii. 554 sq.
113 Pherecyd. Frag. 45, p. 171.
114 Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1321.
115 Herod. i. ch. 31. Paus. ii. 3. 8.
116 Pind. Pæan, Frag. 2.
117 Lobeck, p. 72.
118 "Εν σπισσι γλαφυρῃσι." Odyss. i. 15. 73.
119 "Αχοι." H. Ceres, 478.
120 Plato, Sympos. 218. (458.) St. Croix, i. 349.

sponding emotions of alternate grief and joy[121], that play of passion[122] which was present at the origin of Nature and which accompanies all her changes. The greater Elusinia were celebrated in the month Böedromion, when the seed was buried in the ground[123], and when the year verging to its decline disposes the mind to serious reflection. The first days of the ceremonial were passed in sorrow and anxious silence, in fasting and expiatory or lustral offices[124]; on a sudden the scene was changed; sorrow and lamentation were discarded, the glad name of Iacchus passed from mouth to mouth, the image of the god crowned with myrtle and bearing a lighted torch was borne in joyful procession from the Ceramicus to Eleusis, where during the ensuing night[125] the initiation was completed by an imposing revelation. The first scene was in the προναος, or outer court of the sacred enclosure[126], where amidst utter darkness[127], or while the mediating God, the "star illuminating the nocturnal mystery,"[128] alone carried an unextinguished torch, the candidates were overawed with terrific sounds and visions[129] while they painfully groped their way[130] as in the gloomy cavern of the soul's sublunar migration, a scene justly compared to the passage of the valley of the shadow of death[131]. For by the immutable law exemplified in the trials of Psyche, man must

[121] Plutarch, Isis and Osiris, ch. lxix.

[122] Mirth and woe, "Momus and Oizus." Hes. Theog. 214.

[123] Hymn, Demeter, 400. Hesiod, Works and Days, 805. Proclus to Works, 389. Müller, Greek Litterat. pp. 77. 85. Kleine Schriften, ii. pp. 67. 94.

[124] St. Croix, i. 319. [125] Bacchæ. 486.

[126] "Vestibulum ante ipsum."

[127] "Ibant obscuri," &c. Æn. vi. 268.

[128] Aristoph. Ran. 342. 350. Soph. Antig. 1147. Lobeck, p. 60.

[129] "Φασματα and δειματα." Orig. against Cels. iv. 10, p. 167. (507.) The "Gorgones, Harpyæque" of Virgil, the Erinnys of Lucian, the "κυνωδη τινα και αλλα αλλοκοτα" St. Croix, i. 353[n]; The Empusa of the "Frogs." Dio. Chrys. Or. xii. 168. Lobeck, pp. 113. 117. 120.

[130] Δια σκοτους τινος ὑποπτοι πορειαι και ατιλειστοι. Stobæ. Serm. 274, p. 884; or T. 120, vol. iii. p. 466, Gaisf. Plutarch, De Prof. Virt. ch. x. Πλανηται εν πασῃ ἐχομενη ἀπορια. Phædo, 82, Wytt.

[131] Lucian, Cataplus. ch. xxii. Comp. Virg. Æn. v. 264. Claudian, Rapt. Pros. vii. 20. Stobæ. Serm. ub. Supr.

pass through the terrors of the under world before he can reach the height of heaven. At length the gates[132] of the adytum were thrown open, a supernatural light[133] streamed from the illuminated statue of the goddess[134], and enchanting sights and sounds[135] mingled with songs and dances[136] exalted the communicant to a rapture of supreme felicity, realizing as far as sensuous imagery could depict the anticipated reunion with the gods[137]. In the dearth of direct evidence as to the detail of ceremonies enacted or of meanings connected with them, their tendency must be inferred from the characteristics of the contemplated deities with their accessory symbols and mythi, or from direct testimony as to the value of the mysteries generally. Throughout antiquity the symbols of agriculture were also those of law and civilization[138]; Ceres legifera[139] or Thesmophoros, giver of the bread of life, provided for the culture of the mind as well as for the nourishment of the body[140]. She brought the first tables of the law to Eleusis; she presides over marriage and all other social institutions. In a higher sense too as expressed in the Homeric legend[141], her office is to rear and exalt the spirit, to feed it with immortal food, to eradicate as

[132] *Ανακτορα.*

[133] "*Τα ἱερα φασματα,*" "*αγαλμα αυγη καταλαμπομενον θεσπεσιῳ.*" Themist. in Patr. Orat. 20. 235. Comp. Plato, Phædrus, 250[c]. Hom. H. Cer. 278. Lobeck, 57. 59.

[134] Procl. in Platon. Polit. p. 380. Lobeck, p. 106.

[135] Lobeck, p. 62.

[136] Plato, Laws, vii. 815.

[137] "*Ὁ κεκαθαρμενος μετα θεων οικησει.*" Plato, Phædo, 69[c]. (28. Bek.) A consummation often compared to the ultimate results of philosophy. Plutarch de Prof. Virt. ch. x.

[138] Lobeck, pp. 74, 75.

[139] Virg. Æn. iv. 58.

[140] Schol. Theocrit. iv. 25. Claudian. Rapt. P. 30. She is one with Eurydice and Callidice, the Astræa of the Zodiac; Thebes was the bridal present which she gave to Persephone (Schol. Eur. Phen. 687), and but for her divine lessons communicated through the seasons, shame and justice, it was said (Soph. Electr. 247), would perish from the earth. Comp. Paus. ii. 5. 5. Hes. Theog. 901. Eratosthenis Catast. 9.

[141] Hom. Hymn. 103. 235.

far as possible the fleshy influences surrounding it. Finally, she is guardian of the dead[142], the beneficent Argive Prosymna, though retiring for a time to the caverns of Phigalia or the penetralia of Eleusis. The ordinary phenomena of vegetation, the death of the seed in giving birth to the plant, connecting the sublimest hopes with the plainest occurrences, was the simple yet beautiful formula assumed by the great mystery in almost all religions from the Zendavesta to the Gospel. As Proserpina, the divine power is as the seed decaying and destroyed[143]; as Artemis, she is the principle of its destruction; but Artemis Proserpina is also Core Soteira, the "Saviour,"[144] who leads the spirits of Hercules and Hyacinthus to heaven[145]. In Heroic legend she was consort of Dionysus as Ariadne, participating his mediatorial office both in heaven and in hell, and either herself exalted in his arms to celestial rank, or as a protecting and superior genius guiding her mortal lover through the dark passages of the labyrinth, the path of the soul's migration, by the clue of destiny and the light of the beaming diadem of immortality[146]. In the labyrinth, or sought by Theseus in Thesprotia, she is the divine spirit among the dead; she resumes her celestial character when returning to heaven conducted by Hermes, or drawn to Olympus by white horses[147]. Persephone was said to mean the hidden seed, or the earth's sweet increase[148], as the lacerated Dionysus was compared to the rifled clusters of the vine[149]. But these interpretations are but a part of their significancy. From her mediatorial character in heaven and

[142] Called at Athens *Δημητρεῖον*.

[143] Cic. N. D. ii. 26.

[144] Guigniaut, iii. 477. 576, &c.

[145] Paus. iii. 19; viii. 31. Plato, Meno, p. 81.

[146] See the story of "Corona borealis," in Eratosthenes, v. p. 4. Ed. Schaubach. Hyg. Poet. A. 2. 5. Hoeck, Kreta, ii. 155. Ariadne was probably a goddess belonging to the moon-worship of Crete, whose name was afterwards absorbed by the religion of Demeter. Hoeck, ib. ii. 54.

[147] Guigniaut, iii. 474. 607. The *ἀνόδος* and *καθόδος*. Preller, Demeter and Pers. pp. 120. 228 sq.

[148] Hom. H. Dem. 66; "*γλυκερὸν θαλος*."

[149] Diod. S. iii. 62.

earth, Proserpina, as Artemis-Luna[150], or Ilithya, rises to the rank of Supreme Deity as mother of Dionysus and of Eros[151]; yet again she is herself the soul whose migrations she is supposed to guide, Ariadne overpowered by a hapless slumber, or Psyche ravished from among her immortal sisters[152], and lost to the upper world while gathering the deceitful Narcissus the emblem of Anteros[153], or the Lethean affection which clings to earth. Psyche, like Ariadne, had two lovers, an earthly and an immortal one. The immortal suitor is Dionysus, the Eros-Phanes of the Orphici, gradually exalted by the progress of thought out of the symbol of sensuality[154] into the torch-bearer of the nuptials of the gods[155], the divine influence which physically called the world into being, and which awakening the soul from its Stygian trance[156], restores it from earth to heaven. It would be endless to advert to the many related mythi, or to the various emblems supposed to have been employed in the mysteries, as the dove[157], the myrtle wreath[158],

[150] The notion of the moon's intermediate character between the earth and sun is full of poetry and beauty. See Guigniaut, R. iii. 554. 582. Creuz. S. ii. 334. Plutarch, De Facie in orbe Lunæ.

[151] Guigniaut, iii. 554. 594.

[152] Eurip. Helen. 1333.

[153] Opposed to Ameinias. Paus. ix. 31. Hymn to Demet. v. 8.

[154] Guigniaut, iii. 378. Creuzer supposes the phallic Dionysus or Priapus of Melampus to have assumed a higher character, as Eros under the hands of those sages of Argolis and of Helicon who combined the worship of the Muses with the Erotic festivals of Thespiæ, when poetry and religion were reconciled under the names of Apollo and Dionysus. See Plutarch's Amatorius.

[155] Comp. Iliad, xviii. 492, with Claudian. Rapt. Pros. 26. Paus. ix. 27. The sacred boy of the Eleusinia. Creuz. S. iv. 385. Comp. Anacreon, Frag. 2. Plut. Qu. Græc. 36. Guigniaut, iii. 764.

[156] Apuleius, Metam. vi. 384. 405. 411. 420. 422; "jacebat immobilis Psyche, et nihil aliud quam dormiens cadaver."

[157] Porphyr. Abst. iv. 16. Virg. Æn. vi. 190.

[158] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 330. The evergreen used by the Eleusinian Mystæ grew on the grave of Polydorus (Virg. Æn. iii. 23; comp. v. 72; vi. 441. Plin. N. H. 16. 44. 85), and covered the priapic or regenerative emblems of the Athenian Hermes. Paus. i. 27. 1. Eurip. Alcest. 172. 759. Comp. Mitchell's Frogs, pp. 37. 69. Guigniaut, iii. 228.

the curative yet soporific honey[159] and asphodel, the "medicatæ fruges" which appeased the rage of the dread guardian of the gates of Pluto[160], all significant of life rising out of death, and of the equivocal condition of dying yet immortal man[161]. There is however one incident among the rites of Eleusis which ought not to be overlooked. When Ceres withdrew the still mortal Demophon from the purifying fires, and placed him on the ground from which he rose and to which he must now return, she decreed that from year to year, from season to season, the children of Eleusis should engage in a mimic combat to his honour, commemorative of his imperfect, yet still exalted or "heroic" nature acquired through the discipline of his heavenly nurse[162]. In the worship of Nature athletic games and contests were well-known symbols of the conflict of the elements[163]; this was doubtless the primary meaning of the feats of Perseus and of Hercules, as of the war of the children of the sun and moon in Hindoo epic, and in Greece of the strife of Apollo with Poseidon, of the Erechtheidæ and Eumolpidæ[164]. The universe has oscillated between sorrow and joy, between war and love, ever since Cadmus sowed the teeth of the dragon of Ares, or Pallas leaped armed from her father's head. The amour has ever been followed by the retaliatory fray[165], or has itself been simultaneous with death[166]. The drama of nature is moral, and the moral was reflected in the mysteries. The eternal war

[159] The bee supplied the pure food of Paradise; priestesses were hence called *Μελισσαι* (Lobeck, 50. Creuz. ii. 586), and Melissa was sister of Amalthea, nurse of the infant Zeus. It was also a symbol of the soul, being a *φιλοσταφυον ζωον* (Porphyr. de Antr. p. 19), and its produce was an antidote to the serpent's bite.

[160] Apulei. Met. vi. ch. 20, p. 420. The herb which destroyed Glaucus, yet made him immortal (Athenæ, 296); the Ætolian plant on which Helios fed his horses in the morning to prevent their tiring on their path.

[161] Guigniaut, iii. 678. 732. Porphyr. Antr. 16. 18. Schol. Pind. Pyth. ix. 113.

[162] Hom. H. C. 253. 265.

[163] Uschold. Vorhalle, ii. p. 69.

[164] "*Θειος πολεμος.*" Origen in Cels. vi. p. 303, Fr. 35.

[165] As in Antiope, Helen, &c.

[166] As with Ganymede, Persephone, Antigone the "bride of Acheron," &c.

of Eleusis was not a mere elemental conflict but the struggle of the spirit[167], the conception which the Greeks, differing in this from the usual Asiatic tendency[168], formed to themselves as the ideal of virtue and of a worthy life. This inference is confirmed by the peculiar mode in which the institution of the Eleusinian games is introduced into the Homeric hymn as commemorative of Demophon, athletic exercises being the most appropriate observance to commemorate those deceased heroes whose whole life reflecting Nature's life was one prolonged contest, and who eventually fought their way to deathless praise[169]. Here, as in the story of Hercules, the mystic spirit blends with the heroic, religious legend assuming the epic form. All the heroes were divine emanations, yet mortal, as in the eventual state of Demophon, through the infirmity of their mothers. In order to overcome this weakness, the spirit must be taught to do battle with difficulty and passion, and can aspire to rank with the heroes of old only by subjugating the vicious elements with which it is associated. The Hierophants of its divine guide were therefore lovers of war as well as of wisdom[170], resembling in this respect their equally divine patroness Athene, herself only Proserpina exalted and celestial—divine power and intelligence united—who when she founded Athens willed that her chosen people should be, as far as possible, formed after the image of herself[171]. But war is the earnest of peace, and even the Erinnys became at last a genius of fertility[172]. As the empire of Ares over Thebes was superseded by that of Cadmus and Harmonia, so Eumolpus puts an end to elemental and moral discord by establishing the mysteries of which his imaginary death was

[167] "Ἰδεως and αμιλλα ισχατος," in Plato; βιος from βια, see Stobæus Serm. 274 or 120, p. 884, ed. Gaisf. p. 466. Comp. Eurip. Supplices, 560.

[168] Bagavad-Geeta, ch. 3, 4 and 5. Isa. xxx. 15. Heraclitus spoke of war as a divine thing, and blamed Homer for wishing to banish Ερις from among the gods.

[169] Comp. Pind. Ol. vi. 14, &c. Hesiod, Opp. 287; and on the spiritual interpretation of the legend, Creuzer's Symbolik, iv. p. 319 sq.

[170] Procl. in Timæ. 51 b. "Φιλοπολεμον."

[171] Plato, Timæ. 24 d.

[172] Æschyl. Eumen. Bothe, 719. 744. H. D. Müller, Ares, pp. 22. 27.

part. Proserpina, too, died as Cthonia, but her death was the token of reconciliation; and they whom she guides in her mysteries, who imbibe her instruction and spiritual nourishment[173], rest from their labours and know strife no more[174]. "Happy they," it might be said, "who witness and comprehend these sacred ceremonies[175]; they are made to know the meaning of the riddle of existence by discovering its aim and termination as appointed by Zeus[176]; they partake a benefit more valuable and enduring than the grain bestowed by Ceres, for they are exalted in the scale of intellectual existence, and obtain sweet hopes to console them at their death."[177]

§ 21.

MEDIATION OF PHILOSOPHY.

Men have always felt the existence of a moral significancy in the external world, even when unable to divine the correct interpretation of it. The feeling was variously expressed. In early times poetry and imitative art undertook to interpret nature[1], and the universal language of itself but feebly perceptible to the many was thus vividly and gracefully conveyed through the medium of lofty imaginations. "It was the poet," says Goethe[2], "who first formed gods for us, who called us to them, and brought them down to us." Poets were the first legislators, prophets, and hierophants; they clothed in beautiful forms that partial apprehension of the agencies of external nature which was accessible to their age, and which, however imperfect, was adopted and sanctioned by religion. Poetry is defined by Plato[3]

[173] Παιδια και τροφη. Phædo, pp. 81. 92, Wytt.

[174] Procl. Timæ. 275 c. Tenneman's Philosoph. i. p. 139.

[175] Soph. in Plut. de Aud. Pöet. 21 f. "Ολβιος ὁς ταδ' οπωπεν τελεσθεισαν ανθρωπων." H. Hymn. Cerer. 480.

[176] Pind. Frag. 96.

[177] Isocrat. Panegyr. ch. 28.

[1] Plato, Ion, p. 534 e.

[2] Wilhelm Meister, bk. ii. ch. 2.

[3] Sympos. 433.

to be a general name for every inventive art by which the abstract passes into the concrete, which makes pure reason perceptible to the faculties; in short, it is the instrument of expression. The earliest poetry was not the elaborate expression of conscious art, it was the undesigned language of the religious feelings; it beheld men and gods united, and regarded Nature not only as sublime and beautiful but as divine. Poets, therefore, and all who shared their gifts, were accounted "inspired ministers and interpreters of the divinity;"[4] and it was commonly believed that Phidias must either himself have been favoured by direct revelation, or have borrowed his inspiration from the great poet who was popularly said to have either beheld the Olympian gods, or alone among men to have worthily described them[5]. But poets were inadequate or perhaps in some degree unfaithful to their sacred trust; the milk and honey of their words, though not intended to deceive, was ultimately found better suited to sweeten the cup of truth than to fill it[6]. And though Beauty was sent from heaven,

> "The lovely ministress of truth and good
> To this dark world,"

the beautiful utterances of poetry were neither coextensive with the true, nor clearly indicative of the good. As usual, the expository instrument was mistaken for the end, and by a literal inference from the idea of poetical inspiration the inventions of one age became the superstition of another, until men reading in Nature only what themselves had written, worshipped all the picturesque fancies of their own imaginations[7]. A want was felt, and philosophy succeeded to the lofty mission of poetry.

[4] Plato's Ion, p. 535.

[5] "Solum hunc formas Deorum aut vidisse aut ostendisse." Strabo, viii. p. 354. 132, Tch.

[6] "Σοφια κλεπτει παραγουσα μυθους." Pind. Nem. vii. 33.

[7] Ancient religious reformers pronounced the worship of "idols" to be the root of all evil. (Wisdom xiv. 27.) The maxim still holds good, for the worship of idols, *i. e.*, of fanciful conceits if not the source of all evil, is still the cause of a great deal.

Poetry once recognised as art could never more claim the infallibility of inspiration, since it acknowledged an authority intermediate between itself and the divine original which philosophy had equal or perhaps more powerful means of interpreting. The transition from one to the other was gradual; yet the change was not unfelt, and philosophy at its outset appeared under many disadvantages. It had an austere and repulsive aspect. It was hard to discuss as problems what had hitherto been assumed by the imagination and feelings. The style of philosophy was comparatively homely and unattractive, and it seemed as if by some spell the magic landscape of romance had suddenly broken up, leaving the disconsolate pilgrim on a barren heath or solitary desert. For though the "λογος" at first imitated the latitude of the "μυθος," and even borrowed its imagery, yet the self-conviction of ignorance which was the indispensable preliminary to philosophy, and the kind of spiritual midwifery employed by Socrates to rouse each individual mind to the development of its own embryo ideas, were processes more effectual perhaps but far more painful than the other, often disgusting the patient and bringing ill-will upon the operator[8]. Nay, the activity of mind and conscience which Socrates endeavoured to create in his auditors, by seeking in the forum, the workshop, and every scene of life, occasions of developing images and portraitures of the good and true (αγαλματ' ἀρετης), is described as almost intolerable even to those able and willing to receive its influences[9], an irritation like that produced by the fangs of the viper, a subtle poison overmastering the mind by a charm which tortured while it fascinated. The spirit of Nature had often shown its reluctance to disclose its oracles, by changing to a lion or dragon, a fire or flood. So, too, the regeneration of philosophy, as well as the drama of initiation, had its doubts and difficulties, its spectres and gorgons. It was jocularly said that Socrates resembled the wooden figures of Satyrs and Sileni in the sculp-

[8] Plato, Apol. ix. p. 23.

[9] "Νεων ψυχης μη αφνοῦς ὁταν λαβωνται." Sympos. 218.

tors' shops, which when cleaved asunder were found to contain within them the images of the gods[10]. Such is the nature of the impression which the aspect of philosophy makes, when for the first time presented to the dormant faculty of reason; it is not every one who is able to penetrate its real meaning, or to discover beneath an unprepossessing exterior the divinity within. Socrates appeared to be always talking of brass founders, leather cutters, or skin dressers, and a dull or unobservant person might have ridiculed his discourse. "But if any one should see it opened, as it were, and should get within the sense of his words, he then found that of all that ever entered into the mind of man to utter, these were the most impressive and profound; so supremely beautiful, so golden, so divine[11], that there was no resisting what Socrates enjoined." Yet human wisdom must always be limited and incorrect, and even right opinion, in the judgment of this wisest of mankind, is only a something intermediate between ignorance and knowledge[12]. The normal condition of man is that of progress; philosophy is a kind of journey, it is undoubtedly "ever learning, yet never arriving" at the ideal perfection of truth[13]. Rightly therefore did the sage assume the modest title of a "lover of wisdom;" for he ever longs after something more excellent than he possesses, something still beyond his reach, which he desires to make eternally his own[14]. It was thus that the philosophic sentiment came to be associated with the poetical and the religious, under the comprehensive name of Love. The same intense enthusiasm which the poet felt for the beautiful inspired the philosopher in the search after the true. Antecedent to the birth of philosophy Love had received but scanty and inadequate homage. This mightiest and most ancient of gods, coeval with the existence of religion and of the world, had been indeed unconsciously felt, but had neither been worthily honoured, nor directly

[10] Plato, Symp. s. 39. (p. 452.)
[11] Plato, ib. 456. Comp. John vii. 46.
[12] Symp. 427.
[13] See 2 Tim. iii. 7.
[14] Comp. Rep. v. 476[d].

celebrated in hymn or pæan[15]. And in some respects justly, for in the old days of ignorance Love could scarcely be said to have existed, or at least could not have been recognised. It was a sentiment denounced as a consuming fire[16], a disease, or frenzy, whose only cure was the Leucadian rock[17], an overpowering dæmon who instigated the tragedies of Tereus and Procne, of Hippolytus and Helen, the many dark events of Greek story in which the combinations of Nature were confounded with the most criminal aberrations of man[18]. It was a cosmogonical principle endowed with the ambiguous aspect of the Nature-god, symbolized by the Palladium or Caduceus[19], the cestus of Aphrodite, or bond of universal harmony, yet at the same time the fatal necklace of Eriphyle or belt of the Amazon, the Eris, whose amour, theoretically represented as a crime, was portentous of havoc and war, or, like the pernicious but beautiful Helena, united the antitheses in one as betokening a marriage with the grave[20]. This coarseness was at length theoretically

[15] Plato, Sympos. 378. 380. (177, 178.)

[16] Xenoph. Cyr. v. 1. 12; vi. 1. 36, 37. Sympos. 195.

[17] A murderous expiatory ceremony performed at the festival of the Leucadian Apollo, resembling the Attic Thargelia. The disastrous Tarpeia who betrayed the Roman citadel, but who nevertheless received a yearly worship (Dionys. Hal. ii. 40, p. 321), was probably a local Hecate or Erinnys, and hence victims and eventually criminals were hurled from her rock. (Comp. 2 Chron. xxv. 12. Luke iv. 29.)

[18] The sentiment of love was first made a prominent subject of tragic interest by Euripides. Sophocles uses it but little, and Æschylus only in mythic allusions.

[19] Comp. Hygin. Poet. Ast. 7, p. 372. The caduceus was the magic *staff* by which Hermes stopped the feud of two serpents. The Leucadian leap was the plunge into the grave taken every evening by the sun beyond the western promontory,

> "A rock
> The utmost verge of earth
> The rival of the Andes, whose dark brow
> Frowned o'er the silver sea."—SHELLEY'S *Queen Mab.*

[20] For love itself, the "bitter sweet" (Sappho, Frag. 31), may be called a kind of warfare;

> "Juveni ardenti castam donare puellam
> Quid faciunt hostes captâ crudelius urbe?"
>
> CATULLUS, *Cant.* 62. 24.

The Cabbalistic idea of marriages being preordained in heaven (Gfrörer, Urchristen-

if not practically corrected. The sentiment was purified simultaneously with the exaltation of its object, for in order that Love might exercise his proper influence over religion and philosophy it was necessary that the god of Nature should cease to be a god of terrors, a personification of mere power, an inflictor of evil, and an unrelenting judge. Plato's philosophy, in which this change became for ever established, was emphatically a mediation of Love. It was Love, he tells us, whose inspiration first kindled the light of arts and imparted them to mankind[21]; and not only the arts of mere existence, but the heavenly art of wisdom which supports the universe. Love, too, is the inspirer of high and generous deeds, of noble self-devotion; for many who have loved have not hesitated willingly to expose themselves to die for others: without this incitement neither state nor individual could do anything beautiful or great. "Love is peace and good-will among men, calm upon the waters, repose and stillness in the storm, the balm of sleep in sadness. Before him all harsh passions flee away, he is author of soft affections, destroyer of ungentle thoughts, merciful and mild, the admiration of the wise, the delight of the gods. Love divests us of all alienation from each other, and fills our vacant hearts with overflowing sympathy; he is the valued treasure of the fortunate, and desired by the unhappy (therefore unhappy because they possess him not), the parent of grace, of gentleness, of delicacy; a cherisher of all that is good, but guileless as to evil; in labour and in fear, in longings of the affections or in soarings of the reason, our best pilot, confederate, supporter, and saviour; ornament and governor of all things human and divine; the best, the loveliest, whom every one should follow with songs of exultation, uniting in the divine harmony with which Love for ever soothes the mind of men and gods."[22]

thum, ii. p. 54) seems to have been reversed by the inventors of Greek fable, the Ατη of Paris, who gave the palm to the author of "μαχλοσυνη αλιγιτιη" (Iliad, xxiv. 30. Comp. vi. 356), properly belonging to the infernal world.

[21] Sympos. 179 sq. 196 sq.

[22] Plato, Symp. 197 (or 418).

Yet, properly speaking, it is not Love itself which is beautiful, but the object it pursues. Love has many sorts or degrees; there is the Eros of cosmogony, the physical attraction in the inanimate, binding atom to atom or element to element; then there is the sexual passion shared by man and brute, the dread power which of old united Erebus to night[23], and overpowering man as well as nature, led Antigone to the bridal bed of Hades[24]. But man is capable of a higher love, which, marrying mind with mind and with the universe, brings forth all that is noblest in his faculties, and lifts him beyond himself. This higher Love is described by Plato as being himself neither mortal nor immortal, but a power intermediate between the human and the divine, filling up the mighty interval and binding the universe together. He is chief of those celestial emissaries[25] who carry to gods the prayers of men, and bring down to men the gifts of the gods. He is allegorically the son of heavenly Plenty[26] and mortal Poverty[27]; and in the same "garden of God,"[28] where it may be supposed that man's estrangement began[29], divine plenteousness is said to have mingled with human feebleness and want, and their natural offspring was Love. The Fall was the experience of a want; Love, its antidote, is a child of Want. And as the child of poverty and plenty, his nature and fortune participate in those of his parents. "He is for ever poor, and far from being beautiful as mankind imagine, for he is squalid and withered; he flies low along the ground, is homeless and unsandalled[30]; sleeping without covering before the doors and in the unsheltered streets, and possessing so far his mother's nature

[23] Theog. 125. [24] Soph. Antig. 777. 781. 804. 816.

[25] *i. e.*, the dæmons.

[26] Πορος is son of Metis, meaning probably the divine fulness arising from philosophy. Zeller, Gr. Phil. ii. 168.

[27] Compare the legend of Koros and Chresmosyne, in Philo-Judæus de Animalibus Sacrificio Idoneis, My. ii. 224. Wyttenbach's note to Plutarch de ei Delph. 9.

[28] "Εις τον του Διος κηπον." Sympos. 203 b.

[29] The house of Cadmus (the Cosmos) was also the temple of Demeter, and the marriage-chamber of Semele and Harmonia. Paus. ix. 12. 3—16. 3.

[30] Comp. Matt. viii. 20. Luke ix. 58. John xvi. 33. "Paupertas olim philosophiæ vernacula." Apuleius de Magiâ, p. 432.

as being ever the companion of want. Yet sharing also that of his father, he is for ever scheming to obtain things good and beautiful; he is fearless, vehement, and strong; always devising some new contrivance; strictly cautious and full of inventive resource, a philosopher through his whole existence, a powerful enchanter, and a subtle sophist. And as his nature is neither mortal nor immortal, he will at one time flourish in blooming life when fortunate; then die away, and then according to his father's nature again revive. The fulness of his wealth perpetually flows away from him, so that he is neither rich nor poor, neither ignorant nor wise." "The case stands thus: no god philosophizes, or desires to become wise, for he is wise; nor again—do the ignorant philosophize, for they desire not to become wise; for this is the evil of ignorance, that they who have neither intelligence, nor virtue, nor delicacy of sentiment, imagine that they possess all these things sufficiently. Those only, who though not altogether wise are neither altogether ignorant, feel that enthusiastic love for wisdom, the most beautiful of all things, which is the spirit of philosophy. The beauty contemplated by philosophy is that of the true and good. The possession of good is happiness. The desire to be happy is common to all men,—all desire good, and all are in this sense lovers; for we are often misled by selecting a particular species of love, and applying to it exclusively the name of that which is universal. The desire for happiness and for good is the greatest and subtlest love which dwells in the heart of every living being; but those who seek this object through the acquirement of wealth, or art, or philosophy, are not said to love, nor are called lovers; one species alone is called love, and those alone said to be lovers who seek the attainment of the universal desire through one sort distinguished by the name belonging of right to the whole. It is said by some, that they love who are seeking the lost half of their divided being. But love is neither the love of the half nor of the whole, unless it be good; for men willingly cut off their own hands and feet if they think they are

the cause of evil to them[31]. It may therefore be generally affirmed that men love that which is good, and wish not only that it should be present, but continue so for ever."[32]

But though all men desire what is good when able to perceive its worth and beauty, they are often misled by ignorance or forgetfulness, and the sentiment of love pursues the really good only when guided by knowledge of the true. The progressive acquisition of this knowledge is the task of philosophy, which, rising from the contemplation of one form of beauty to that of another, discerns the superiority of mental and moral beauty to that which is merely physical, and at last is enabled to discover that archetypal beauty which alone can be called supremely good and blessed[33]. For though far differing from a morbid mysticism or sentimentalism, philosophy would justly appear contemptible if, according to the reflection of a modern writer, it could discern no end or aim of progress[34]; or if, according to another[35], it made the universe a "huge manger," and man a mere "motive grinder," a "dead iron balance for weighing pains and pleasures on;" if, in fine, it professed to stop short at any moment of its infinite career, and did not ennoble the littleness of its actual gains by the magnitude of its aspirations. In order to illustrate the nature and efficacy of intellectual Love, Plato employs the obvious analogy of that residing in the body, and shows that as the energy of life consists in a perpetual renewal, and as the parent by generation of offspring attains a sort of corporeal perpetuity, so the soul by the energy of its own operations obtains an immortality characteristic of itself[36]. For when, in the development of its powers of discrimination and self-improvement, it is enabled to appreciate the superior beauty of the moral and intellectual, in communication with science and with

[31] Compare Matt. v. 29.

[32] Sympos. 205 sq. Comp. Shelley's translation.

[33] Sympos. p. 204. Comp. Wisd. xiii. 3. Matt. xix. 7. John xiv. 7; ix. 21.

[34] D'Israeli in Tancred. [35] Carlyle's Sartor.

[36] "Οὔτω γαρ ου τιθηκας ουδε τις θανων." Æschyl. Choeph. 497.

other minds it becomes abundantly prolific of beautiful thoughts and actions, so that Love completes the mysterious circle of its analogies by being not only the desire of the beautiful, but of production and generation in the beautiful. The ideal consummation of Platonic science is the arrival at contemplation of that of which earth exhibits no express image or adequate similitude, the supreme prototype of all beauty, pure and uncontaminated with human intermixture of flesh or colour, the divine original itself. To one so qualified is given the prerogative of bringing forth not mere images and shadows of virtue, but virtue itself, as having been conversant not with shadows but with the truth; and having so brought forth and nurtured a progeny of virtue, he becomes the "friend of God," and, so far as such a privilege can belong to any human being, immortal[37].

Such is Plato's description of the philosophical or religious sentiment, that lofty distinction of humanity, which superstition can never utterly debase, nor worldliness extinguish. But a feeling alone cannot constitute either a religion or a philosophy. The feeling must have a mode of addressing itself to nature, of adjusting its resources so as effectually to meet her problems. Enthusiastic feeling had already produced poetry, and the very reason why a new instrument of interpretation was required was the necessity experienced in the attempt to make nearer approaches to the object, of finding an intellectual counterpoise to its irregular and exaggerating influences. Poetry was an attempt to interpret nature by the eye and by the sentiments; its first language was the spontaneous utterance of Nature's children, who acknowledged it undistinguishingly as madness or as inspiration. If in that golden age of song there was no cold artificial description[38], it was because

[37] Page 212, Stalb.

[38] Comp. Humboldt, Cosmos, vol. ii. ch. 1. "The old poets, being privileged with senses, had also enjoyed external nature, but chiefly as we enjoy the crystal cup which holds good or bad liquor for us; that is to say in silence, or with slight incidental comment; never, as I compute, until after the 'Sorrows of Werter,' was there a man found who could say, 'Come, let us make a description!'" Carlyle's Sartor Resartus.

its place was preoccupied by those exuberant mythical forms in which nature was not a dead unmeaning picture but a living and divine reality. All philosophic speculation has been said to be as "a gazing on clothing until it seemed transparent," and the ancient sage to whom Nature stood revealed in her dazzling simplicity appeared to the vulgar as if blinded, blinded that is to common perceptions, or else, having Actæon-like gazed on nature[39], to be as if transformed by the beauty of the vision, so as to become absorbed or identified with its changes[40]. The theology and mysteries of the Greeks were but parts of their poetical mythology, preserving more or less faithfully in local transmission the spirit of the original symbolism. Again, the earliest philosophy was little more than a formal restoration of the wisdom once spoken in poetry[41]; it was essentially religious, a revelation of outward nature correctly representing in its dogmatical form the implicit credence in which it had been conceived. Though gradually adopting the phraseology of the "λογος," it still retained much of the "μυθος;" music continued to be, as in the mysteries, its accompaniment or its prelude[42], and the Socratic intermixture of jocularity with seriousness may remind us of the alternate vein of ancient Nature-religion, the jests of Iambe which cheered the mysterious grief of Ceres, and which gave a sacredness to the origin of comedy. But though its earliest professors, as Pythagoras and Heraclitus, were

[39] Shelley. Comp. Paus. vii. 19. 7; and Spanheim to Callim. Lavacr. Palladis, v. 53 and 80—

"Ειδες Αθαναιας στηθεα και λαγονας,
Αλλ' ουκ 'αελιον παλιν οψεαι —
Κρονιοι δ'ωδε λεγοντι νομοι."

[40] "Nature lives but while she moves."

[41] Plato banished art (*i.e.*, deliberate or ornamental art) from his republic (Rep. 10); real art with him was no other than philosophy, the pursuit of the true; he condemned the degeneracy of art, not its original mission. The latter is called by Aristotle more noble and philosophical than that of history (Poet. 9. 1), a means of disciplining the feelings and morals. Aristotle attaches a philosophic value to Mythi, in which, however, he seeks only for general inferences or divinatory truths ("θειως ειρησθαι," Metaph. xi. 8. 21), never for historical occurrences.

[42] Quintil. de Mus. iii. 163.

called "Orphic," and were even classed with Hesiod and Homer[43], they did not obsequiously adopt the prevailing traditions of their age[44], and it was chiefly as innovators and reformers that they earned the title of philosophers. Yet even in them the mind confounded itself with the objects it contemplated, and began to act independently long before it knew the character of its own operation. It reflected nature rather than deliberately attempted to explain it, even though the idea or "form" employed for the purpose was sometimes, as for example with the Eleatæ, of the most abstract kind. When in Anaxagoras the mind seeking for a satisfactory principle of motion began to look within, and to refer to its own processes, it discovered for the first time that the external world was a mass of dead atoms, the sun a heated stone, the heavens an eddying sphere. The foundations of ancient faith were thus loosened, and the empire of the universe seemed to be abandoned to opinion and chance. "Man became the sole measure of all things;" and there was for the moment no substitute to replace the old belief in objective truth. It was the trifling with this belief which constituted in the eyes of philosophers the great crime of the Sophists; "If Protagoras be *right*," said Aristotle[45], "the first principle of logic is useless; the accidental is confounded with the true, and it becomes possible for a thing at one time to be and not to be." From scepticism the mind naturally reverted to superstition. Socrates, abandoning physics, revived the pursuit of truth by exploring the consciousness of the *subject;* his great aim was to "know himself;" he felt that vague guesses about the vortices of the planets or the structures of organization were not wisdom, and he saw no means by which they could be made so. But he believed, like Heraclitus, in a universal reason pervading all things and all minds, and consequently revealing itself in ideas. He therefore sought

[43] Clem. Alex. Protr. p. 29, Pott. Strom. vi. 752. Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 483, Wytt. Brandis, Hist. Phil. i. p. 38.

[44] Comp. Lobeck Aglaoph. 167. Arist. Rhet. ii. 23. 287.

[45] Metaph. iii. 5. 1.

truth in general opinion[46], not however in the superficial and sceptical spirit of the Sophists, but with implicit faith in the criterium. He correctly perceived in the communication of mind with mind one of the greatest prerogatives of wisdom, the most powerful instrument of advancement. In order to consult the internal oracle with certainty and effect, it became necessary for him more accurately to observe its processes and phenomena, and for the purpose of knowing things he proceeded to define and generalize ideas. In some respects he may be said to have struck the happy medium between despondency and presumption. He rested his claim to be thought wise on self-conviction of ignorance; but with him the confession was accompanied with untiring efforts to learn, and with a hopeful view of humanity. On the other hand, he professed not to be wise, but "a lover of wisdom;" his life was one of enquiry[47], his philosophy was not the actual possession but a "hunt" after truth[48]. There was a wholesome scepticism, or rather a modesty which was not scepticism; and the first preliminary to acquiring wisdom was to become aware of the difficulty of the task; to abjure finality, and to be as free from the conceit of knowledge as from the despair of doubt. In this way must be explained the chief difficulty in the conception of the Socratic theory, the simultaneous belief in human certainty and human ignorance, the seeming contradiction between passages asserting the possibility of science as distinct from mere opinion[49], and others in which the perfection of wisdom is said to consist in a recognition of its contracted limits[50]. Socrates would no more have pretended to perfect wisdom than to perfect virtue; nor yet would he have allowed true wisdom to be a mere unattainable idea, or that the moral convictions of the mind, those eternal instincts of temperance, conscientiousness, and justice, implanted in it by the

[46] Xen. Mem. iv. 6. 15.

[47] "Φιλοσοφοῦντα μι δει ζην και ἐξεταζοντα ἑμαυτον και τους αλλους." Apol. 28.

[48] "Θηρα της αληθειας." Stobæ. ii. 1. 1, p. 14. Phædrus, 178[4]. Phædo, p. 17, Wytt.

[49] Meno, p. 98. Phileb. 59. Apol. 21. 23.

gods[51], could possibly deceive if rightly interpreted. Philosophy had hitherto been an irregular contemplation of a vague object; Socrates gave it a surer aim with more certainty of method, but resting too exclusively on independent promptings of the mind, and treating notions when tested only by the precarious verification of counter notions as equal to certainties, he gave that metaphysical direction to it which ended in visionary extravagance. Philosophy shared the errors of poetry and consequently its failure[52]. Having assumed truth to be discoverable in thought, it proceeded to treat thoughts as truths. It thus became an idolatry of notions, which it considered either as phantoms exhaled from objects, or as portions of the divine pre-existent thought[53], thus creating a mythology of its own, and escaping from one thraldom only to enslave itself afresh. "The apotheosis of error," says Bacon[54], "is the greatest of evils, and when folly is worshipped, it is as it were a plague-spot on the understanding." Yet it was a noble instinct of the mind which prompted it to insulate its acquisitions, to transplant them as it were out of the perplexing varieties of the outward world in which they grew, and to make them wholly intellectual. It were indeed the ideal perfection of philosophy if it could dispense with appeals to the world of appearances, and from a few comprehensive axioms proceed independently from inference to inference, so as to reason out à priori all natural results. This which, humanly speaking, can never be possible except to a limited extent, was little to be expected from antiquity, when the only inductive generalizations known with sufficient precision to deserve the name of exact science were those of mathematics. The ancient philosophers unfortunately treated the objects of science generally in the same

[51] Protag. 322[d].

[52] The first effort of the philosophic, as of the poetic Eros, may thus be said to have terminated in a multiplication of darkness, a marriage of Erebus and Night.

[53] Comp. Martin sur le Timée de Platon, p. 15; and Phædo, pp. 65, 66.

[54] Nov. Org. 1. Aph. 60. 65.

way as those familiar cases of co-existence, space, and number[55], in which the mind by speculation alone can deduce from a few very simple experiences so many wonderful results[56]. It was far more difficult to deal with the successions of the physical and moral world, to reduce them correctly to general forms or propositions which should be safe bases of reasoning; and the case was still more hopeless when the reason of the difficulty was unfelt, and when mere words and notions either gratuitously assumed or collected from the rudest experience were posited as truths. Both the power and weakness of language had been strikingly exemplified by mythology, which, blending varieties and severing things connected, showed how many differences of idea may be brought under the same word, and how many different words may stand for the same idea. The Socratic philosophy of abstract ideas and definitions may be said to have stood half way between mythology which openly shifts its ground with capricious fancy, and the strict science bound to realities and facts. All language involves more or less of the mythical[57]. Words, notions, even carefully-made theories, are not in themselves truth[58], though as helps to class or explain phenomena they may be indispensable in the pursuit of it, and in the discovery of ulterior laws. The use of a name or notion is to identify a thing we wish to remember or examine, and a theory, however reliable in itself, is but a provisional generalization of

[55] Herschel's Discourse, sec. 100. "It being in the nature of the human mind, to the extreme prejudice of knowledge, to delight in the spacious liberty of generalities, the mathematics of all other knowledge were the goodliest field to satisfy that appetite." "Advancement of Learning."

[56] The where and when so mysteriously blended with all our thoughts are but "superficial terrestrial adhesions to them;" and it may be for this reason that we are able to comprehend the whole truth about them, since they are part of ourselves. Plato, Phædo, 73 b.

[57] *e. g.*, the terms fermentation, phlogiston, &c. It may be added that wide blanks remain to be filled up in regard to "atom," "gravitation," "substance." So true is the aphorism already quoted from Goethe, "Sobald man spricht, beginnt man schon zu irren."

[58] *i. e.*, complete or ultimate truth.

the relations between one class of things and another. The utility of both in a great degree ceases with the accomplishment of a temporary purpose; for no theory is exhaustive of phenomena[59], nor can any notion or form of expression be relied on as infallible. All our ideas are results of comparison, the ultimate standard of reference being ourselves. By this criterium we get our first impression of colours, magnitudes, and objects generally, philosophy serving only to correct these rude impressions, and to furnish a truer appreciation of the relations of objects to ourselves and to each other. The great obstacle to philosophic progress has ever been the mistake of confounding the instrument with the end, and an obstinate adherence to favoured nationalities. Philosophy had its superstitions as well as poetry, which inevitably arrested its career and altered its nature. Theories and notions indiscriminately formed and defended are the false gods or "idols" of philosophy. Fearlessly launching into the problem of universal being, the first philosophy attempted to supply a compendious and decisive solution of every doubt. To do this it was obliged to make the most sweeping assumptions, and as poetry had already filled the void between the human and divine by personifying its deity as man, so philosophy bowed down before the supposed reflection of the Divine image in the mind of the enquirer, who in worshipping his own notions had unconsciously deified himself. The order of intellectual propriety was reversed; Nature was enslaved to common notions, and notions very often to words. There was however this distinguishing advantage of philosophical over religious theory, that it enjoyed comparative freedom, and appealing to evidence was therefore open to confutation[60]. It was natural that anticipated dogmas should clash with each

[59] "Erfahrung kann sich ins Unendliche erweitern, Theorie nicht in eben dem sinne sich reinigen und vollkommener werden." Goethe, Ethical Maxims, p. 396, large 8vo.

[60] The God of philosophy differs from the God of "revelation" in being known to be a mere human conception, while the other is superstitiously confounded with the object.

other; and accordingly each sect had its rival[61] which effectually checked its presumption by maintaining contradictory doctrines with equal pertinacity and effect. The world was partially redeemed from an implicit or superstitious deference to any particular school by the jealous disputes of incompatible opinions, which, however, while they undermined the obstinacy of error, seemed to render more remote and hopeless than ever any satisfactory attainment of truth. From the proud pretence of infallible wisdom philosophy was thus gradually reduced to the ignominious confession of utter incapacity. As the advent of philosophy had been the crisis, or Fall, which terminated the golden age of poetry, so philosophy found its check, or intellectual Fall, in Scepticism. Xenophanes and Heraclitus experienced a "Fall," when they mournfully acknowledged the unsatisfactory result of all the struggles of philosophy in the admission of a universality of doubt[62]; and the memorable effort of Socrates to rally the discomfited champions of truth ended in a similar confession. His abandonment of natural science was itself a partial adoption of the despair of scepticism, and his exclusive appeal to the infallibility of internal consciousness eventually made philosophy more notional and metaphysically superstitious than before. For if reason was able to discover within itself the universal axioms (*τα καθολου*), comprising all particulars and all truth, it had already attained the union or assimilation to the Supreme thought formally claimed after oriental precedent by the Alexandrian Platonists[63], and would of course make good any obvious deficiency by visionary excitement. The worship of abstractions continued the error which personified evil or deified Fortune, and when mystical philosophy resigned its place to mystical religion, it changed not its nature but only its name, formally acknowledging its affinity with that in which it sank. However the intellect had done much to educate itself by experience of the fallacy of its own assump-

[61] Nov. Org. 1. Aph. 62.

[62] "*Δοκος επι πασι τετυκται.*"

[63] "*Θεουργικη ενωσις*;" Iamblichus.

tions. Ancient philosophy prepared the way for modern science, by teaching the mind to discipline and comprehend its powers, which in greater maturity reverted to the contemplation of nature, and were employed in bending it to the uses of man. But the great task undertaken, though as yet unperformed, that of reducing the outward world and its principles[64] to the dominion of the intellect, and of reconciling the conception of the supreme unalterable power asserted by reason with the requisitions of human sympathies, could be even approximatively fulfilled only when the province of faith was more carefully distinguished from that of knowledge, and when the course of Nature's government was found to belong to the latter as intelligible as well as uniform. A general idea of purpose and regularity in nature had been suggested by common appearances to the earliest reflection. The ancients perceived a natural order, a divine legislation from which human institutions were supposed to be derived, "laws emblazoned in heaven"[65] and thence revealed to earth, or, in mythical language, communicated by the spirit of nature personated by Ceres, Osiris, or Zeus. But they were very imperfectly acquainted with their character or extent. Divine law was little more than an analogical inference from human law taken in the vulgar sense of arbitrary will or partial covenant; it was surmised rather than discovered, and remained immoral because unintelligible[66]. It mattered little under the circumstances whether the universe were said to be governed by chance or reason, since the latter if misunderstood was virtually one with the former[67]. Law un-

[64] "Unde omnes natura creet res, auctat, alatque."

[65] "Ουρανιαν δι αιθερα τεκνωθεντες." Soph. Œd. Tyr. 865. Antig. 455. Ps. Plat. Epinomis, 977. "Law," says Pindar, "is king of all, both mortals and immortals." Herod. iii. 38. Plat. Gorg. 484. "The order of the universe," said Aristotle, "is like that of a family, of which each member has its part not arbitrarily or capriciously enforced, but prefixed and appointed; all in their diversified functions conspiring to the harmony of the whole." Metaph. 11. (12.) 10. 3.

[66] "Better far," said Epicurus, "acquiesce in the fables of tradition than acknowledge the oppressive Necessity of the physists." Diog. Laert.

[67] Hence Menander speaks of God, Chance, and Intelligence as undistinguishable. Stobæ. Ecl. i. 192. The casual, however, and that which seems mysterious in

acknowledged goes under the name of chance; perceived, but not understood, it becomes necessity. The wisdom of the Stoic was a dogged submission to the arbitrary behests of one; that of the Epicurean an advantage snatched by more or less dexterous management from the equal tyranny of the other. Ignorance sees nothing necessary, and is self-abandoned to a power tyrannical because defined by no rule, and paradoxical because permitting evil, while assumed to be unlimited, all powerful, and good. A little knowledge, presuming an identification of the supreme Cause with the inevitable certainty of perfect reason, but omitting the analysis or interpretation of it, leaves the mind chain-bound in the ascetic fatalism of the Stoic. Something of both these states of feeling attaches to the supernaturalist, who contemplating a Being acting through impulse though with superhuman wisdom, and considering the best courtier to be the most favoured subject, combines contradictory expedients, inconsistently mixing the assertion of free action with the enervating service of petition[68]. The last stage is that in which the religion of action is made legitimate through comprehension of its proper objects and conditions. Human government tends in the advance of civilization to pass from the arbitrary to the limited or constitutional; Nature's government is changeless, but it appears to undergo a change when it is better understood, and when the excellence which in our case is developed, is in the other discovered. Man becomes morally free only when the notions of chance and of incomprehensible necessity are both displaced by that of law. Law, as applied to the universe, means that universal providential pre-arrangement whose conditions can be discerned and discretionally acted on by human intelligence. The sense of freedom arises when the indepen-

ordinary causal successions, is rather what we do not, than what we cannot understand.

[68] It is indisputable that "if the production of the things we ask for depend on antecedent, natural, and necessary causes, our desires will be answered no less by the omission than the offering of prayers, which, therefore, are a vain thing." Dr. Wm. King, Archbishop of Dublin, on the Origin of Evil, ch. v. 5. 4. Supposing this inference and assumption to be true, the form of praying would be advantageously exchanged for that of thanksgiving.

dence of the individual develops itself according to its own laws without external collision or hindrance; of constraint, where it is thwarted or confined by other natures, or where by a combination of external forces the individual force is compelled into a new direction. Moral choice would not exist safely, or even at all, unless it were bounded by conditions determining its preferences. Duty supposes a rule both intelligible and certain, since an uncertain rule would be unintelligible, and if unintelligible, there could be no responsibility. Even the Jews felt that the Mosaic law could not be obligatory if unknown, and they therefore taxed their ingenuity to account for its miraculous promulgation to the universe. "Law is on the side of the weak, result is with the strong."[69] Man commands results only by selecting among the contingent the preordained results most suited to his purposes. In regard to absolute or divine morality, meaning the final cause or purpose of those comprehensive laws which often seem harsh to the individual because inflexibly impartial and just to the universal, speculation must take refuge in faith, the immediate and obvious purpose often bearing so small a proportion to a wider and unknown one as to be relatively absorbed or lost. Yet of the good and ill which at first seemed irreconcilable and capriciously distributed, the one holds its ground, the other diminishes by being explained. Thus the educated mind begins to appreciate the moral superiority of a system of law over one of interference, and as the jumble of means and ends is brought into more intelligible perspective, partial or seeming good is gladly resigned for the disinterested and universal. Self-restraint is found not to imply self-sacrifice. The true meaning of what appeared to be Necessity is not arbitrary power, but Kratos and Bia subservient to Zeus, resistless force enlisted in the service of intelligence. The mystery of the world remains, yet is sufficiently cleared up to inspire confidence; and man surrounded by necessity is free, not in a dogged determination of isolated will, but because though inevitably complying with Nature's laws he is able

[69] Schiller, Das Naturgesetz.

proportionably to his knowledge to modify in regard to himself the conditions of their action, and so to preserve an average conformity between their forces and his own.

Human knowledge consists chiefly in the experimental ascertainment of these laws or natural limits circumscribing the range of vague possibility. But before it could be known to what extent experience could be relied on for the explanation of phenomena or raising of axioms deserving in any sense to be considered true[70], it was necessary that abundant experiences should be accumulated, and that they should be distinguished as more or less real or superficial, of wide or limited application, as affording a foundation for certainty or only for feeble probability. Above all, it was necessary that the groundwork of all reasoning from experience, the undeviating uniformity of the laws of Nature, should itself be approved as the most certain of all inferences by the widest and most undeniable experience of the separate uniformities existing in single phenomena. For the only test of experience is itself; and hence the construction of science could only be a result of time, arising out of prolonged intercourse with the objective and deliberate study of it, when the success of some inferences and failure of others led to a review of the processes through which they were made, eventually showing the necessity of an active search after instances instead of merely waiting for them, and of verifying one by many. Science consists of those matured inferences from experience which all other experience confirms; it is no fixed system superior to revision, but that progressive mediation between ignorance and wisdom in part conceived by Plato, whose immediate object is happiness, and whose impulse the highest kind of love. Science is mind judiciously applied to nature; it begins when mind lays hold

[70] The monkey burlesques the man; so the scientific process of induction was travestied by the divinatory theory of the Egyptian priests. They are said (Herod. ii. 82) to have carefully noted down every occurrence and the circumstances casually attending or following it; then, on recurrence of the phenomenon, they ventured from these data to predict the consequences.

on matter, and subjects the accumulations of experience to rational combinations. Bacon compares its processes to the ascending and descending of the symbolical ladder of the Hebrew patriarch, in the one comprising the task of construction, or of mounting upwards to axioms or generalizations, and again the deductive or descending process, in which science so constituted is verified and applied, and in which the mind having obtained mastery over a certain portion of the chain of causation, becomes enabled to infer appearances before unknown or unexplained, and to subdue new departments of nature. Once educated negatively by failure, we now gain positive assurance from success. The results of science approximatively assured by the agreement of scientific men so different from the barren rivalries of antiquity, receive their ultimate attestation from Nature herself, who when a correct inference has been made, declares her assent by revealing new facts and new resources[71]. Ancient philosophy stood apart from the arts, because it affected too soon that intellectual independence and isolation possible only in a limited degree for its maturity. "The first inventions," says Bacon, "were ascribed to beasts or to gods, because human reason appeared to have been little concerned in originating them" They seemed as a theft or stratagem, as rebellion and impiety. However difficulty and want[72] called forth a rude empirical knowledge, which aided occasionally by a lucky chance became the source of the first arts or expedients by which they were partially supplied or overcome. But when this knowledge was enlarged, generalized, and methodically reduced to principles, when, by multiplying instances and experiments, many natural laws were discovered whose certainty was authenticated as well by the new truths they revealed as by the uses and applications resulting from them, science and art became united, and the

[71] Axioms rightly investigated and established prepare us not for limited but abundant practice, and bring in their train whole troops of effects. Nov. Org. i. 70.

[72] "Duris urgens in rebus egestas." "Paupertas artium Repertrix." Apuleius, de Mag. 434.

intellectualization of the external world vainly attempted by the ancients was already in a degree realized. Thus the tortoise steps of reason overtook the rapid but rash flight of imagination. We are now enabled confidently to deny the existence of an impassable barrier[73], of an ebb and flow of civilization; and since discovery of the reasons of failure is itself an earnest of success, we may apply to man's intellectual career the well-known quotation from Demosthenes[74], since the very circumstances most forbidding in the retrospect are the most flattering to hope. Science realizes and unites all that was truly valuable in both the old schemes of mediation; the heroic, or system of action and effort; and the mystical theory of spiritual contemplative communion. It was no unreasonable requisition of antiquity, that every pretender to the prophetic office should exhibit by evident control exerted over nature a "sign," or satisfactory proof of his mission[75]. Science bears the same vouchers of fruits or effects[76] which were required in religion. It performs not in obscurity and among the ignorant, but in the light of day and before all[77], those feats of prediction and of marvellous if not miraculous power which used to be held unanswerable attestations of authenticity. Through the material[78], which it looks upon not as

[73] "Φασι κυκλον ειναι τα ανθρωπινα πραγματα." Aristot. Phys. iv. 14.

[74] Nov. Org. bk. i. 94.

[75] "These things done by her being looked upon as above the common course of nature, the king highly honoured her, and believed all she said to be true." Diod. S. iv. 51.

[76] Compare Nov. Org. i. 73 with Matt. vii. 16.

[77] "Listen to me," says Galen, when propounding the wonders of anatomy, "as to the voice of the Eleusinian Hierophant, and believe that the study of Nature is a mystery no less important than theirs, nor less adapted to display the wisdom and power of the great Creator. Their lessons and demonstrations were obscure, but ours clear and unmistakeable."

[78] Supposing matter to be really the inert thing it is commonly taken for, it may appear strange that while able to destroy life we should be incapable of annihilating a single particle of what would seem comparatively so insignificant. The case, however, alters if modern science can approach the point long ago imagined but not discovered by Aristotle, where the chain of being bends back again into itself, and where matter merges in its seeming antithesis, mind. Individual life then loses its

its corrupter but its teacher, it opens an intellectual communion with the universal intelligence[79]. Among its "forms" or axioms framed upon an actual and sufficient basis, each outstanding member of the real world finds successively its appropriate place; the power of framing correct notions or hypotheses grows with its growth, and the seeming mystery of complicated phenomena melts away before its generalisations. It heals disease, gives sight to the blind, and language to the dumb; it grows stronger by time, and by the attestation of real unanimity[80]. Its foundation in nature is proved by a command over her powers coextensive with the powers themselves, and by the success of appeals vainly attempted by ancient professors of magic, in making the elements subservient to the use of man, and even bringing down the fire of the divinity who indignantly repelled those who presumed without authority to tamper with his secrets[81]. Knowledge is convertible into power, axioms into rules of utility and duty. Ancient philosophy was unsocial because it was mystical. Modern science is social and communicative; it is moral as well as intellectual; powerful, yet pacific and disinterested; binding man to man as well as to the universe; filling up the details of obligation and cherishing impulses of virtue[82]; infinitely multiplying the average comfort of the masses[83]; and

exaggerated importance, appearing only as one, though the highest, among the manifestations of a Power in whom death ceases to bear its usual meaning. Every exertion of force may be proved to be eternal in its consequences, alterable indeed in character and direction, but never annihilated; but this exertion, in the only instance in which we are really familiar with it, *i. e.*, our own consciousness, we uniformly ascribe to mind.

[79] "Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila condit."

[80] "Unanimity," says Bacon (Nov. Org. i. 77), "is of two kinds; one ignorant assent or blind obsequiousness to dogma or prejudice, the other proceeding from free judgment, arriving at the same conclusion after independent examination of the facts."

[81] Comp. Nov. Org. i. 3. Levit. x. 1. Soph. Œd. T. 36.

[82] "La doctrine la plus féconde envertus divines sera celle qui contiendra le plus de verités divines." Lamartine.

[83] The assertion is true, although in a highly-taxed country pressing a large population into a small area the beneficial influence may be greatly counteracted.

by affording clear proof of the consistency and identity of all interests, substituting co-operation for rivalry, liberality for jealousy, and tending far more powerfully than any other means to realize the spirit of religion, by healing those inveterate disorders which, traced to their real origin, will be found rooted in an ignorant assumption as to the penurious severity of Providence, and the consequent greed of selfish men to confine what seemed as if extorted from it to themselves, or to steal from each other rather than quietly to enjoy their own. Science is no longer, as sometimes of old, an inference from empirical expedients, but the fruitful mother of expedients flowing abundantly from each discovered law by which we co-operate, and, as it were, communicate with nature. Reconciling thus the uses and sympathies of man with Nature's seeming inflexibility through acquaintance with the idea presiding over its arrangement, it may be said to be the true instrument of spiritual mediation. If the Fall was an awakening of the soul accompanied by despondency, science is a second revival marked by energy and hope; conventionally separated from religion, yet preserving its spirit, and by that very separation, when rightly understood, protected in great measure against the errors which obstructed its ancient development. For scientific "forms," as humanly attainable, are only imperfect efforts of comparison and exclusion, expressive of the best information yet obtained from experience. We shall probably never reach those higher forms containing the "true differences of things," involving the full discovery and correct expression of their very self or essence. We ever fall short of the most general or most simple nature, the ultimate or most comprehensive law[84]. Our widest axioms explain many phenomena, but so too in a degree did the principles or elements of the old philosophers, and the cycles and epicycles of ancient astronomy. Yet though unable in any case of causation to assign the whole of the conditions, or, even though reproducing

[84] "That knowledge being worthiest which is the least charged with multiplicity." Bacon's Advancement of Learning.

them in practice[85], mentally to distinguish them all without knowing the essences of the things including them, we often unconsciously ascribe that absolute certainty to axioms which the ancient religionists did to creeds; and the mind, ever striving to insulate itself and its acquisitions, forgets the nature of the process by which it substituted scientific for common notions, with one as with the other laying the basis of self-deception by a pedantic and superstitious employment of them[86]. But as the "Fall" was symbolical of that birth of intellect which seemed to give man the attribute of God, so doubt, the essential preliminary of all improvement and discovery, must accompany all the stages of his onward progress. Man's intellectual life is a perpetual beginning, a preparation for a birth. The faculty of doubting and questioning, without which those of comparison and judgment would be useless, is itself a divine prerogative of the reason. Faith is peculiarly the virtue of children, doubt that of men. With children faith seems instinctively to accompany love; to discipline the affections is to make the reason more hesitating in pronouncing its decisions. Experience which teaches scepticism reveals also higher sources of faith. But the childish faith which seemed blindly to follow the object of love is strikingly inapplicable to the universe. Here it becomes distinctly evident that we can love and believe aright only by knowing[87]; but knowledge is always imperfect, or complete only in a prospectively boundless career, in which discovery multiplies doubt, and doubt

[85] By means of their material or efficient causes.

[86] Here again, as in the mediation of poetry, bringing down the Deity to the level of human conceptions, instead of trying to raise the conception nearer to the Deity.

[87] Clearly a true education of the understanding is at the same time an education of the heart; for God is good; the more we know of him, or of his works, the stronger the appeal to the worthier sentiments. There seems to be a great misapprehension in regard to intellectual education and its objects. Sir Bulwer Lytton says (Caxtons, vol. iii. p. 133), "Not for want of mind, understanding, genius, have Borgias and Neros left their names as monuments of horror to mankind."

leads on to new discovery[88]. Science makes us feel that we are men, but also that we are children. Man, the "insect infinito," who seemed to fall when, comparing the actual with the possible, he first reflected on the antithesis of his nature, is truly great not in act but in aspiration; and the boast of science is not so much its manifested results, as its admitted imperfection and capacity of unlimited progress[89]. The true religious philosophy of an imperfect being is not a system of creed, but as Socrates thought, an infinite search or approximation. Finality is but another name for bewilderment or defeat, the common affectation of indolence and superstition, a temporary suspension of the mind's health arising from prejudice, and especially from the old error of clinging too closely to notions found instrumental in assisting it after they have ceased to be serviceable, and striving rather to defend and retain them than to make them more correct. A remnant of the mythical lurks in the very sanctuary of science. Forms or theories ever fall short of nature, though they are ever tending to reach a position above nature, and may often be found really to include more than the maker of them at the time knew. To a certain extent they are reliable and complete; as a system of knowledge they are but intermediate and preparatory. As matter is the soul's necessary instrument, so ignorance more or less mixed up with all its expressions and forms may be said to be as it were the eyelid through which it gradually opens itself to the truth, admitting no more than it can for the time support, and as through a veil learning to support its lustre. The old religionists discovered a universal Cause, personified it and prayed to it. The mere notion seemed not only to satisfy the religious feeling, but to solve all problems.

[88] The distrust in our own conceptions which marks the maturity of intellect is far from incompatible with the reliance on laws and results, constituting scientific faith, or with the more especially religious faith claimed for the outstanding objects of trust which knowledge is yet unable to resolve.

[89] Nov. Org. 1. Aph. 74.

Nations unanimously subscribed to the pious formula which satisfied their imaginations, and pleased their vanity by cheating them into a belief that they were wise; but which at the same time supplanted nature by tradition, the sources of truth by artificial disguises, and at last paralysed the sentimen which gave birth to it. Science, unlike the rude expedient which stupefied without nourishing the mind, gratifies the religious feeling without arresting it, and opening out the barren mystery of the One into more explicit and manageable "Forms," expressing, not indeed his essence, but his will, feeds an endless enthusiasm by accumulating for ever new objects of pursuit. We have long experienced that knowledge is profitable, we are beginning to find out that it is moral, and shall at last discover it to be religious. Aristotle declared the highest and truest science to be that which is most disinterested; Bacon, treating science as separate from religion, asserted knowledge to be power, and held that truth must be tested by its fruits, that is, its instrumentality in promoting the right and the useful. Both assertions may be justified and reconciled by the fact that, while no real knowledge is powerless or fruitless, the fruits differ in refinement and value, the highest being unquestionably those disinterested gratifications which minister to the highest wants of the highest faculties, and which earned for philosophy the title of a divine love, realizing the mysterious longing of the soul, and promoting the accomplishment of its destiny,

> "To rise in science as in bliss,
> Initiate in the secrets of the skies."

HEBREW THEORY OF MEDIATION.

"O genus infelix humanum! talia Divis
Cum tribuit facta, atque iras adjunxit acerbas;
Quantos tum gemitus ipsi sibi, quantaque nobis
Vulnera, quas lacrymas peperere minoribus nostris!"

LUCRET. v. 1193.

"Τὸ δὲ μάλιστα ἐτάραν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὑρημένος γράμμασιν, ὡς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τίς αὐτῶν ἄρξει τῆς οἰκουμένης."—JOSEPHUS, B. JUD. vi. 5. 4.

HEBREW THEORY OF MEDIATION.

§ 1.

THE THEOCRACY.

THE system of divine revelation appeared to a Bible writer to have been the reverse of that uniformity and consistency which most rational persons would now be inclined to ascribe to the Supreme Being. He speaks of it as having been "of many parts and divers fashions,"[1] varied according to place or occasion; and if with the Greek sophist or modern divine[2] we take appearance for reality, the notional for the actual, every accredited revelation is in a sense authentic, and Nature-worship in its thousand forms retains its ancient claim to equal and unequivocal respect. Of these varied forms one of the most memorable is that which it assumed in the early history of the Hebrews, a race belonging to the great Aramean stock descended from among the star or light worshippers of central Asia[3], and having little original claim to be absolutely distinguished from the Chamites or Cushites, who probably were but another horde from the same region preceding them in the path of emigration[4]. When, from the roving life of Syrian or Arab[5], the Hebrews

[1] "Πολυμερως και πολυτροπως." Heb. i. 1.

[2] Milman's Hist. Christianity, Appx. 3rd to ch. 2. To every one a thing is (relatively) what it appears to be. A chimæra is in a certain sense a fact. The world bears a different aspect to the child and the philosopher, yet both are in a sense true, inasmuch as truly representing the perceptions of the respective parties.

[3] Bohlen's Genesis, note to ch. viii. 4. Ewald, Geschichte, i. 301. 331.

[4] Lenormant, Hist. Ancienne, 180 sq.

[5] Deut. xxvi. 5.

attained settled institutions and the consciousness of national independence, they naturally ascribed these advantages to their god, whom they now no longer regarded so much as a power presiding over heaven, or fire, or increase, as author of law and justice. It is not among savages that we can expect to find ideas of universal brotherhood or of universal religion; yet the very absence of the artificial feelings of civilization may sometimes mimic its results, and it would seem from Scripture language respecting the God of Melchizedec, Abimelech, Pharaoh, Jethro, &c., as if in the earliest times there was not that exclusive feeling among the Hebrews in religious matters which prevailed afterwards. But however extensive his jurisdiction, or however limited by a feeling of nationality, the ancient Deity was always in close approximation to his worshippers; and if after the first chapters of Genesis we miss any further allusion to the story of the paradisiacal state and its termination, the whole subsequent history may be regarded as a continued illustration of it. We find a nation supposed to live under God's immediate protection, by the fundamental principle of their polity being his peculiar people, and forming a kingdom of heaven upon earth[6]. Jehovah is their king, lawgiver, and judge[7], a "Theocratic" hypothesis through which religious obligations and political allegiance are inseparably connected. They are the Lord's elect, or "chosen," his "inheritance," and a "holy nation," who by the partial favour of him to whom the whole earth belongs, and who therefore possessed the unquestionable right of making a selection, are privileged above all other nations, just as the order of Priests are exalted over common men[8]. Of this theory the Levitical ritual is part. The ceremonies of sacrifice, with the emblematic salt[9], are a perpetual commemoration and renewal of the original compact established between the people and their divine king. The first and great

[6] Deut. xxxii. 9.

[7] Psa. cxlv. 1, &c. Isa. xxxiii. 22; xli. 21, &c. &c. 1 Sam. viii. 7; xii. 12. Judg. viii. 23. Deut. xxxiii. 5.

[8] Exod. xix. 6. Deut. xiv. 2.

[9] Lev. ii. 13. Ezek. xliii. 24.

command is that forbidding treason or its equivalent idolatry; the Israelitish landowner is strictly a feudal tenant[10]; and the three great periodical festivals, the ancient memorials of seed-time or harvest, are the solemn occasions on which the united tribes present themselves before their sovereign to renew their fealty to him, and according to oriental custom, to present him with thank-offerings and gifts[11].

Temugin or Genghis Khan, the great Mongol emperor, pretended to have received from heaven a letter authorizing him to subdue and appropriate the world. The Dorian conquerors of Peloponessus founded their title on the gift of Hercules and Zeus[12]. The territorial establishment of the Hebrews in Canaan was based on the supposition that their king, to whom the whole earth belonged, had assigned this portion of it as their rightful habitation[13]. Abraham believed the reality of the divine investiture when as yet he did not possess a single span of the promised land[14]; and the belief, by whatever name we might now call it, was at the time accounted to him for righteousness. It was the land which God gave to his people[15], properly therefore called "Jehovah's land,"[16] their possession being not absolute, but conditional or feudal, depending on allegiance. God first found Israel a wanderer in the desert, "in the howling wilderness;"[17] he there made him suck honey from the rock, but eventually brought him into a land fruitful not merely after the nomad standard of milk and honey, but suited to agriculture as well as pasture[18]. He was indeed the same Being who spoke to the Patriarchs, and who was acknowledged by the Canaanitish chiefs; but he had changed his name and character; the obscuration of his physical emblems

[10] Von Bohlen Genes. 139.

[11] "None," says Jehovah, "shall appear before me empty." Exod. xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 20, &c.

[12] Müller, Dor. i. 52.

[13] Deut. xxxii. 8, 9. Neh. ix. 8.

[14] Acts vii. 5.

[15] Lev. xiv. 34; xxv. 2. 23. Numb. xiii. 3.

[16] Psal. x. 16.

[17] Deut. xxvi. 5; xxxii. 10. Hos. ix. 10.

[18] Deut. viii. 8. Judg. vi. 11, &c.

had given more prominence to his political and moral aspect; yet he was still the close superintendent of his chosen people, whose temporal prosperity was the reward and attestation of their fidelity to the stipulated terms of their connection with him. The presence or proximity of the sovereign was considered an earnest of deliverance, and synonymous with safety and success. A prosperous career is described by the phrase "the Lord was with him," for God is said to be with us when he protects and helps us. Hence the pious Hebrew under calamity entreats the Lord not to be far from him or forsake him; or, in joyful confidence assuming the presence of his divine champion[19], gives his child the name "Immanuel," indicating his defiance of danger and certainty of protection. It was therefore part of the political theory of the Hebrews, a trait afterwards transferred to their visions of futurity, that "Jehovah would dwell in the midst of them," would "pitch his tent among them;"[20] and even though his proper dwelling was acknowledged to be celestial[21], he was still supposed to be enthroned upon the cherubim within the tabernacle or temple. The assumed connection between God's favour and the notion of his presence naturally produced a desire to obtain sensible evidence of it; hence the petition of Moses[22], and that continuance of divine manifestations which were the peculiar pride of the Hebrews[23], who alone possessed God's oracles, and especially his "glory,"[24] which they hoped would ever dwell with them[25], as the highest theocratic blessing[26]. "My presence," says Jehovah to Moses, "shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest."[27]

[19] Psal. xlvi. 7.

[20] Ezek. xxxvii. 27. Wisd. ix. 8. 2 Mac. xiv. 35. Mic. i. 2. The same phrase continued to be used long after the disuse of nomad life, as in the expression "σκηνωσεν" (John i. 14), to express the sojourn of the incarnate Word on earth.

[21] Deut. xxvi. 15. 1 Kings viii. 39. Isa. lxiii. 15.

[22] Exod. xxxiii. 18.

[23] Rom. iii. 2.

[24] 1 Kings viii. 11.

[25] Psal. lxxxv. 9.

[26] Psal. cxl. 17.

[27] Exod. xxxiii. 14.

§ 2.

THEOCRATIC OFFICES AND LAWS.

It is obvious that the hypothesis of God's government and presence could be practically made good only through the intervention of an agent or "mediator" appointed to be the instrument of divine communications. Oriental sovereigns used to seclude themselves from observation in order to increase the awe in which they were held by their subjects[1]. This custom is said to have been established by the Median monarch Deioces[2], whose successors sat invisibly enthroned at Susa or Ecbatana[3], retired within the seven mural enclosures of their palace, where they seemed like the Deity encircled by the seven "keshwars" of the universe[4]. He who desired an audience placed himself before the entrance of the palace, and announced himself by an internuncio[5] selected from among the subordinates in attendance, some of whom bore the title of the king's "Eyes" and "Ears."[6] Through these, responses were delivered to the petitioners from the unseen oracle within. The proceedings of the seven conspirators against the usurping Magi illustrate the interior arrangement of a Persian palace. First they pass the guards at the gate; further on they meet the messengers or internuncios[7] who possessed the power of granting or refusing the *entrée*[8], and among whom were generally included every gradation of rank between the throne and subject up to the vizir, or "second to

[1] Justin. i. 2. 12; i. 9, 10; iii. 2.

[2] Herod. i. 99. Diod. S. ii. 21.

[3] Xenoph. Agesil. 9. 1. Aristot. de Mundo, 6.

[4] Apuleius de Mundo, ch. 26, 27. So too the roof of the hall of Justice of the monarch of Babylon was painted blue in imitation of the heavens. Philostrat. V. Ap. 25, p. 34.

[5] Herod. i. 99; iii. 140.

[6] Herod. i. 100. Apuleius, ib. Æschyl. Persæ. Bloomf. 973. Xenoph. Cyrop. 8. 2. 10. Jones' Works, vii. 88. Plutarch's Themistocles.

[7] Herod. iii. 72. 77. "Αγγελίας ἐισφερούσης."

[8] Xen. Cyrop. i. 3, 8, and 14.

the king," such as Sacas, Prexaspes, Artabanus, Haman[9], and Holofernes[10]. We read of a similar great officer, called the "word of the king," at the court of Abyssinia; and the enterprising Sir James Brooke is said to have borne an equivalent title as "mediator" or "interceder" in the state formalities of Borneo[11]. From the moment of the election of the grand Khan of the Tartars, no stranger however illustrious was permitted to speak to him; all communications were addressed through officials; his seal bore the title of "God in heaven, and Cyané Khan upon earth, the power of God, the seal of the Emperor of all men." The Deity being a monarch whose throne, however near, is acknowledged to be at least equally inaccessible, men endeavoured to approach him after the fashion of their own customs. The communications of the Divine Monarch of the Hebrews were first made through their patriarchal chiefs. To these succeeded priests, prophets, and kings; still later, when either the sanctuary was less respected, or its symbolism had become more generally understood, it became necessary to analyse and develop more clearly the theory of supernatural mediation, and consequently either the angels in general[12], or an ideal Being in whom the human and spiritual offices became majestically united, were imagined both in time past and to come as interceding for man to God, and as imparting divine revelations to him. Herod, describing the character of an ambassador[13], tells the Jews that the most sacred part of their law was delivered to them through angels or ambassadors from heaven; through them men were reconciled with each other and brought to the knowledge of God. Whatever form the conception might assume, its foundation was always the unapproachable majesty of the Divine Ruler. The Hebrews feared to approach their king, and therefore requested Moses to represent them before his presence[14]. The feeling increased in intensity as the idea

[9] Esth. xiii. 3. 6.
[10] Judith ii. 4.
[11] Keppel's Borneo, p. 82.
[12] Gal. iii. 19. Job v. 1; xxxiii. 23, and Hitzig's note.
[13] Antiq. Joseph. 15. 5. 3.
[14] Exod. xx. 19.

of God became exalted by philosophy; "We require," says Philo, "a mediator and atoning λογοι, because men fear to approach the Lord of the world."[15]

The original Theocratic charter was the "covenant" made of old with the patriarchs, the basis of the constitution more fully developed by Moses. By the revelation on Sinai the promises given to a race of chiefs were supposed to be confirmed to their descendants then increased to a nation, while at the same time the terms of the compact, before expressed only in general or symbolic language[16], took the form of a detailed code of ritual and morals. Thenceforth the "words of the covenant" were especially the decalogue[17], its record the two tables[18], the ark the place for its safe keeping; the general name of the "covenant" attaching however not only to the laws first delivered, but to all accessions afterwards incorporated with them. No competent judge now pretends that Moses himself wrote all that passes under his name. The successive effusions of sacred poetry were ascribed to the great psalmist; gnomic wisdom was assigned of course to the name of Solomon; that of Isaiah included a large miscellaneous collection of prophetic literature, and by the same arbitrary classification, the general aggregate of legislative enactments were attributed to Moses.

It was common for ancient kings and legislators, as Hermes, Zoroaster, or Lycurgus, to assume the authority of a divine commission in order to give greater weight to their laws and institutions. Moses was a person specially sent by Jehovah[19]; he was the "man of God,"[20] the "servant of the Lord,"[21] titles afterwards assigned generally to the prophets of whose order he was esteemed to have been the greatest[22], as with whom God spoke face to face, and not merely in dreams or visions[23].

[15] Pfeiffer. v. 66 and 63.
[16] Comp. Gen. xv. 6; xvii. 7; xxii. 16.
[17] Exod. xxxiv. 28.
[18] Deut. ix. 9.
[19] Exod. iv. 1. Numb. xvi. 28.
[20] Deut. xxxiii. 1.
[21] Deut. xxxiv. 5.
[22] Deut. xxxv. 10.
[23] Numb. xii. 8.

He was so rich in inspiration, that from him as from a fountain the gift flowed over upon others[24]. The Lord, the maker of man's mouth, promised to be with his mouth, to teach him what to say[25]; just as Aaron, under the direction of his brother who stood to him in place of God, was to act "as prophet," or, as it is explained, as his "mouth" or spokesman[26]. Moses particularly describes the nature of his mediatorial character as prophet in the following terms: "I stood between the Lord and you at that time[27] to show you 'the word of the Lord,' for ye were afraid by reason of the fire, and went not up into the Mount." On another occasion he describes his double relation to Jehovah and the people[28]: "The people come to me to enquire of God; when they have a matter they come unto me, and I judge between one and another, and do make them know the statues of God and his laws." On the other hand, the people who from prudential reasons thought fit to withdraw from the terrible presence of their king[29], were bound under the severest penalties to hear and obey the Lord's word so delivered to them by his representative[30]. From this view of his character Moses is termed the "Μεσιτης της διαθηκης," the great Mediator of the Covenant, and the διαλλακτης, or Intercessor[31]; in the Talmud he receives the same title[32]. "Before the Israelites had sinned," it is said, "they were able to endure the sight of the fire (on Sinai), but after their sin they were not able to look even on the Mediator,"[33] whose glorified aspect bespoke his divine commission. In addition to his transfiguration, the mission of Moses was attested by wonders and signs. Though indeed on this subject the argument reverted into a *petitio principii*. It was eventually admitted that the wonder or vision was not of itself conclusive evidence of a prophetic mission; if the sign should be contradicted by the event, the prophecy

[24] Numb. xi. 25.
[25] Exod. iv. 12.
[26] Exod. iv. 16, and vii. 1.
[27] *i. e.*, the giving of the law.
[28] Exod. xviii. 15.
[29] Deut. xviii. 16.
[30] Deut. xviii. 19. Acts iii. 23.
[31] By Philo and Eusebius.
[32] Wetstein to Gal. iii. 19.
[33] Bamidbar Rabba, xi. 3.

would of course be unauthorized[34]; or else a seeming miracle might be permitted by God in order to test the integrity of his people[35]. It followed that the only infallible evidence of a divine revelation was its own intrinsic character, judged of course after the fundamental principles of the Theocracy; so that under the Jewish law, as it became better understood under the Christian, the true prophet was to be distinguished from the false rather by his "fruits" than by any essential difference in the nature or extent of his supernatural performances[36].

§ 8.

THE PRIEST.

The ancient patriarchal chiefs, as Abraham, Melchizedec, and Jethro[1], were supposed to have been also priests of their respective clans, and to have united in the same individuals every branch of the mediatorial office. The same combination of authority was ascribed to the great prophet and legislator Moses[2]; but Moses, finding the undivided weight of government too heavy for himself alone, is said to have delegated the subordinate civil offices to elders or judges[3], and appointed the tribe of Levi, to which he himself belonged, to officiate as spiritual mediators or priests. Priests doubtless existed among the Israelites long before their office became the established hereditary function of the tribe or community of Levi[4]. The office was unconfined by caste, and each household appears to have been competent to elect at pleasure a priest of its own, who

[34] Deut. xviii. 22. [35] Jer. xxviii. 9.

[36] Matt. vii. 16; xxiv. 11. 24.

[1] Exod. iii. 1. Gen. xx. 7. Psal. cv. 15. Comp. Job i. 5; xlii. 8.

[2] Deut. xxxiv. 10. Luke xxiv. 27. Gfrörer, Urchristenthum, 2, pp. 345. 353. Apostolical Constitutions, 6, 19.

[3] Exod. xviii. 21.

[4] Ewald, Anhang to Geschichte, ii. 272.

was often one of its younger members[5]. David's sons were priests[6], and David and Solomon themselves exercised the old patriarchal right. The word "kohen," (priest) seems to have meant "worshipper," or "servitor" of the altar[7]. Though the office was not originally peculiar to Levites, they came afterwards (though it may be difficult to say how), to be considered the most proper persons to perform it[8]. It has long been felt how much confusion has arisen from the attempt of later Jewish writers to ascribe every cotemporary institution to Moses; but the original nature of the priestly office may be surmised from the statutory ceremonies attending investiture, the chief part of which was sacrifice[9]. It was not every one who on a solemn occasion of this kind would feel authorized to approach the Almighty; and among a patriarchal people, where skill necessarily ranges within narrow limits, there is always a tendency in the arts to become hereditary. Inequality of spiritual gifts shown in expressing the conceptions of religion or in performing its rites, would naturally in time create an order of hereditary priests. God himself would thus seem to have pointed out who was sufficiently "holy" or otherwise qualified to approach him[10]. The obscurity attending the origin of the Levites[11] is lessened by supposing the institution to have arisen gradually. The term, according to Genesis xxix. 34, means joining or joined; persons, that is, joined in a fraternity[12]; or if, as has been con-

[5] Exod. xxiv. 5. Judg. xvii. 5; xviii. 19.; comp. 1 Sam. vii. 1. Each head of a household could kill the passover, and possibly the qualification of the whole Hebrew nation as "holy" (Exod. xix. 6) may allude to the ancient universality of priestly privileges, to be renewed of course in the future golden age.

[6] "Kohenim." Thenius to 2 Sam. viii. 18.

[7] Numb. xviii. 17. Ewald, Anhang, p. 273 note.

[8] Judg. xvii. 10.

[9] Ewald, u. s. 289 sq.

[10] Numb. xvi. 5.

[11] Samuel can hardly be supposed to be a Levite unless the name be understood of an artificial association, whose consanguinity as afterwards received was only mythical; and Zadoc, had he really been son of Ahitub, would probably have shared the fate of his brothers from the orders of Saul. 1 Sam. ii. 31; xxii. 11. Comp. Ezek. xliii. 19.

[12] Numb. xviii. 2. 4.

jectured, it was an appellative designating a person joined or connected with sacred ministrations[13], its purport would resemble that of the Indian Yogee, the "united with the Deity."[14] The first incident of an historical character giving insight into the relative condition of the Levites, is that in which a young man of *the tribe of Judah*[15], "who was a Levite," was urged by an Ephrathite to become a "father and a priest" to him[16]. We may here call to mind that ancient prophetic hymn commemorating the "dispersion," not the "union," of the followers of Levi[17], and the means by which the Eremite, lonely as the god whom he worshipped in the grottos of Carmel[18], obtained supernatural influence over prince and people. An arbitrary appointment of the Levites[19] is far less probable than that there was a reason for their privileges; and their ostensibly pedal condition as a scattered brotherhood[20], who in their entire devotion to the Lord[21] disowned parents and kindred[22], seems to describe the circumstances of their condition preceding the maturity of their establishment as an hereditary caste or tribe[23]. Their privilege, consisting in a peculiar covenant of "reconciliation and peace,"[24] seems to have been the immediate reward of a fervid zeal in God's service, combined with superior skill in

[13] It is said the Levites were given to the Lord to replace the offering of the first-born; but if so, why did it still continue necessary to redeem them?

[14] Such a meaning would seem to be confirmed by the law of meats offered in sacrifice, which were considered holy or devoted, the Latin sacer (comp. Ewald, Anhang, p. 85. 282), within the meaning of the Ban or "Cherem." Any common person eating such meats would become himself "holy," *i. e.*, accursed or devoted; but the priest being already in a sense devoted or united, might eat them with impunity. Lev. vi. 16. 18. 27. 29, and ch. vii.

[15] Judg. xvii. 7.

[16] The earliest prophets who speak of Levites are Jeremiah (xxxiii. 8) and Ezekiel (xl. 46; xlviii. 11).

[17] Gen. xlix. 7.

[18] 1 Kings xviii. 19. Mic. vii. 14. Movers, Phœnizier, p. 670.

[19] Exod. xxviii. 1.

[20] Gen. xlix. 7.

[21] Deut. xviii. 2.

[22] Deut. xxxiii. 9.

[23] Comp. Bohlen, Genes. p. 454. Deut. xii. 12. 18; xvi. 11; xxxiii. 9—11.

[24] Mal. ii. 4 sq.

making atonement to him by means of sacrifice[25], thus qualifying them to officiate as responsible mediators between the dangerous presence of the All-pure[26] and the unceasing pollutions of the common people[27]. And since notwithstanding all the precautions of an elaborate ceremonial the wrath of God would often "break out" upon his chosen, the Levitical priesthood were appointed[28] to stand in the breach, and to bear the balance of iniquity for which it was their duty to atone[29]. The priests were pre-eminently "holy ones;"[30] they were to be unblemished in body and reputation; they were consecrated by anointing or besprinkling, their clothing, ablutions, and other observances being very similar to those of the priests of Egypt[31]. The high priest was especially bound by strict rules of purification[32]; upon his forehead, always calm and serene, shone the golden plate of consecration[33], inscribed with the words "Holy to Jehovah," indicating probably not merely the rank of the wearer, but his vicarious responsibility in regard to the sins of the people[34]. He was clothed in sumptuous robes, which Josephus explains to have been elaborately symbolical of the universe and its subdivisions[35]; the blue colour representing the sky, the golden bells mimicking the thunder[36]. Once a year

[25] Compare the examples, Exod. xxxii. 26. 28. Numb. xvi. 47. The "instruments of cruelty" in Gen. xlix. 5, alluding to the cruel expiation exacted (ibid. ch. 34), may possibly be typical of some ancient instrument or custom of sacrificial atonement.

[26] Lev. x. 3.

[27] Comp. Ewald, v. sup. 281.

[28] Exod. xxviii. 38; xxx. 10. Numb. xviii. 1. 23. 32; xxxi. 50.

[29] Comp. Wisd. xviii. 21.

[30] Lev. xxi. 6. Deut. xxxiii. 8. Psal. cvi. 16.

[31] Herod. ii. 37. Sil. Ital. iii. 28. Diod. S. i. 80.

[32] Lev. xxi. 10. Heb. vii. 26. Comp. Dio Cass. liv. 28; lvi. 31. Tacit. Annal. i. 62.

[33] Exod. xxviii. 36; xxix. 6.

[34] Comp. Exod. xxviii. 38, with ch. xiii. 16.

[35] Antiq. iii. 7. 7. Wisd. xviii. 24. Philo de Prof. i. 562. Vit. Mos. ii. 154.

[36] Ewald gives a less dignified and probably less correct explanation of this curious appendage from Exod. xxviii. 35, that the noise was intended to warn the Deity of a mortal's approach for fear he should be taken by surprise. Anhang to

he was to enter the "Holy of Holies," or immediate presence-chamber of the Sovereign, there to perform his great office of making atonement by blood for the people's sins. But the priests were not only representatives of man before God, they were also heralds of God's disclosures of his will and purposes to man[37]. To their simpler functions they added that of being the official depositories and guardians of the elaborate accumulations of law[38], which they were bound to read and teach without other reward[39] than the tithes or other appointments assigned to them in lieu of an equal inheritance among the tribes[40]. The charge has ever been but too literally and strictly kept, for it was inevitable that the object of their care should at times become inapplicable, and that in rigorously maintaining the forms of religion they should often mistake or paralyse its spirit. With their sacred functions they united that of the administration of justice, for though there were judges civil as well as ecclesiastical, the divine judgment-seat or supreme court of appeal was the sacerdotal tribunal of the sanctuary, whose decisions were delivered as God's judgments[41], just as the enactments of the legislative functionary were God's statutes or laws[42]. This jurisdiction including that right of ultimate decision in all controverted cases which must exist somewhere in every community, would of course under a theocracy depend on the fiat of the Divine Ruler, and was exercised by the priests through the "Urim and Thummim," called the "Lord's Judgment," or sacred oracle of the Hebrews[43]. The words mean "Revelation and Truth," that is, a clear and direct answer from

Geschichte, p. 305. Sirach, 45. 9. Compare the fringes of the Ægis. Herod. iv. 189. Hom. Iliad, ii. 448; v. 738. Uschold, Vorhalle, i. p. 300.

[37] Mal. ii. 7. [38] Jer. ii. 8; xviii. 18.

[39] Mic. iii. 11. Lev. x. 11.

[40] Besides the forty-eight cities and the tithes, they had other perquisites, as first-fruits, the price of redemption of the first-born, things vowed, and portions of the sacrifices. Lev. vi. 26; vii. 6; x. 12. Numb. xviii. 20. Deut. xviii. 1.

[41] Deut. xix. 17. 2 Chron. xix. 8. Joseph. Ap. ii. 22.

[42] Exod. xviii. 16.

[43] Exod. xxviii. 30. Ecclus. xlv. 10.

the source of all illumination[44], obtained it would seem from two talismanic stones or lots. These were usually kept in the ornamented gorget or satchel[45] worn on the breast of the high priest[46], an appendage not unlike the amulet of "Truth" suspended from the neck of the supreme judicial officer in Egypt, where, as in most ancient states and still among the Turkish Ulema, the civil and sacerdotal offices were united[47].

§ 4.

THE PROPHET.

The high priest was as the prince or chief of his clan, and in unsettled times was the only hereditary continuing authority who could be appealed to in general emergencies, for instance, to preside over the popular assembly or congregation[1]. But the very nature of hereditary authority as being irrespective of personal and spiritual gifts, made it necessary to attach the oracular power always in some way supposed to inhere in the high-priest[2] to some external sign or talisman. The application of this device, however, was necessarily limited[3], and its use evidently savoured of superstition[4]. Natural aptitude ever revolts against monopolies of birth or class, and the oracular talisman of the priests fell into disuse in proportion as the spirit of prophecy, that great glory of the Hebrews, became more prominent and energetic[5]. From the many kinds of exorcism

[44] Comp. Prov. xvi. 33; xviii. 18.

[45] An appurtenance of the Ephod.

[46] Exod. xxviii. 15. 30. Deut. xxxiii. 8. Ewald, v. sup. p. 309.

[47] Ælian, V. H. xiv. 34. Diod. S. i. 48 and 75.

[1] Josh. xxii. 30. Judg. xx. 28.

[2] Comp. John xi. 50. Joseph. B. J. iii. 8. 3.

[3] It is observable that the answers of Urim and Thummim are almost always confined to a simple affirmative or negative.

[4] The oracle of Urim was, according to Spencer, permitted by Moses on account of the hardness of heart of the Hebrews. De Leg. Rit. 3. Diss. 7.

[5] Amos iii. 7. Ewald, u. s. p. 304.

and divination enumerated and prohibited by the Levitical law, it would appear that in the earlier times the Hebrews practised magical arts on the most extensive scale[6]. The fire or water, the whisper of the breeze, the bowels of the earth, or shades of the dead[7], were conceived by them as by the heathen to give indications of futurity. All such modes of divine communication were eventually superseded by the inspired "Word," implicit belief in which was of itself said to be counted for righteousness to Abraham[8], whose covenanted privileges had perhaps been originally founded on other very different considerations[9]. The priest or minister of the altar, that is, of sacrifice, is the title which best describes the divine Mediator of the rudest social state; while among a people whose minds were more alive to influences of eloquence and genius than to formalities of worship, the same office would assume the aspect of prophecy. The prophet was one speaking from suggestion[10]. The term implies a fervid outpouring of words under external influence, being derived from a verb inflected passively or reflectively, as fari, loqui, vaticinari, &c.[11] The basis of all divination was the axiom that knowledge of futurity belongs to God alone or those inspired by him[12]. "The prophet," says Philo, "speaks nothing of his own; it is God who speaks through his organs, he utters the communicated words of another."[13] The inspiration of his lips is as fire from Jehovah's

[6] Exod. xxii. 17. Lev. xix. 26. 31. Deut. xviii. 9. 15, &c. Job iii. 8. Psal. lviii. 5. Comp. Ewald, u. s. p. 15. Zendavesta by Kleuker, Theil. ii. pp. 121. 127. 190.

[7] Comp. 2 Sam. v. 24. 1 Kings xix. 11. 1 Sam. 28. Isa. viii. 19.

[8] Gen. xv. 6. [9] Gen. xvii. 7; xxii. 16.

[10] Æschyl. Prom. Blom. 399. Odyss. i. 348; xvii. 518. Luke xii. 12. 1 Cor. xii. 11. The same mediate power is ascribed to the Spirit itself. John xvi. 13.

[11] Knobel's Prophetismus, i. 137. 143. The Egyptian prophet appears to have been the grand depository of the Hermetic or transcendental wisdom; "*αδυτων και ιερων αρχηγοι.*" Diog. Laert. Pr. 1. Epiphan. Hær. 3. Porphyr. Abst. iv. 8. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 663.

[12] Herod. ii. 83. Xen. Mem. i. 1. 9.

[13] Mang. ii. 125. 343. Pfeif. iv. 116. 2 Pet. i. 21.

altar[14], an irradiation of truth which not even Balak's house full of silver and gold could influence or change. The entrails of the dying victim were prophetic, because by the act of sacrifice the animal was supposed to be blended with the Deity; sure signs were for the same reason derivable from the elements or stars, because all things are one in God, through whom every part of nature exists and lives. In man, too, is pre-eminently manifested that divine spirit breathed into his nostrils from the beginning[15]; but man in the infancy of his faculties was disposed to recognise divine agency in the exceptional rather than in the regular, and the tendency was strikingly shown in the estimate which he formed respecting himself, when he assigned the name of prophecy not to the deliberate exercise of reason but to the intoxication of unnatural excitement. The earliest prophecy was mental rapture or exaltation[16], excited or accompanied by music and dancing[17], as among the priests of Cybele or the Bacchantes, and often to superficial observation undistinguishable from actual insanity[18]. Philo's notion of inspiration is of the same kind. He says the mark of true prophecy is the rapture of its utterance[19]; that the soul in order to attain "divine wisdom" must "quit body, sense, and speech, nay, even its own nature; it must go out of itself, like the Corybantes, drunk with godlike frenzy."[20] Speaking of the sunset vision of Abraham[21], "this sunset," he explains, "is the

[14] Isa. vi. 7.

[15] Job xxxii. 8.

[16] 1 Sam. xviii. 10. 1 Kings xviii. 29.

[17] 1 Sam. x. 5. 2 Kings iii. 15. 16.

[18] 2 Kings ix. 11. Jer. xxix. 26.

[19] "Το συθουσιωδες του λεγοντος καθ' ὁ μαλιστα και κυριως νενομισται προφητης." Mang. ii. 163.

[20] Pfeif. i. 268; iv. 30. Compare Job xxxii. 8. 18, 19. Psal. xxxix. 3. Jer. xx. 9. Still more dangerous would be the idea, if adopted, as by an American writer, for the ordinary guide of life; "As the traveller who has lost his way throws the reins on his horse's neck and trusts to the instinct of the animal to find his road, so must we do with the divine animal who carries us through the world!" Emerson's Essays, p. 17.

[21] Gen. xv. 12.

waning or setting of the human spirit or reason; for when celestial light dawns upon the soul the human recedes and sinks, an incident happening very often with the prophets."[22] A prophet therefore was often little more than an exaggeration of the inspired poet[23]; both professed a divine art[24], the art of that divine wisdom in respect of which human wisdom is foolishness, as Socrates half ironically pronounced the ablest poets to have been those who, humanly speaking, were most irrational[25]. Both were communicable by a sort of contagion from mind to mind[26], a mysterious transmission of the afflatus, which Plato compares to the power given by the magnet to iron rings of attracting other rings[27]. All the world over, the "mens divinior" of the poet has been assumed to be from above; and the Hebrew claimed only the same majestic source of inspiration which was asserted by the early singers or sages of Greece[28]. It was an influence so derived which laid the foundations of society, which disclosed the past and the future to the bards of Helicon[29], and which Osiris, the beneficent aspect of the spirit of Nature, employed to civilize the world[30]. In those early times the mission of the prophet was combined with that of the sacerdotal and civil ruler, and in the eminent instances of Abraham and Moses, the latter of whom is said to have been mighty in word as well as deed[31], seemed by its splendour to eclipse or absorb all humbler official denominations. The gift of prophecy, considered as a distinct profession in a separate class, was chiefly carried on by the Hebrew seers or soothsayers[32]. "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he

[22] Mang. i. 511. Pfeif. iv. 118.

[23] Ep. Titus, i. 12. 1 Chron. xxv. 1—3.

[24] Hes. Theog. 93. Odyss. xxii. 347. Iliad, ii. 484.

[25] Ion, 534.

[26] 1 Sam. x. 10; xix. 20, 21.

[27] Ion, 179, 180, Bek. Compare Phædrus, 244, and Origen against Celsus bk. vii. 7, who makes a similar distinction of the original and the derivative gift.

[28] Lowth de Sacr. Poesi, pp. 16. 37 sq.

[29] Hes. Theog. 32.

[30] Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 13.

[31] Acts vii. 22. Justin. M. Cohort. ad Græc. 10, 11.

[32] 1 Sam. ix. 9.

spake, 'Come, let us go to the seer,' for the prophet was then called a seer," and the response was paid for by a present[33]. Saul went, according to this ancient custom, to consult Samuel the seer, for the purpose of finding his father's asses. But Samuel, by a new organization of the ancient seers, seems to have been the real founder of the prophetic order, to whom he transferred the greater part of the authority which had been forfeited by the irregularities of the priests. He stands first in the list of canonical prophets, not only because from a mere private soothsayer he became a public officer or "mediator" of the Theocracy, but because in him as the sacred ambassador or mouth[34] from which proceeded the revelation of the divine "Word,"[35] the prophetic office in the climax of its effulgence became permanently separated[36] from other functions, and continued to be filled by a separate class of men. In his character of president over the prophets in Ramah he is presumed to have founded the prophetic schools to which, as to the philosophical societies of a later age, was committed the education of kings and princes[37]. In these schools were taught the musical skill which distinguished David, the natural lore and other wisdom of Solomon, and the healing art characteristic of the prophet[38] which often attracted foreign patients to profit by Hebrew skill[39]. But the great object of the prophetic training was to instil a fervent zeal for the theocratic laws and constitution. It was not for the prediction of future events, in which indeed they were often mistaken[40], that the Hebrew prophets were pre-eminent. They were the great orators, politicians, and reformers of their countrymen. Often the safety of the state depended

[33] Comp. 1 Kings xiii. 7. [34] Exod. iv. 16.

[35] Deut. xviii. 18. 1 Sam. iii. 21; iv. 1. Jer. xv. 19.

[36] Yet many even of the later prophets were connections of the priesthood, as Samuel himself, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and probably many others down to John the Baptist.

[37] Creuzer, Briefe, p. 49. Symb. ii. 5. 1 Kings i. 26.

[38] Luke vii. 16. [39] 2 Kings v.

[40] Knobel, Propheten, i. 303 sq. Ghillany, Menschenopfer der Hebraër, p. 489.

on their promptitude[41]; often, under the influence of a great prophet, the people transported with sudden impetuosity threw themselves irresistibly on their enemies[42]. Like the Greek seers they attended the march of armies[43], and it was the same union of poetical temperament with high and noble purpose which distinguished Solon, or Tyrtæus, or Joan of Arc, that eternalized the memory of Miriam and Deborah. The rank of prophet was not confined to the pupils of the schools; knowledge, zeal, and eloquence were the all-sufficient qualifications[44], the investiture of Jehovah himself, ratified either by voice or vision[45]. The prophet herald of God's word bore the name of "God's messenger;"[46] as guardian of the civil and religious establishment he was called the "Watchman;"[47] and the titles "Man of God," and "Servant of the Lord," were emphatically appropriated to him[48]. He was the original source from which flowed the rich streams of inspired wisdom which the priest had to preserve; he was in fact the author of those treasures of human and divine law[49] to correct whose abuses, and to supply whose deficiencies, became the object of his illustrious successors. Though the gift of prophecy was sometimes continued in families[50], the prophets never formed an hereditary caste; they were maintained either by free gifts[51], or gained an independent living by other employments[52]. Their oracles were unpremeditated effusions apt to the occasion, delivered in the measured cadences of Hebrew

[41] 2 Kings ix. 1. [42] 1 Sam. vii. 8. Psal. xx. 5.

[43] Comp. Herod. i. 62; vii. 219. 221; viii. 27; ix. 33. 35, 36. 2 Kings iii. 11. 2 Chron. xxv. 7.

[44] Amos vii. 14.

[45] Isa. vi. Jer. i. 1. 1 Sam. iii. 4. In some cases a form of investiture is mentioned, as laying on of hands, anointing, or clothing in the mantle of a predecessor.

[46] Exod. iv. 13. Isa. vi. 8; xlii. 19; xliv. 26. Hag. i. 13.

[47] Isa. lii. 8; lvi. 10. Jer. vi. 11. Ezek. iii. 17; xxxiii. 7.

[48] 2 Kings ix. 7; xvii. 3. Jer. vii. 25; xxvi. 5; xxix. 19.

[49] Hos. xii. 13. Acts iii. 22. [50] 1 Kings xvi. 1.

[51] 1 Kings xiii. 7; xiv. 3. 2 Kings viii. 8. Jer. xl. 5. Zech. xi. 12.

[52] Thus Elisha was an agriculturist (1 Kings xix. 19), Amos a herdsman (i. 1; vii. 14, 15), &c.

versification. They employed music to excite ecstatic transport[53], and used those distortions and gesticulations whose vehemence sometimes led to a doubt of their sanity. They threw themselves on the ground either in the convulsions of excitement, or because a procumbent posture was thought favourable to supernatural revelations[54]. In their frenzy they stripped off their garments, and delivered their oracles in the state of nudity afterwards prohibited by the priesthood, but regarded as a holy service by David[55], as by the gymnosophists of India, the ancient Israelitish calf-worshippers[56], the Syrian Galli[57], or the "ανιπτοποδες χαμαιευναι" of Homer[58]. Their mode of life was usually austere, and their gown of hair or wool betokened the gravity of their mission. They often resorted to desert places as best suited to devotion and contemplation; yet they were not monkish ascetics; they married, pursued trades, and had property; their ministry was exercised in public, in the courts of the temple, or palace of the king. It was seldom that their agency was confined to their native place; they were often occupied in official journeys, and to attract attention they cried aloud at the corners of the streets[59], and employed symbolical imagery and acts sometimes of the most extraordinary and revolting kind for this purpose[60]. After a time their prophecies were committed to writing; for they were the principal authors and depositaries of the literature, poetical and documentary, of their day. At first the prophetic and historical arts, the acts of the king and the "words" addressed to him by the seer[61], were united in one record; subsequently, pro-

[53] "Divinatio furoris." Cic. Div. i. 2. 18. Winer, R. W. ii. 781. 2 Kings iii. 15.

[54] Numb. xxiv. 4; xvi. 4. Ezek. i. 28; iii. 23. Dan. viii. 17.

[55] 2 Sam. vi. 16. 20.

[56] Exod. xxxii. 25.

[57] Lucian, Deâ Syr. 51.

[58] Comp. 1 Sam. xix. 24. Mic. i. 8. Isa. xx. 2.

[59] Those who neglected this were called "dumb dogs." Isa. lvi. 10.

[60] In order to induce the people to ask the meaning. As where Ezekiel was ordered to eat bread made of excrement, human excrement having at his own request been commuted into cow-dung. Ezek. iv. 12, 15; ii. 7; xii. 9. Jer. xxvii. 2.

[61] 2 Chron. xx. 34; xxxii. 32; xxxiii. 18.

phetical composition became a separate branch of literature, and historiography was chiefly, though not exclusively, the department of the priesthood.

§ 5.

THE KING.

The ancient Theocracy did not acknowledge any absolute continuous authority such as was usually understood by the term king. Military leaders were chosen for special occasions, but the authority ceased when the object had been attained. The mediation of Joshua, if regarded as historical, was a commission subordinate to the priesthood, though the restriction may not have been always enforced[1]. Samuel, recombining with his prophetic character the scattered elements of civil and ecclesiastical power, seemed for a time to have restored the Theocracy to its true unity and vigour. But his talents were unsuited for the military life required by the unsettled state of the country; and the misconduct of his sons as judges was the immediate cause of a formal request from the heads of the nation that he would appoint a permanent ruler or king over them, one who should "judge the people and fight their battles." Samuel, though reluctantly, yielded to the general wish, trusting probably that the habitual respect and attachment of the people to himself would, as heretofore in the instance of Joshua[2], effectually prevent any serious violation of the constitution, and make the civil authority amenable to the law and to his own. The regal dignity was indeed so limited in practice that no real innovation was made. Conferred by the inauguration of a prophet, it was understood to be strictly subordinate to that of the Supreme King[3], so that Jehovah himself seemed to select the individual appointed, who was therefore called the

[1] Numb. xxvii. 21. Josh. ix. 14.
[2] Josh. xiv. 1; xvii. 4; xix. 51; xxi. 1.
[3] 1 Sam. xii. 12.

Lord's Elect or Chosen[4]. His authority was regulated by a compact or covenant with the people on one hand and Jehovah on the other[5]. His functions were defined, as among the Egyptians[6], and generally among other theocratic nations, by a code prescribed and preserved by the priest[7]. "No one," says Cicero[8], "is permitted to be king of Persia until initiated in the lore and discipline of the Magi;" so, too, in the earlier days of Egypt, the Pharaoh was chosen exclusively from the caste of priests, and at all times his introduction to office was a sort of sacred initiation[9]. He was henceforth bound to associate exclusively with the priests, and to conform in every minute particular to the sacred books[10]. Allowing for the marvellous and poetical character of the narrative, it may be conjectured that Saul the Benjamite was already not unknown to the head of the Hebrew prophets, and perhaps even that he had been disciplined in their schools[11]. David probably learned to make the harp echo the inspirations of the heart in the same seminaries[12]; Solomon may have been pupil of Nathan[13]; and it was the close connection ever maintained by pious kings with the legitimate interpreters of the will of the divine Sovereign which gave force and meaning to such expressions as "I have set *my* king upon my holy hill;"[14] "the king shall rejoice in thy strength, O God;"[15] "the Lord is the saving strength of

[4] Deut. xvii. 15. 1 Sam. x. 24; xii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 16; xi. 34. 1 Chron. xxix. 1; xxviii. 4. Psal. lxxxix. 19. The choice, however, was really determined by the prepossessing and commanding appearance of Saul, the divine favour being thought to show itself, as with the priest, in external advantages.

[5] 1 Sam. x. 25; xi. 14. 2 Sam. v. 3. 1 Kings xii. 4. 2 Kings xi. 17. Josephus, War. ii. 1, 2.

[6] Diod. S. i. 70. Clem. Alex. Str. 6. 4, p. 757.

[7] 1 Sam. x. 25. Comp. Menu, vii. 37. 58. Lassen, Antiq. i. 804.

[8] De Divin. i. 41.

[9] Guigniaut's Creuzer, i. 775. Herod. ii. 142. Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. ix. Diod. S. i. 70. Plato, Polit. 290. 319, Bek. The ceremony may still be seen on the walls of Carnac; it consisted in besprinkling with water, imposition of hands, and induction into the sanctuary. Creuz. Comment. Herod. i. 215. Symb. ii. 57.

[10] Isis and Osiris, ch. vi.

[11] See Thenius to 1 Sam. x. 5. 10.

[12] 1 Sam. xvi. 16.

[13] 2 Sam. xii. 25.

[14] Psal. ii. 6; xviii. 51.

[15] Psal. xxi. 1.

his anointed;"[16] "he shall give strength to his king, and exalt the horn of his anointed;"[17] "for power is of God,"[18] "the kingdom is the Lord's."[19]

In the inauguration by ecclesiastical or divine authority which, among the Hebrews, as among the Egyptians[20], was necessary in order to constitute a legitimate monarch[21], the principal part of the ceremony consisted of the "anointing," in itself a symbolical "coronation," or virtual investiture of office[22]. All the theocratic offices were conferred by unction; but the rite became afterwards peculiarly appropriated to kingly dignity, and the reigning monarch thence derived his proper title of the "Messiah," or "Christus Kuriou," the Lord's Messiah or Anointed[23]. The investiture by unction implied the sacredness as well as dignity of the office[24]. Men applied to religious purposes the practice of their daily life, and thus a custom essential in a hot country to health and comfort[25] was transferred to solemn consecrations. As they set apart to the gods a portion of their food, or spread a table for them and regaled them with perfumes[26], so oil, which ranked in point of utility with bread and wine[27], was made part of the meat and drink offering[28]. The olive was significant of divine wisdom, of health, and of immortality[29]. It was a very ancient custom to pour oil upon stones, the most readily found and least costly emblems of divinity. The superstitious Greek worshipped every

[16] Psal. xxviii. 8. [17] 1 Sam. ii. 10. Psal. lxiii. 11; lxx. 16.
[18] Psal. lxii. 11. [19] Psal. xxii. 28. 1 Chron. xxix. 11. Matt. vi. 13.
[20] Plato, Politicus, 290[d]. 319, Bek.
[21] 2 Kings xi. 12; xxiii. 30.
[22] Lev. xxi. 12. Judg. ix. 8, 9.
[23] Isa. xlv. 1. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. "Unctio," says the Talmud, "præcipuè denotat potestatem regiam." Rab. Salomo, on Psal. cv. 15. "Omnis unctio significat principatum et magnitudinem."—Id. Psal. xlv. 7, 8.
[24] The word anointing is equivalent to consecration. Psal. cv. 15.
[25] Ruth iii. 3. Judith x. 3. Grimm's Note to Wisd. ii. 7.
[26] Gen. viii. 21. Porphyr. Abst. 2, c. 6. Herod. iii. 18. 23.
[27] Psal. civ. 15. [28] Lev. ii. 1. Porphyr. ub sup.
[29] Porphyr. de Antro. 32. Payne Knight, Ancient Art, sec. 27

anointed stone which he passed[30]; each day the sacred stone of Delphi received a tributary libation[31], as Jacob poured oil upon the stony pillow which he consecrated at "Bethel." In a similar feeling the utensils as well as functionaries of the Hebrew tabernacle were consecrated by unction. Through this they became impregnated with divinity, and every man appointed to a holy office was made a "dwelling-place" or living incarnation of that divine spirit inherent in his nature[32], which was thus supposed to be quickened and fed with the emblem of material health and nourishment.

§ 6.

EXTENT OF THE REGAL OFFICE.

The legislative, executive, and judicial functions were all more or less reflected in the earthly representative of supreme authority, the king[1]. Judgment, however, and military conduct had been the chief immediate objects of his election. Judgment was peculiarly a royal prerogative[2]. The Homeric kings were officially

"Δικασπολοι, οἵτε θέμιστας
Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται;"[3]

and the story of Minos judging the dead was, like the infernal hunting of Orion, only a continuation of his supposed office when living. It was common for the administration of justice to be committed to the son of the reigning king in order to smooth the path to succession[4], as it was often usurped by pre-

[30] Theophr. Ch. 16. Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 713. Arnob. in Gent. i. 11, Lucian, Pseudomant. 30. Isa. lvii. 6.

[31] Paus. x. 24. 5.

[32] Numb. xi. 25. Comp. Gen. ii. 7. Job xxxii. 8.

[1] Isa. xxxiii. 22. 1 Sam. xxx. 25.

[2] Psal. xcix. 4. Comp. Hes. Op. 38.

[3] Iliad, i. 237. Hes. Th. 85. 89. [4] 2 Kings xv. 5. 1 Sam. viii. 1.

tenders who aimed at stealing by anticipation the hearts of the people[5]. The king's authority was also ecclesiastical as well as civil, for it was an established maxim of antiquity that a perfect king ought to unite the excellencies of judge, general, and priest[6]. Yet the king was properly only a theocratic regent, or representative of Jehovah[7]. He held what was at first only an administrative office subordinate to the Supreme Ruler, whose decrees were to be announced to him by priest or prophet. This was done either through the Urim or some other source of inspiration; in the mean time his authority was strictly conditional on obedience to the Lord, or to the hierarchy[8], the withdrawal of whose support made him instantly powerless. It was traditionally handed down that Saul, on occasion of a sacrifice, had treated the prophetic mediator with disrespect by dispensing with his presence; that in the affair of Agag he had rejected the Lord's word; at all events he had irreconcilably quarrelled with the priests, the greater number of whom he massacred. In short, he used his power in an anti-theocratic and anti-sacerdotal spirit[9]. Hence his desertion and downfall, and the rejection of his family in favour of David, the beloved of Heaven, the model of a theocratic monarch, who probably owed his appointment to his being already a favoured and enthusiastic pupil of the ecclesiastical establishment[10]. David stood at the head of the priestly party in a retaliatory insurrection against the tyranny of his father-in-law. Through a more intimate connection and an unbroken alliance with the hierarchy, he seemed to exercise unwonted authority as head of the state religion as of the state. We hear no more jealous complaints of invasion of the priestly office. David committed unreproved

[5] As Deioces and Absalom. Herod. i. 96. 2 Sam. xv. 4.

[6] Diog. Pyth. in Stobæ. Serm. 46. Στρατηγος ην και δικαστης ὁ βασιλευς και των περι τους θειους νομιος. Aristot. Polit. iii. 14, p. 119. Creuz. Symb. iv. 352. Virg. Æn. iii. 80. Herod. vi. 54. Comp. Smith's Antiq. pp. 74 and 130.

[7] Psal. ii. 2. [8] 1 Sam. xii. 14; xxviii. 6.

[9] He had been remiss in "enquiring of the Lord." 1 Chron. x. 14; xiii. 2, 3.

[10] It is particularly mentioned that David was indefatigable in consulting the divine will; so too was Cyrus the Great. Xenoph. Cyr. viii. 1. 23. Creuz. i. 189.

the very offence reprehended in Saul[11], and he performed the orgiastic dance in the scanty cincture of the priestly ephod.[12]. Henceforth the king superintended public worship, provided for the building of the temple and its accessories, and[13] even read the words of the law to the people; so that the priests, who were at first superior or at least equal to the kings, were for a time overshadowed by them. Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest[14], and David summoned and directed both priest and prophet[15]. David's eating the shewbread was considered as of itself proof of his having been a priest[16], and the words of the 110th Psalm, originally addressed to the king, though afterwards applied in another sense, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedec," seem like an official diploma for his assumption of the title[17]. Still more closely marked is the king's prophetic character. The Divine spirit from which flowed all distinctions, particularly those of an intellectual character, was especially poured forth on rulers and magistrates, who thence derived their only title to power[18]. The spirit of the Lord therefore only descended upon the king when he became the Anointed, or "Messiah," of the God of Jacob[19]; he became, as it were, a new man; all his latent energies and powers were, as if by miracle, summoned forth and enlarged; he became a "θειος ανηρ," a man of God[20], and his person was made inviolable. He was in every sense a prophet[21];

[11] 1 Sam. xiii. 9. 12. 2 Sam. vi. 17, 18. Comp. 1 Kings iii. 4; viii. 5. 63; ix. 25.

[12] 2 Sam. vi. 14.

[13] 2 Kings xxiii. 1.

[14] 1 Kings ii. 27. 35.

[15] 1 Kings i. 32.

[16] 1 Sam. xxi. 6. Mark ii. 26.

[17] This psalm has been supposed to have been addressed to David when established as king on Mount Zion (Psal. ii. 6), the ancient city of Melchizedec, who after patriarchal fashion was both priest and king. It may have been written when David, having escaped great personal danger in a skirmish with the Philistines (2 Sam. xxi. 15), was no longer allowed to go out to battle lest he should "quench the light of Israel." (v. 1—3.)

[18] Numb. xi. 17. 1 Sam. xvi. 13.

[19] 1 Sam. xvi. 13. 1 Sam. x. 6. 11; xi. 6. 1 Kings vi. 11.

[20] 2 Chron. viii. 14. Neh. xii. 24. 36.

[21] 2 Pet. i. 21. Dan. iv. 8. Matt. xxii. 43.

"The spirit of the Lord," he says, "spake by me, and his word was in my tongue."[22]

§ 7.

DIVINITY OF THE KING.

The king thus uniting all the known theocratic functions in his own person, received among the Hebrews the profound homage usually paid to Oriental sovereigns. Emphatically the Lord's "Messiah,"[1] he was the most glorious manifestation of Jehovah's power on earth; and to treat him with the utmost respect became a precept of religious wisdom[2]. He was to the Almighty what the vizir or prime minister of state was to the king[3]; he is represented as sitting at the "Lord's right hand," that is, as his imperial associate and vicegerent, called "the man of his right hand, the Son of Man whom he made so strong for himself."[4] Oriental usage treated him with the most deferential ceremonies of prostration, or rather worship[5], and addressed him as a son of God[6], as an angel of God[7], or even as God himself[8]. This exalted title was not so much the language of flattery as the correct Oriental expression of exalted dignity. "The Egyptians," says Diodorus[9], "reverence their kings as if they were really gods; for they think it was not without the providential superintendence of God that they became possessed of supreme power; and they imagine that kings partake of the divine nature in the will and ability which they possess to confer the most important benefits." The

[22] 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. Psal. lxxxix. 10.
[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. Psal. lxxxix. 20; cv. 15; cxxxii. 17.
[2] Prov. xxiv. 21. Comp. 1 Pet. ii. 17.
[3] 1 Kings ii. 19. Psal. cx. 1 Kings i. 35. 46.
[4] Psal. lxxx. 17.
[5] 1 Sam. xxv. 23. 2 Sam. ix. 6; xix. 18. 1 Kings i. 16. 1 Chron. xxix. 20.
[6] Psal. ii. 2. 7.
[7] 1 Sam. xxix. 9. 2 Sam. xiv. 17; xix. 27. Comp. Exod. xxiii. 20.
[8] Psal. lxxxii. 1. 6.
[9] Diod. i. 90.

Persian and Assyrian monarchs were considered superhuman[10] and were called "gods."[11] Their hereditary names were borrowed from those of the divinities who had been their predecessors[12], so that afterwards, in endeavouring to retrace the course of history through the mazes of tradition, it became impossible to fix a certain limit between the human and the divine, or to reduce the royal genealogies to reliable proportions. Even the Greeks, though using simpler language than Oriental nations, spoke of their kings as "heaven-born" and "sons of God;"[13] the royal sceptre was a gift transmitted from Zeus, the source of all authority[14], and the pre-eminent attribute of justice itself entitled its administrator to be ranked with divinities[15]. Among the Hebrews, the attributing divine honours to the king was a necessary result of theocratic institutions. To assign to the king the style and title of God did not, as at first intended, imply irreverence or absurdity. It only conveyed the theocratic conception of the royal office as ultimately resting on Divine authority and support[16]. It was not like the official deifications of later times in Macedon or Rome, a conscious expression of hypocritical flattery. The meaning conveyed was but part of the ordinary applications of language. The older Hebrew names of God express general qualities or predicates, appropriately but not exclusively applied to the true God. "Elim," or the "mighty ones," includes the gods of the heathen[17]; and Elohim, from a root signifying to "venerate," is a denomination equally general, though properly belonging only to the one legitimate object of human "veneration," just as

[10] Herod. viii. 140. Judith iii. 8.

[11] Thus Darius, in the Persæ of Æschylus, is not only "ισόθεος," but "θεος." (v. 162, Blomf. Conf. 649.)

[12] Herod. ii. 143, 144. Guigniaut, Rel. i. 776. Lucian de Imagin. ch. 27. Champollion, Precis. p. 109.

[13] Διογενεις, διοτρεφεις, Διος υιοι, &c. [14] Iliad, iv. 101.

[15] Iliad, i. 238. Gen. iii. 5. Hes. Works, 36. 256. "Εκ τε Διος βασιλητες εασι Διος ουδεν ανακτων Θειοτερον." Callim. in Jov. 79. Hes. Theog. 96.

[16] Psal. xlv. 7. Gesen. Thesaur. p. 86. Comment. Isaiah ix. 5, vol. ii. p. 365[b].

[17] Exod. xv. 11.

he is elsewhere styled the object of "fear."[18] Still any object which a man particularly esteems and prizes might be called his Elohim; thus the wild Chaldees "made their strength their God;"[19] and a violent or reckless character is said[20] to make his own right hand his "god," like Virgil's Mezentius[21],

> "Dextra mihi, Deus, et telum quod missile libro
> Nunc adsint."

Sometimes it is denied that the title "Elohim" can be properly applied to idols[22]; but the denial itself proves that the term was commonly employed to designate any reputed divinity, whether true or false. The gods of Egypt[23], of Damascus[24], of the Amorites[25], even the Teraphim[26], are all so called. Jehovah, indeed, is distinguished among the many pretenders to the character of Elohim by his pre-eminent dignity and power[27]. He is a God of gods[28], exalted above all gods[29], no other god can be compared with him[30], all other gods must worship him[31].

Whatever therefore bears an apparent resemblance to the Divine, or partakes its attributes, may be thought to approximate to its nature. The nature of man by its original constitution is only a little inferior to that of the Elohim[32], and by means of intelligence and knowledge may make an approach towards a superior order of being[33]. According to an early record, God determines to make man after his own image and likeness; and from the words immediately following it would appear that this likeness, though by no means excluding

[18] Gen. xxxi. 42. 53. Isa. viii. 13.
[19] Hab. i. 11.
[20] Job xii. 6.
[21] Æn. x. 773.
[22] 2 Chron. xiii. 9. 2 Kings xviii. 19. Isa. xliv. 6; xlv. 5; xlvi. 9.
[23] Exod. xii. 12.
[24] 2 Chron. xxxviii. 23.
[25] Josh. xxiv. 15. Judg. vi. 10.
[26] Gen. xxxi. 30.
[27] Exod. xviii. 11; xxii. 20. 2 Chron. xxxii. 19.
[28] Psal. cxxxvi. 2, 3.
[29] Psal. xcvii. 9; xcvi. 4.
[30] Psal. lxxxvi. 8.
[31] Psal. xcvii. 7.
[32] Psal. viii. 6, translated by the LXX. "angels," in order to avoid a comparison thought irreverent.
[33] Gen. iii. 22.

a literal similitude of external form[34], was intended by the writer to comprehend the noble attribute of dominion, the sovereignty exercised by man over the rest of creation[35]. Hence in another passage from the same writer is deduced the treasonable character of the crime of murder[36]; and it is worthy of remark, that in the 8th Psalm the same ideas are combined; "God made man only slightly inferior to the Elohim;" and, it is added, "clothed him with glory and honour, and made him to have dominion over all the works of his hands."

We must infer from these passages that, under theocratic kings, "likeness to God," though still including the idea of perfection of external form, was imagined to be especially marked by possession of sovereignty; and that consequently in Hebrew opinion rulers and magistrates were pre-eminently images and representatives of Deity. Moses is said to have been as a god to Aaron[37], to Pharaoh[38], and to the people[39]; and the rulers and judges who presided in the Elohim tribunal, the "κριτηριον του θεου,"[40] are identified with the unseen power whose authority they exercised[41], in whose presence they acted[42], and whose decision their sentence expressed[43]. Thus the 82nd Psalm, addressed to the official interpreters of God's word[44], acknowledges their right to the title of Elohim, but at the same time admonishes them conscientiously to discharge their important duty; to recollect that God himself, the Supreme Judge, is present; and that eventually they themselves, like all other men, must die, though for a time allowed by virtue of their office to be styled gods and Beni Elohim, "children of the Most High." For the moralist would suggest that in death an equal lot awaits both prince and people[45].

[34] Gen. v. 3. [35] Gen. i. 26. [36] Gen. ix. 6.
[37] Exod. iv. 16. [38] Exod. vii. 1. [39] Exod. xviii. 15.
[40] LXX. Exod. xxi. 6. Prov. xx. 8.
[41] Exod. xxi. 6. 22; xxii. 28. Ewald, Anhang. pp. 268. 326.
[42] Deut. xix. 17. Selden de Jure Nat. et G. 2. 13, p. 268.
[43] Deut. i. 17. [44] John x. 34.
[45] 2 Chron. xxvi. 23; xxviii. 27. Diod. S. i. 221.

It was therefore strictly in accordance with Hebrew theory to consider the king who administered justice and judgment as one of the Elohim. Justice is called by Josephus[46] the "power of God," as elsewhere[47] the "wisdom of God." The king's judgments were, strictly speaking, God's judgments. Hence the expressions, "Give the king thy judgments, O God, and thy righteousness unto the king's son[48]; he shall judge thy people with righteousness and thy poor with judgment."[49] In courtly language the king was often compared to those higher messengers of power called sons of the Elohim, or angels, where more than mortal aid had been exerted in former ages on behalf of the Hebrews, as the earthly mediators of their Divine King[50], whom David, the paragon of monarchs, might justly be supposed to resemble in super-eminent justice, goodness, and wisdom[51], and to whom the anticipated Messiah of later times was to bear a still more vivid similitude[52].

§ 8.

ORIGIN OF THE MESSIAH DOCTRINE.

The prosperous reigns of David and his son Solomon, when for the first and last time the Hebrew tribes formed a united nation, gave to the theocratic constitution the highest development and splendour of which it was susceptible. The long-interrupted sovereignty of the lion of Judah, which according to an ancient oracle[1] was to continue for ever, or as long as the ark and sanctuary should continue in Shiloh[2], had been magni-

[46] Antiq. iv. 8. 14.
[47] 1 Kings iii. 28.
[48] Psal. lxxii. 1.
[49] Comp. Prov. xvi. 10; xx. 8.
[50] Exod. xiv. 19; xxiii. 30. Gal. iii. 19.
[51] 1 Sam. xxix. 9. 2 Sam. xiv. 17. 20; xix. 27.
[52] Zech. xii. 8.
[1] Gen. xlix. 10.

[2] Tuch (Genesis, p. 576), after a critical examination of the different renderings of the passage, such as "until He comes to whom it (sovereignty) belongs," or, "until peace comes," concludes that Shiloh is a proper name, the place in the tribe of Ephraim where the sanctuary was set up by Joshua, and whence it was of course not expected that it would ever be removed. Comp. Psal. lxxviii. 60.

ficently revived in the person of the son of Jesse[3], lineally descended from the patriarch of his tribe[4]. His personal fitness corresponded with his hereditary qualification. Ever the firm friend of the theocracy and its ministers, and therefore appropriately called "a man after God's own heart," he infused by successful patriotism an unwonted unity and energy into the national character, and as the Lord's "Messiah" combined the various offices of mediation more fully and unconditionally than any of the functionaries who had succeeded Moses[5]. Under his auspices the vine brought out of Egypt "stretched out her boughs to the sea, and her branches to the river;" in plain language, the kingdom extended from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean[6], and Solomon became as celebrated for riches as for wisdom[7]. His reign was literally an age of gold; he is said to have made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars as sycamores. Then, if ever, were realized the blessings of the Levitical promise[8], and the model of the "divine kingdom" upon earth. Amidst great material prosperity the numbers of the people, according to the words of the covenant, were "increased and multiplied exceedingly;"[9] the land was rid of "evil beasts,"[10] the extermination of which was as desirable for the Hebrew as for the Persian; and the nation, everywhere victorious and enjoying the peaceful fruits of victory, might with pardonable exaggeration be said to be "exalted above all the earth."[11] God had fixed his dwelling-place among them in a permanent tabernacle or temple, and seemed more than ever resolved on establishing them as his own favoured people[12].

But this splendour and prosperity were of short duration. The political connection of the Hebrew tribes was always pre-

[3] 1 Sam. xvii. 12. 1 Chron. xxviii. 4.
[4] 1 Chron. iii. 12. 2 Sam. xx. 2.
[5] Psal. cx. 4.
[6] 2 Chron. ix. 26.
[7] 1 Kings x. 23.
[8] Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii.
[9] 1 Kings iv. 20.
[10] Judg. xiv. 5. 1 Sam. xvii. 34. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 24. Psal. lxxix. 2.
[11] Deut. xxviii. 1. 10. 13. 1 Kings iv. 21; x. 23.
[12] Deut. xxviii. 9.

carious, depending on what was in fact only a confederation of independent republics. Internal dissensions produced weakness, attended with a proportionate decay of public spirit. Edom and Syria reassuming a formidable aspect intercepted the sources of the wealth of Solomon, and still worse, the permanent separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah seemed to make any satisfactory realization of the theocracy for the present impossible. Disappointed in the present men naturally turn their thoughts to the past and the future. The patriotic pride and zeal for the national institutions which had been cherished by success, now checked but not destroyed by adversity, sought consolation in reminiscences of the reign of David and his son, and began to form the idea of a prospective renewal of the theocracy which should rival or even eclipse the past. Jehovah was still the supreme King of Israel; the evils endured by the nation were a punishment for their sins and those of their rulers[13] against which they had been forewarned. But as God was good and merciful as well as all powerful, these afflictions must one day cease. The blessings of the covenant would once more replace its terrors and denunciations. The disappearance of civil feuds would enable the nation again to be united under a vigorous and successful monarchy[14]. The darker the cloud the brighter gleams the sunshine. The Messianic or national expectation which arose when the state first began to decline after the reign of David, increased in fervour in proportion to the misfortunes of the people, and as the successive insults of Assyrian, Macedonian, or Roman seemed to laugh to scorn all human probability of its accomplishment. The fund of Hebrew hope was as immeasurable as the power of the invisible Sovereign; and it was even anticipated that the prospective kingdom would embrace universal dominion, a dominion coextensive with the theoretical empire of the Deity over the whole earth[15].

The Messiah doctrine of the Hebrews was thus a joint pro-

[13] 1 Kings xi. 11, &c.

[14] Ezek. xxxvii. 22. Hos. i. 11.

[15] Exod. xix. 5. Psal. xxii. 27.

duct of the misfortunes of the times and of the theocratic constitution. As usual, the experience of a want excited the imagination to fill up the blank out of its own resources. The peculiar forms assumed were the peculiarities of Judaism. They were suggested partly by the institutions and imagery of the old covenant and its promises, partly by the recollected realization of them in the reign of David. The general outline of ideal felicity would of course to the mind of a Hebrew take the form of a divine kingdom or theocracy. It was equally inevitable that the hopes which had to a great extent originated in the successful career of David, should continue to be connected with the fortunes of his family. An emphatic announcement had been made to him by the great prophet Nathan that God would assume in a peculiar manner a paternal relation towards him and his descendants, and would perpetuate his throne and dynasty in security and peace. "And when thy days shall be fulfilled," continued the oracle[16], "and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom; he shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father and he shall be my son. If he commit iniquity I will chasten him with the rod of men," &c. "But my mercy shall not depart from him as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee. And thy house and thy kingdom shall be established for ever before thee, thy throne shall be established for ever."

The great importance attached to this oracle may be inferred from the frequent reference made to it[17]. It seems to have been considered as a renewal and confirmation in more precise and comprehensive language of the original covenant, and as a pledge that the sovereign rights of David's family and the splendours which distinguished his reign should be for ever incorporated among the blessings of the theocracy, and placed

[16] 2 Sam. vii. 12.. 1 Chron. xvii. 13; xxii. 9, 10.

[17] 1 Kings v. 5; vi. 12; viii. 25. Psal. lxxxix.; cxxxii. 11. 1 Chron. xvii. 17; xxiv. 25.

by the Divine promise beyond all hazard of alteration or decay. It thus became one of the great scriptural bases of Messianic hope. God is constantly reminded of his oath sworn to David to maintain his seed for ever, to build up his throne to all generations[18]. In the complicated disasters which afterwards befel the nation and royal family, the particulars of the oracle of Nathan, called by the general name of "Holy One,"[19] were recapitulated in mournful remonstrances. Once, says the Psalmist, thou saidst through a holy prophet, "I have found David my servant; with holy oil have I anointed him: I will set his hand in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers. He shall cry to me, 'Thou art my father, my God, the rock of my salvation;' also I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth; his seed will I make to endure for ever, his throne as the days of heaven." "But thou hast been wroth with thy Messiah, and hast made void the covenant of thy servant; thou hast profaned his crown by casting it to the ground. How long, Lord? Wilt thou hide thyself for ever? Where, Lord, are thy former lovingkindnesses which thou swearest to David in thy truth?"[20] Hopes based on a divine guarantee are imperishable; no danger can be other than trivial to those who have the God of Jacob for their refuge[21]. To doubt would be to question the power or faithfulness of the Most High. To the menacing attitude assumed by the rulers of hostile nations the 2nd Psalm replies with bitter defiance, showing how little reason the king had to fear any combinations of the heathen. They had insulted the Lord, as well as the "Christ,"[22] whom he had appointed upon his holy hill of Zion, and respecting whom he had pronounced the irrevocable decree, "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten (or adopted thee);" "I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance," and "thou shalt dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel." Be wise then, O ye kings and judges of the earth; fear Jehovah, and "kiss

[18] Psal. lxxxix. 3, 4; cxxxii. 11.
[19] Psal. lxxxix. 19.
[20] Psal. lxxxix.
[21] Psal. xlvi.
[22] Acts iv. 26.

the son;" pay the tribute of regal fealty to this elected son of divinity, lest Jehovah his patron should be angry and ye perish.

§ 9.

EARLIEST TYPES OF MESSIANIC PREDICTION.

Under exemplary and successful sovereigns the prophetical effusions are usually complimentary addresses to the monarch expressive of proud self-congratulation or joyous hope. In adversity they take the form of expostulation with Jehovah on his seeming forgetfulness, combined either with threats to his rebellious subjects, or with consolatory suggestions. Allowing for exaggerations of expression they can rarely be shown to imply anything beyond the immediate occasion which called them forth. Yet many of these earlier effusions of loyalty though not intended to be Messianic, came afterwards to be so construed, and at all events served as patterns for the more distinct predictions of succeeding prophets. The second and twenty-second Psalms were accounted Messianic by the Jews, who regardless of literary criticism strove to make every triumphant description tributary to their hopes. Their opinion cannot under the circumstances be regarded as of much value unless to the unscrupulous supporters of a theory; nor is any peculiar significancy to be attached to hints of "universal or eternal" dominion[1], since these are only hyperbolical expressions implying the wide power and firm establishment of David's dynasty. The empire of David had realized or perhaps suggested the promise to exalt the Hebrews above all the earth, to spread the fear of them through all its inhabitants[2]. It was probably at this time, the æra of their greatest material

[1] Psal. ii. 8; lxi. 6; lxxii. 17; lxxxix. 29. 36.

[2] Exod. xix. 5. Deut. ii. 25; xi. 25; xxviii. 1. Psal. lxxxix. 27. 1 Chron. xiv. 17.

and political prosperity, that the idea of universal dominion first suggested itself to their imaginations. The anticipation was enunciated by the national genius in the forms of prophecy, of recorded covenant, or of triumphant song; and was incorporated with the legendary traditions now first registered and collected. In this way may have been introduced into the patriarchal covenant a clause making its original purpose as well as final accomplishment a general boon to the whole human race through a promise supposed to have been given to Abraham that in him all the nations of the earth should be blessed[3]. The later Jews, embittered against other nations by suffering, rejected the Messianic application of this passage as obviously too liberal to suit their exclusive feelings. The Jerusalem Targum explains it to mean only the great atoning value of the patriarch's merits, and Philo treats it as a mere amplification of the common saying that a wise and good man is a blessing to his age and country[4]. But the covenant of Genesis is probably only another form of the historical record in Kings, and of the prophetic announcement in the Psalms. "I will multiply thee exceedingly," said the promise[5], "I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee; unto thy seed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates." In the corresponding words of the annalist[6], "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and making merry; and Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents and served Solomon all the days of his life." The same covenant is reiterated in the Psalms as if renewed to David[7], and receives the prophetic form in the cotemporary

[3] Gen. xii. 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 18; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 14. Comp. also Gen. ix. 27, and Tuch's Commentary, p. 193; Japhet living in friendly association or dependence upon Shem.

[4] Pfeiffer, v. 80. Onkelos, "propter te;" in the Jer. Targum, "merito tuo."

[5] Gen. xv. 18; xvii. 6.

[6] 1 Kings iv. 20.

[7] Psal. lxxxix. 23. 27.

effusion supposed to be addressed to Solomon[8], in which it is promised that he "should have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth; that they that dwell in the wilderness should bow before him; that his name should endure for ever; that all men should be blessed in him, and all nations call him blessed." It required only a small extension of liberality to presume that the nations of the earth subjugated according to the tenour of the Hebrew covenant would be permitted to share some fraction of its advantages; and it became at least in the earlier stages of Messianic theory, an established dogma that the Theocracy would eventually be consummated in a universal diffusion of the worship of Jehovah. "All the nations of the earth shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kingdoms of nations shall worship before thee; for the kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the governor among the nations."[9] The asseveration that Solomon[10] should have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession[11]; that his children should be princes in all lands[12]; that the kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents; that all kings shall fall down before him, and all nations serve him[13], is but a slight complimentary exaggeration, certainly not more startling or irreconcilable with fact than the imagery of the hymn composed by David to celebrate his deliverance from his enemies[14]. There the warrior's distress is called "the pains of hell and the snares of death;" and on the approach of his Almighty deliverer Earth and Heaven

[8] Psal. lxxii. 8. 17. Comp. Zech. ix. 10.

[9] Psal. xxii. 27.

[10] This seeming liberality was greatly limited afterwards, and it was held that though many should come from the east and west (according to Isa. ii. 3; xi. 10, &c.), they would soon turn renegades. "My son," said an aged Jew in answer to the question, "shall the heathen partake in Messiah's kingdom?"—"my son, every nation which has contributed to afflict our people will see our glory, and afterwards immediately be destroyed. Those nations who have not oppressed us will come and be our vinedressers and husbandmen." Gfrörer, Urchrist. vol. ii. p. 241.

[11] Psal. ii. 8.

[12] Psal. xlv. 16.

[13] Psal. lxxii. 10, 11.

[14] 2 Sam. xxii. 1.

are shaken, fire and smoke issue from the nostrils of the avenging Deity, and the channels of the sea and foundations of earth are laid bare[15].

The second psalm may possibly have been written in consequence of insurrectionary cabals upon the accession of the immediate successor of David. It exults in the conviction that the theocratic king, who by virtue of consecration, and of the celebrated oracle which was the fundamental charter of his authority, became the "Son," or immediate representative of Omnipotence, was immeasurably superior to any possible combination of his enemies. The triumphant tone of this psalm was at first claimed by the Jews for their Messiah; but they shrunk from this interpretation in proportion to the success of the Christians in applying the same expressions to the Jewish cabals against Jesus[16]. The 45th Psalm celebrates in glowing terms the exalted majesty of the king; his beauty, among the Hebrews as generally among ancient nations a recognised attribute of royalty[17]; his godlike character and acts, his enduring and universal sway. The Jewish interpreters, including the Septuagint[18], understood this psalm as Messianic; it was probably introduced as such into the canon, and it is not impossible that it may have been composed in the same feeling as many similar passages in the undoubted Messianic prophecies[19]. Yet there is little which may not fairly apply to Solomon, or be easily explained by allowing for the natural exaggeration in the complimentary effusion of a poet to a prosperous sovereign. The ode is expressly stated by the writer[20] to be an encomium which he had composed and dedi-

[15] Comp. Isa. xxiv. 18. 23. It became a usual practice to suppose moral revolutions to be accompanied with a convulsion of nature.

[16] Lengerke, Psalmen. i. p. 5.

[17] Comp. 1 Sam. ix. 2; x. 24; xvi. 12. 2 Sam. i. 19. Ps. Plato, Alcibiad. ii. 148. Creuz. Symb. i. 90[n]. Plutarch de Placitis, i. 6, p. 880. Müller, Dorians. ii. p. 124. "Το καλλος βασιλειας οικειον εστι." Athenæus, xiii. 566.

[18] Comp. Heb. i. 8, 9.

[19] Comp. Isa. ix. 4; xxxiii. 17, &c.

[20] Psal. xlv. 1.

cated "to the king." We have no means of determining with certainty the particular king alluded to, or whether the royal bride, who is also a daughter of royalty, be the daughter of the king of Egypt[21]. But the costly spices, the numerous harem, the tributary offerings from distant countries, are all characteristic of the splendour of Solomon, who maintained commercial intercourse with the wealthiest regions of the world, and received presents from their kings[22]. David's throne in Hebrew belief was an eternal one[23]; nor is it surprising that he, who was expressly dignified by the title of "Son of God,"[24] should now be called by an equivalent denomination, one of the "Elohim." This name applied, as above said, not only to God and his angels, the "Beni Elohim," but to rulers and magistrates[25], and of course more especially to the "Lord's anointed," the "χριστος κυριου," the spiritual son and most emphatic representative of Almighty power upon earth. In the seventh verse, however, of this psalm, the invocation to "God" seems to be a mistake of the Septuagint and other translators; "throne" should be construed in equal relation to its two genitives in the sense of "thy throne of God," or "thy God's throne;" that is, "the throne conferred on thee, the king, by God;" just as in Isaiah[26], "my Jacob's covenant" means "my covenant with Jacob;" and as by David's mercies"[27] are meant "the mercies shown to David."

[21] 1 Kings iii. 1.

[22] 1 Kings x. 10. 15. 25; ix. 14. The connection between Jehovah and his people was often symbolized under the conjugal relation, as well as the parental or kingly one (Isa. liv. 5; lxii. 5. Jer. iii. 1. Lengerke, Kenaan. i. 499. 451); and it is possible that some such mystic meaning may have been intended, even admitting the primary object of the poem as an epithalamium.

[23] Psal. xlv. 6.

[24] Psal. ii. 7. Comp. 2 Sam. vii. 14.

[25] Psal. lxxxii. 6. Exod. xxii. 28.

[26] Isa. xxvi. 42.

[27] 2 Chron. vi. 42.

§ 10.

NOTION OF A SPECIFIC MESSIAH.

All prosperity must be from Jehovah; and by many of the organs of patriotic hope the prospective restoration of the theocracy was contemplated after the pattern of the times of Samuel and Moses as founded and carried on only through the intervention of ordinary judges, priests, and prophets[1]. But the example of the royal line of Judæa, which though known to include many favourers of impure and idolatrous worship, was always in close alliance with the temple hierarchy, and was generally accounted to have done "what was right in the sight of the Lord," had continued the typical fame of David, and confirmed the popularity of kingly mediation as an element of national prosperity and strength. The since unequalled splendour of the undissevered monarchy could scarcely be restored unless by a similarly gifted or still more influential monarch; and present misfortunes arising from personal deficiencies contributed to throw increased lustre round the reminiscences of the past. It was in the degenerate days of Ahaz, when the Assyrians had already swept away many of the Israelitish people, and the remainder, in confederacy with the Syrians, menaced Jerusalem for plunder, that the prophets Isaiah and Micah seem first to have looked to a definite deliverer, one who filling with consummate skill and success the executive offices of king, the fighting the battles of the Lord and executing his judgments, should inherit the successive promises made to David and his family, and as complete representative of the Lord's strength should "bear his name to the ends of the earth."[2]

[1] Or else Jehovah himself would lead back the people to their final establishment as he once led them out of Egypt. So Hos. xiii. 4; Joel, the older Zechariah, ix. 11; Mic. ii. 13; Zephaniah, Obadiah, the writer of parts of Isa. xiii. 14. 24; xxvii. 34, 35; xl. lxvi.; also Nahum and Habakkuk. Knobel, Prophetismus, i. 329. Gesen. to Isa. vol. ii. p. 33; and iii. 773. Strauss, Glaubenslehre, 2, p. 78.

[2] Mic. v. 4.

They imagined one in whom the royal house would be restored to its ancient splendour[3], and who would terminate that division of the tribes which since the days of Solomon had been the source of so much disgrace, irreligion, and misfortune[4]. Micah therefore naturally surmises that the head of this "first dominion"[5] or restoration of the united monarchy, would arise out of Bethlehem-Judah, or Bethlehem-Ephratah, so called to distinguish it from another Bethlehem in Zabulon[6]. Bethlehem, though too small to form a chiliad of the tribe of Judah[7], was the well-known birth-place of the family who had acquired in public estimation a sacred right to perpetual sovereignty[8]; and since the future ruler was to be another David[9], or a "branch of Jesse's root,"[10] Bethlehem would of course be the place of his "going forth," as being the cradle of a race which, though not to be called everlasting as our translation would make it[11], was at least of very ancient date[12]. It is not necessary to assume that the future deliverer would actually be born at Bethlehem; but only that Bethlehem, already famous as the birth-place or scene of "the goings forth" of David, would be yet further ennobled in the glorious distinctions which awaited the posterity of a family, whose origin might be traced back not only to the patriarch Judah, but even to Adam and the Creation[13]. The sufferings of the people[14] were to endure "until she that travaileth hath brought forth," and no longer[15]. These national sufferings had already by Hosea been compared to the pangs of a woman in labour; and by him it was suggested[16] that the sorrows of the old Ephraim would more quickly have brought to light the renewed and blessed Ephraim, but for an unhappy delay of amendment and continuance in guilt which might

[3] Amos ix. 11; comp. Isa. iii. 6.
[4] Hos. i. 11.
[5] Mic. iv. 8.
[6] Josh. xix. 15.
[7] Exod. xviii. 21. Numb. i. 16. Judg. vi. 15.
[8] 2 Sam. vii. 16. Ruth i. 1; iv. 18.
[9] Hos. iii. 5.
[10] Isa. xi. 1.
[11] Mic. v. 2.
[12] Comp. Isa. xxiii. 7; xxxvii. 26, and Mic. vii. 20.
[13] 1 Chron. i. 2.
[14] 1 Chron. iv. 10.
[15] Mic. v. 3.
[16] Hos. xiii. 13.

figuratively be said to lengthen out and mischievously prolong the pains of child-birth[17], endangering both parent and offspring. It would be difficult to decide whether the mysterious intimation of Micah that the period of national delivery, or advent of the Deliverer, was to be identical with that of the travailing of a mother, is a mere continuation of the figure of Hosea, or whether it has a more definite relation to some actual cotemporaneous pregnancy, such as that alluded to as a prophetical "sign" by Isaiah[18]. In the foregoing strophes, Micah had applied the general idea of child-birth to the suffering "daughter of Jerusalem," exclaiming, "Travail on and labour to bring forth! for these woes are the necessary precursors of thy redemption and delivery."[19] Something more precise must be intended by the third verse of the fifth chapter, which, if understood merely in the wider sense, affirms only the truism that the suffering would cease with the event which was to end it. The prophet passes from immediate anticipations of vice, oppression, and calamity to the remoter and better time which should be signalized by the birth of a second David[20], that ideal Ruler whose attributes growing probably in clearness and fulness through a succession of oracles now lost[21], burst forth in unexpected sublimity in Isaiah. Whether the birth of the child Immanuel as connected with these anticipations is to be limited to the immediate and special events for which it is adduced by the prophet[22], or, with Ewald, to be considered as the commencement of the career of the Messiah[23], it must not be forgotten that at the probable date of the 9th chapter of Isaiah, the son of Ahaz, Hezekiah, a young prince who through his whole life

[17] Hos. xiii. 13. 2 Kings xix. 3.

[18] Isa. vii. 14; viii. 3.

[19] Mic. iv. 10.

[20] Hos. iii. 5; comp. Zech. ix. 9.

[21] Comp. Ewald, Propheten, i. p. 179.

[22] Ewald remarks that Isaiah's future is here seemingly divided into three stages; first, deliverance from the inconsiderate attack of the allied kings; second, severe suffering under an Assyrian captivity; third, a restoration by the Messiah. Propheten, i. 215.

[23] It is obvious that if the passage be Messianic, the Messiah alluded to must be one already born or immediately to be so.

maintained an intimate and deferential connection with the functionaries of religion, was about twelve years old. It is not therefore unlikely that the words

> "Unto us a child is born,
> To us a son is given,
> And the government shall rest upon his shoulder;"

or "who will hereafter bear the burden of sovereignty," may refer to the young Hezekiah from whose accession so much might be expected. The cheering announcement is a continuation of the passage in which deliverance is promised even to the benighted and desolated[24] extremities of the kingdom of Israel[25]. "Yet shall there not always be darkness," says the prophet, "where now oppression is;" for to us, that is, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, is born an heir[26] to dominion under happier auspices; his name shall be called "wonderful," *i. e.* an extraordinary and distinguished personage, a title given to an angel or divine messenger in Judges[27], but which must not here be supposed to intimate a supernatural deliverer, an idea which arose only at a much later period. "Counsellor" denotes the attribute of kingly wisdom derived from Jehovah the source of all wisdom[28], and essential to the exercise of deliberative and judicial functions; "El Gibor," not the "mighty God," though such an epithet would not, according to oriental usage, be at all inapplicable to a royal personage, but "mighty hero," or "God's hero, intimating the king's military function of "fighting the Lord's battles,"[29] committed to him as representing the supreme hero Jehovah[30]. The title, "Father of Eternity," or "the Eternal," implies that the hero is of a very ancient house[31],

[24] 2 Kings xv. 29.

[25] Isa. ix. 2.

[26] A "light." 2 Chron. xxi. 7; comp. Isa. ix. 2.

[27] Judg. xiii. 18, 19.

[28] Psal. xvi. 7; xxxii. 8, a *βουληφορος αγνης*. The word מלך implying this meaning.

[29] Psal. xlv. 3. 5. Ezek. xxxii. 21; comp. xxxi. 11.

[30] Comp. Isa. x. 21. Psal. xxiv. 8. Deut. x. 17.

[31] See the parallel passage, Mic. v. 2.

one which it had been predicted should endure for ever[32]. He was also to be a "Prince of Peace," or Man of Rest," like his glorious predecessor Solomon[33], and would establish an endless empire of tranquil prosperity and righteousness. By these epithets the early prophets had no intention of making their ideal king a divine being. They might indeed compare him, as they did the actual king, to God or one of the Elohim, nevertheless the former, like the latter, was the Lord's servant, *i. e.* his executive minister or mediator[34]. Even the title given him by Jeremiah, "Jehovah our salvation,"[35] does not affirm his identity with Jehovah, but only that his presence will be considered by his people as an earnest of God's blessing[36], and that this idea will become recorded in his name[37]. He was to be not a God, but Israel's king or ruler[38], a prince of peace at home, and a mighty warrior among his enemies. He was to be prepared for his office in the same way as priest, prophet, or king, by communication of the divine spirit[39]; in regard to extraction he would be a "sprout" or branch from Jesse's root[40], inheriting the poetical name of "Shepherd of Israel,"[41] as being lineally descended from the shepherd David[42].

[32] 2 Sam. vii. 16. Knobel renders it, "Father of the spoil." Comment. p. 66. Prophetismus, i. p. 330. Hitzig. ad. l.

[33] 1 Kings iv. 24. 1 Chron. xxii. 9. Mic. v. 5. Zech. ix. 10.

[34] Comp. Zech. iii. 8.

[35] Jer. xxiii. 6. Whence "God's salvation" became a technical name for the Messiah. Luke ii. 30; iii. 6. Acts xxviii. 28. The name Isaiah has the same meaning. Isa. viii. 18.

[36] Gen. xxii. 18.

[37] The same name is afterwards given to the city of Jerusalem, ch. xxxiii. 16. Comp. Matt. v. 35.

[38] Mic. ii. 13; v. 1. Jer. xxiii. 5; xxx. 21. Ezek. xxxiv. 24; xxxvii. 25.

[39] Isa. xi. 2. Mic. v. 3.

[40] Gesen. Isa. ii. 417, 418.

[41] Ezek. xxxiv. 23; xxxvii. 24.

[42] 1 Sam. xvii. 15. Gen. xlix. 24. 1 Chron. xvii. 7. Psal. lxxviii. 70; lxxx. 1.

§ 11.

THEORY OF PROBATIONARY SUFFERING.

The Hebrews had already undergone a captivity before their establishment in Palestine. The ideal future takes its colour from the circumstances of the past or present; and although Jerusalem might to a superficial eye appear full of silver and gold, and all the extravagances of luxury[1], it was evident to the far reflecting prophet that its fall was near, and that a perfect theocratic restoration must be preceded by a period of calamity. It thus became an established theological dogma that certain woes, called "Messiah's woes," were immediately to precede the Messiah's appearance, that the valley of "affliction" would be the door of hope[2]. The object of this suffering was to bring men to repentance, to root out obstinate offenders[3], in short, to destroy moral evil by a course of expiation and purification which should make the people fit for the felicity in store for them[4]. These pangs, through which the nation was to arrive at a new birth of felicity, were naturally compared with those of a woman in labour; and the prophet mournfully complains on a particular occasion that the people's sufferings had as yet been abortive or fruitful, as he quaintly expresses it, "only of wind;" "for the land," he adds, "is not yet rescued, its inhabitants are still unregenerated."[5] As the list of anticipated blessings is a transcript or type of the Levitical and patriarchal promises, so by reversing the picture are obtained the penal visitations through which the nation was to be purified and prepared for its restoration. These are but the usual disasters incidental to the climate and manners of the age and country, such as drought, pestilence, famine, leprosy, invasions of wild beasts or locusts. The swarm of locusts which gave occasion to the prophecy of Joel were a divine visitation to be received

[1] Isa. ii. 7.
[2] Hos. ii. 15. Psal. lxxxiv. 6.
[3] Isa. i. 25; iv. 4. Mic. vii. 13.
[4] Isa. iv. 4.
[5] Comp. Isa. xxvi. 17, 18; xxxvii. 3.

with humiliation and contrition[6]; upon this condition the Lord would restore fruitfulness to the land[7], and ultimately realize for his people their ideal golden age[8]. Subjugation and captivity were obviously very possible contingencies[9]. The despotic monarchs of Asia often swept whole nations into captivity to colonize distant regions, as even now the Russian Emperor transfers his Polish subjects to Siberia[10]. From the time of Solomon[11] and Rehoboam, the kings of Egypt and Damascus had begun to threaten the Judæan and Israelitish frontiers; Moab and Edom revolted[12]; the Philistines and Arabians pillaged the royal palace at Jerusalem; the sources of the commercial wealth of Solomon were cut off. Members even of the royal family were carried captive into Ethiopia, and multitudes had already become what Joel calls "a reproach among the heathen," by being sold into slavery. The Tyrians and Sidonians sold Hebrew children to Greek slave dealers[13]; Amos imprecates a curse on this abominable traffic[14] in which the Edomites participated; and it is probable that many Israelites who had voluntarily settled in Edom while tributary, were murdered or enslaved upon its revolt[15]. Egypt, held in abhorrence by the orthodox Hebrew, especially since the invasion of Shishak, had probably been a common place of refuge for persecuted Israelites[16], as was also Hamath, a border country on the northern frontier. Thus it was that the value attached to the promise of "dwelling and continuing in the land"[17] was

[6] Joel ii. 12. [7] Joel ii. 21, &c. [8] Joel iii. 18.

[9] Lev. xxvi. 33. Deut. xxviii. 64, and xxx. 1. Ezek. xx. 23.

[10] Comp. Wessel. to Herod. iii. 93; iv. 204; vi. 9. 12. 32; vii. 80. Ctesiæ Persica Exc. s. 9. 40. Ritter's Vorhalle, pp. 38, 39.

[11] 1 Kings xi. 14. 23.

[12] 2 Kings x. 32; xii. 18; xiii. 3. 2 Chron. xxi. 10. 16; viii. 20.

[13] Joel iii. 6. Ezek. xxvii. 13. [14] Amos i. 6. 9.

[15] Joel iii. 19. Obadiah, 10. Amos i. 11.

[16] Such as those driven out of Elath. 2 Kings xvi. 6; comp. Jer. xli. 17. Isa. xi. 11. Matt. ii. 13.

[17] Psal. xxxvii. 29.

more deeply felt from the well-known fact that great numbers were in exile; that the prediction of "Judah being inhabited for ever" was the more popular from the acknowledged precariousness of Judah's existence as an independent state; and that the captivity or absenteeism of a large proportion of the nation constituted a pressing grievance and subject of public reproach[18], the removal of which was a necessary element of its regeneration.

Up to the time of the Judæan king Uzziah the nations immediately bordering on Palestine had been its most formidable enemies. Amos surveys a wider political horizon; the prospect of an Assyrian invasion enables him to denounce the punishments merited both by Israel and its oppressors, and to prophesy that the ten tribes would be scattered among "all nations," and carried away to a country more distant than even its hitherto most formidable enemy Damascus[19]. What Amos distantly foresaw becomes more distinctly prominent during the long career of the Israelitish prophet Hosea. The anarchy which accompanied the decline and extirpation of the dynasty of Jehu seemed about to be succeeded by an æra of better promise[20]; but the prospect again darkens, the hope is disappointed. Civil war, robbery, and demoralization convulse the unhappy country, obviously leaving it an easy prey for the invader. Assyria, with its Melech Jareeb, or "Adversary" king, is as dangerous to its feeble ally as to its equally feeble enemy[21]. "Yet one short month," says the prophet, "and the Assyrian host, like the Egyptian of old, will become the conqueror and oppressor of Israel or Ephraim."[22] "God once loved Israel and called his son[23] out of Egypt."[24] But Israel forgetful of his only true deliverer flies like a silly dove for

[18] Joel ii. 19. 26; iii. 1. 6, 7. Isa. xi. 11, 12. Zech. ix. 11. 13.
[19] Amos v. 27; ix. 9. 1 Chron. v. 26.
[20] Hos. i. 4; iii. 4, 5.
[21] Hos. v. 13.
[22] Hos. v. 7; xi. 5.
[23] Exod. iv. 22.
[24] Hos. xi. 1.

help now to Egypt, now to Assyria[25], and turns to and fro, but never towards the Lord[26]. The helpless bird of Samaria will inevitably fall into the net[27], and find calamity in both the quarters from which it sought assistance[28]. After much tergiversation, Menahem appears to have finally chosen the Assyrian alliance, involving of course the condition of tribute[29]; but the treaty was unfaithfully kept[30]; his successor, Hosea, was detected in a treasonable correspondence with the king of Egypt, and, shortly afterwards, Samaria was besieged and taken by Salmanassar, its inhabitants removed beyond the Euphrates, and the kingdom of Israel finally destroyed. The elder Zechariah's "staff of grace" was for ever broken[31]. The religious annalist dwells at length on the causes of the calamity, among which desertion of Jehovah might theocratically be justly said to be the chief, including in itself the minor domestic offences of corruption, feuds, and violence, as well as impolitic or unprincipled alliances[32].

After the fall of Samaria, danger seemed to close nearer round Jerusalem. King Hezekiah, untaught by Israelitish example, refused to pay the stipulated Assyrian tribute[33], and notwithstanding the warnings of Isaiah made application to Egypt[34]. But the power of Assyria was on the eve of disorganization. An Ethiopian army was reported to be advancing against Sennacherib from the south, while the provinces of his empire were ripe for revolt[35]. It was under these circumstances that the besieged city was consoled by the beautiful ode of defiance addressed to the enemy before its gates, "The virgin

[25] Hos. vii. 11. [26] Hos. vii. 10. 16.

[27] Hos. vii. 12. [28] Hos. ix. 3.

[29] Hos. x. 6. This is called "hiring a lover;" viii. 9. 1 Kings xv. 19.

[30] Hos. x. 4. 2 Kings xvii. 4. [31] Zech. xi. 10.

[32] The threat of Egyptian captivity peculiar to Hosea and the older Zechariah (Zech. x. 9, 10; comp. Isa. vii. 18; xix. 19) does not appear to have been realized, any more than the anticipated restoration of Israel. Hos. iii. 5; xi. 8; xiv. 4. Jer. xxiii. 6. Zech. x. 6.

[33] 2 Kings xviii. 7. [34] Knobel, Prophetismus, ii. 115. 122.

[35] Herod. i. 95.

the daughter of Zion hath despised thee and laughed thee to scorn, the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee."[36] The prophets never lacked a topic of menace any more than of consolation. Micah, living during the Assyrian period, usually augurs danger from Assyrians; but in the midst of his oracles as at present arranged, occurs a prediction, remarkable as being the earliest of the kind, that the Jews would become captives and afterwards be redeemed at Babylon[37]. The prophetical writings as well as the historical books are well understood to have been compiled not as mere registers of events but as lessons of theocratical morality[38]. The predictions in both were arranged in their present form long after the times referred to, and from the revision, interpolations, and misplacements, to which they were exposed during the process, it must always be open to suspicion how far the original terms of the oracle may have been suppressed or altered for others more distinctly in accordance with their fulfilment[39]. In the present instance however there is no clear evidence of fraud or anachronism. It seems that the Assyrian governor of Babylon had revolted during the Egyptian campaign of Sennacherib, and usurped a sovereignty which continued six years[40]. Independently, therefore, of the usage of giving the regal title to powerful satraps or governors[41], this governor would for the time be strictly and properly a "king,"[42] and

[36] Isa. xxxvii. 22.

[37] Mic. iv. 10.

[38] Comp. Isa. xxx. 8.

[39] Gesen. Isa. xxxix. 6. Comp. 1 Kings xiii, 2. 2 Kings xxiii. 17. 1 Kings viii. 12, and Hitzig's note to Amos i. 13. These predictions are like the "σσσιται ἡμας ὁταν ποτ' ολωλη Ιλιος ἱρη" of Homer, and the "Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus" of Dido. The LXX substitute "Ἑλληνες" for "Philistines," in Isaiah ix. 12, in order to form a prophecy of the Greek dynasties of the Ptolemys and Seleucidæ (Gesen. Isa. ii. 61), and Stephen in the Acts (vii. 43) for "beyond Damascus" (Amos v. 27), writes "beyond Babylon;" not, says Jerome, because he made a mistake, but he substituted his own interpretation for the literal rendering of the passage; a mode of making exegesis subservient to a preconceived hypothesis upon which much of modern as well as of ancient theology is based.

[40] Gesen. Isa. iii. 999.

[41] Gesen. to Isa. x. 8.

[42] Isa. xxxix. 1.

fearing the vengeance of the Assyrians his probable object would be to flatter and propitiate the already disaffected King of Judah by sending him a complimentary embassy. Such embassies were naturally looked upon by politicians with suspicion[43]. Hezekiah was dazzled and imposed on; but the prophets Isaiah and Micah clearly perceived the real drift of the Babylonish ruler, and foresaw that even were he to succeed in the effort for independence, or even to overthrow the Assyrian empire, an event which did not occur till ninety years later[44], the fate of Judæa would in all probability be the same, or be even more effectually sealed by the military colonists of Chaldæa than by the effeminate Assyrians.

§ 12.

THE "REMNANT" AND THE "RETURN."

All these sufferings threatened or experienced had a definite theocratic object. They were destined to bring men to repentance, to prove them, to effect a separation between the contrite and obdurate. They were the fire through which the true gold would pass refined and purified[1], a trial of the righteous, like the test they passed through in the wilderness[2]. The law had exhibited the Deity as merciful yet severely just[3]. The offenders in the wilderness died there, and only their posterity were allowed to enter the "Lord's rest."[4] All that consistently with former precedent could be anticipated was that such pious Hebrews who should survive present calamities might escape the utter annihilation impending over transgressors[5]. The election of the nation by Jehovah was an eternal covenant[6].

[43] 2 Sam. x. 3. Herod. iii. 17. 25.
[1] Zech. xiii. 9. Mal. iii. 2, 3.
[2] Ezek. xx. 13; xxxiv. 38. Psal. cvi. 26.
[3] Exod. xxxiv. 7. Numb. xiv. 18.
[4] Psal. xcv. 11. Numb. xiv. 29; xxvi. 65.
[5] Amos ix. 10.
[44] 625 B.C. Conf. Isa. x. 12.
[6] Psal. lxxxix. 34.

God was all-powerful and faithful as well as just; calamity therefore could not be perpetual[7]. God would not be for ever angry[8]; the covenant had been interrupted by sin, but for his great name's sake Jehovah would not allow it to be entirely broken off; for if he should, other nations might reasonably doubt his divinity and power[9]. The moral end of trial once attained, the people might hope for greater prosperity than ever. In other words, the "remnant of Israel" would return, would again enter the promised "rest" of the Lord, or the felicities of the kingdom of Messiah[10]. The establishment of this doctrine is one of the main objects of Isaiah, who according to the prophetic usage of showing forth coming events symbolically gives to one of his sons the name of "Schear-Jaschub," or the "Remnant shall return."[11] It was natural to compare the reduced and afflicted but not utterly exterminated people to the main root of an oak or ilex which clings to life even after the tree has been cut down[12]. The remnant of Judah is therefore called the "Lord's branch,"[13] or "a branch of Jesse's root,"[14] and the escaped of Judah were "to take root downward, and bear fruit upward."[15] These fortunate exceptions were by a metaphor borrowed from civil or military muster rolls, said to be "inscribed on the book of the living;"[16] henceforth they were "redeemed," their sins "blotted out;"[17] all nations would call their land delightful, and hail themselves, according to the ancient oracle, as "blessed."[18]

[7] Lev. xxvi. 42. 1 Sam. xii. 22. Psal. lxxxix. 30. Mic. vii. 20.

[8] Mic. vii. 18. [9] Isa. xlviii. 9. 11. Ezek. xxxvi. 22.

[10] 2 Kings xix. 30, 31. Isa. x. 20. Mic. ii. 12; iv. 7; v. 7, 8. Comp. Heb. iii. 16.

[11] Isa. x. 21. His own name, which probably had been used as a "sign" in some oracle now lost, means "Salvation is of Jehovah."

[12] Isa. vi. 13. Comp. Job xiv. 7. [13] Isa. iv. 2; xi. 1.

[14] A figurative idea which afterwards assumed mystical reality. Comp. Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15. Zech. iii. 8; vi. 13.

[15] Isa. xxxvii. 31. 2 Kings xix. 30, 31. Zeph. iii. 12.

[16] Isa. iv. 3. Exod. xxxii. 32. Psal. lxix. 29. Ezek. xiii. 9. Dan. xii. 1.

[17] Isa. xliv. 22. Jer. xxxiii. 8; l. 20. Ezek. xxxvi. 25.

[18] Mal. iii. 12. Psal. lxxii. 17.

A captivity being thus in theory necessary as well as in fact imminent, the eventual restoration would assume the form of a "Return." And as the Roman poet in describing the second golden age makes the ship Argo again bear its heroes over the waters, and Achilles repeat his battles on the plain of Troy, so the ancient deliverance out of Egypt furnished the Hebrew prophets with a type of the return from captivity, which was to be its exact repetition[19] or second accomplishment[20]. The Assyrian would smite the people "after the manner of Egypt,"[21] the field of Babylon would be a second wilderness[22], in which the people would be first tried and punished, afterwards comforted and delivered. "I will bring you into the wilderness of the people," says God, "and there will I plead with you face to face; like as I pleaded with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so will I plead with you; and I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bond of the covenant. And I will purge out from among you the rebels and them that transgress against me."[23] "Behold the days come," says Jeremiah[24], "when it shall no more be said the Lord liveth which brought up the children of Israel from Egypt; but the Lord liveth who brought up the children of Israel from the land of the north, and from all the lands whither he had driven them." God was reminded that as in former days he had dried up the waters of the sea and made its depths a path for the ransomed to pass over[25], so there should be a highway for the remnant of the people out of Assyria, a highway broad and easy, as to the Israelites of old[26]. Nay, the precedent would be still more

[19] Mic. vii. 15. Hos. ii. 15.

[20] Isa. x. 24. 26; xi. 11. The philosophy which made the future a mere repetition of the past, according to the maxim, "There is nothing new under the sun," became the formal doctrine of the Rabbins. Gfrörer, Urchristenthum, ii. p. 321.

[21] Isa. x. 24.

[22] Mic. iv. 10. Hos. ii. 14; xii. 9; xiii. 9. Jer. xxxi. 2.

[23] Ezek. xx. 5. 35.

[24] Jer. xvi. 14; xxiii. 7.

[25] Isa. li. 10. Psal. lxxiv. 15.

[26] Isa. xi. 16; xliii. 3. 16, 17.

literally fulfilled; again the sea would be divided or dried up[27]; again would appear the miraculous cloud and beacon of fire[28]; again the miraculous passage of Jordan would be enacted on a grander scale by the division of the Euphrates[29], or rather the laborious diversion of its channel, a mode of passing with an army over a great river which seems to have been common in the warfare of the times[30]. But the captivity of the Jews was not confined to Assyria or Mesopotamia; they had been scattered either as slaves or colonists among all frontier nations or yet more distant regions. Isaiah therefore describes the Messianic return as proceeding from every quarter of the known earth[31]. Zabulon and Naphtali, forming the northern frontier, had always been particularly exposed to invasion[32]. Their inhabitants, from intermixture with Gentiles[33], were deeply tainted with idolatry, and were consequently held in abhorrence among the more strictly religious of their countrymen. Very recently the Assyrian king had invaded that region and carried away its inhabitants[34]; thirty years earlier the north of Palestine had been devastated by his predecessor Phul[35]. But the prophet in the exultation of holy hope[36] ventures to predict that the coming glories would be shared even by this afflicted portion of the nation; and he singles out those who of all others were most deeply sunk in misery in order by a striking antithesis to display the completeness of the salvation[37]. "Yet shall there not always be dimness," he exclaims, "where now oppression is. For as aforetime he (Jehovah) afflicted the land of Zabulon and Naphtali, so in the time to come will he honour the land by the sea beyond Jordan, the 'Galil,' or 'circle,' of the nations. They who walked in darkness behold a great light;

[27] Isa. xi. 15. Exod. xiv.
[28] Isa. iv. 5.
[29] Isa. iv. and xliv. 27; xlii. 15.
[30] Isa. xxxvii. 25. Comp. Herod. i. 202; v. 52.
[31] Isa. xi. 11, 12. Mic. vii. 12.
[32] 1 Kings xv. 20.
[33] 1 Kings ix. 11.
[34] 2 Kings xv. 29.
[35] 2 Kings xv. 19. 1 Chron. v. 26.
[36] Isa. ix. 1.
[37] Isa. ix. 1.

they who sat in the land of the shadow of death, upon them shines the light. Thou (Jehovah) makest the people many, and great is their rejoicing; they rejoice before thee as with the joy of harvest; they rejoice while they divide the spoil. For the burthensome yoke, the lash of his shoulder, the rod of the oppressor, thou breakest as in the day of Midian; and the clattering buskins of the arming warrior and war cloaks rolled in blood, shall now only be for burning, and fuel for the fire."[38]

§ 13.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM.

The public return of the Lord's people under his immediate direction would strike all nations with astonishment and dread[1]. Then would be re-established the "first dominion," the united glorious empire of David and Solomon. The incurable "wound" would at length be healed; "Ephraim would no more envy Judah, Judah no longer vex Ephraim."[2] They would amicably blend under one God, enthroned in the established seat of Jewish orthodoxy, Jerusalem[3]. "For the Lord had chosen Zion; he had said, this is my rest for ever, here will I dwell."[4] This was the "mount of the sanctuary," exalted above all the high places of the earth[5], which though not actually captured till a comparatively recent period, he might be said to have selected upon the first emancipation of his people from Egyptian bondage, and to have afterwards purchased by the deeds of his

[38] Comp. Joel iii. 10. Isa. ii. 4. Mic. iv. 3.

[1] Mic. vii. 10. 16. Psal. lxiv. 9; cxiv. 7.

[2] Isa. xi. 13. Hos. i. 11. Jer. xxxi. 1.

[3] Mic. iv. 7. Joel iii. 16. These hopes were unfulfilled chiefly through the exclusiveness of the Jews (Ezra iv. 3), who by their calumnies revived a jealousy which the building of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim made inextinguishable (Ecclus. l. 26. John iv. 20).

[4] Psal. xlviii. 2; cxxxii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 13. Ezek. xx. 40.

[5] Isa. ii. 2. Psal. lxviii. 15.

arm[6]. The mysterious "glory" and sacred ark were to remain there permanently[7]; the cloudy pillar protecting not the tabernacle only but all its holy worshippers[8]. Zion would never be deserted as was Shiloh[9]; for the Lord would cause the rod of the king's strength to extend itself from Zion, the seat of his court and throne[10], even into the midst of his distant enemies[11]. Israel would no more be the derision of its neighbours, no longer be subject to invasion[12], nor would any weapon hurt its people[13]. Nay, the Israelites would now take their turn as conquerors, subjugating Assyria, Edom, Arabia, and all their former persecutors[14]. They would take them captives whose captives they had been, and possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids[15]. Kings would lick the dust of their feet[16] and minister to them; the wealth of all nations would flow into their coffers[17]; strangers would repair their walls; and the sons of the alien be their ploughmen and vine-dressers[18]. A great day of retribution would settle for ever the long-pending controversy between the Lord and his people on one side and the nations on the other[19]. During this scene of vengeance the sun and stars would be darkened, and as in the triumphant day of David[20] heaven and earth would shake[21]. The residue of the heathen would then be converted and become servants of Jehovah[22]. It had been promised and believed that the seed of Abraham should "possess the gate of his enemies," that David's throne should

[6] Exod. xv. 17. Psal. lxxviii. 54.

[7] 1 Sam. iv. 21, 22. 1 Kings viii. 11. Psal. lxxxv. 9; lxiii. 2. Zech. ii. 5.

[8] Isa. iv. 5. [9] Psal. lxxviii. 60.

[10] Psal. ii. 6. [11] Psal. cx. 2.

[12] Isa. lx. 18. Joel iii. 17. [13] Isa. liv. 17.

[14] Isa. liv. 3; xi. 14. Joel iii. 8. Amos ix. 12. Obadiah xviii. 19. Zeph. ii. 7. 9.

[15] Isa. xiv. 2. [16] Isa. xlix. 23.

[17] Zech. xiv. 14. Psal. lxviii. 29. [18] Isa. lx. 10; lxi. 5.

[19] Isa. xxiv. 21. Zeph. iii. 8. Zech. xii. 9; xiv. 3. 12.

[20] 2 Sam. xxii. 8.

[21] Joel iii. 4. Hag. ii. 6. 21. Isa. xxiv. 18. 23.

[22] Zeph. iii. 9.

be exalted above all kings of the earth[23]; and assuming the Hebrew God to be really creator and lord of the whole earth[24], the inference, considering his known partiality and covenanted obligations to his people, was not an unreasonable one. Truth must one day prevail, heathenism be abolished, and all nations pay their vows to Jehovah. "The Lord would then be one, and his name one."[25] It would seem as if the repulsive exclusiveness of the Jews which had been embittered by persecution, relented in the prospect of prosperity, and that the standard of the son of Jesse extending its blessings beyond the narrow limits of Palestine, was now to be a rallying point of salvation even to the Gentiles[26]. But the prophetical imagery, though offering a convenient basis for the liberalism of St. Paul, had by no means the same meaning. The very inferiority of the Hebrews and their political reverses, led them to believe that their God, whose power they could not doubt, had purposely delivered them into the hands of other nations to punish them, and that being Lord also of the conquering nations, he had employed for the purpose of chastisement those adversaries whom he would eventually disown and destroy. When the Hebrew God had thus become not the mere rival of other gods, but either their superior, as "God of gods," or sole God, it followed that the heathen remnant who should survive the terrible day of retribution would become his subjects and accessories of his people's triumph. In this way and in this condition only were foreigners admitted to Jewish privileges[27].

[23] Psal. ii. 8; lxxii. 9; lxxxix. 27. Gen. xxii. and xxiv.

[24] Psal. xlvii. 2; lix. 13; xcvii. 5.

[25] Zech. xiv. 9. Isa. lii. 10. [26] Gen. xii. 3. Isa. xi. 10.

[27] The Talmud, though admitting the conversion of the heathen, introduces a qualification to the effect that the new proselytes would again fall away at the breaking out of the war of Gog and Magog. The oppressors of the Israelites would be crushed to powder, but every people that had refrained from insulting them would be allowed to become their vine-dressers and husbandmen (Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 241, according to Isa. lxi. 5, 6). See above, p. 214, n. 10. The general conversion alluded to by Tobit (xiv. 8) is spoken of by Philo under the same imagery employed by St. Paul in Rom. xi. 17.

It was not by any extension of liberality or compassion for them, but only to increase the glory and to complete the supremacy of the Jews and of their God. The greater part of the heathen were to be destroyed in the frightful slaughter in which retaliation would be inflicted for Hebrew suffering, and in which the nations of the earth would be made a great hecatomb of atonement for God's "sons and daughters."[28] After the utter annihilation of all nations who should refuse to submit to Jewish authority[29], an age of peace would ensue, in which Jerusalem would be the metropolis and religious centre of the world[30]. When the remnant of the nations should have thus become partly enslaved and partly tributary, the Jews would be to the world at large what the Levites had been to their own nation, the source of ordinance and law, an universal officiating priesthood. Nation would say to nation, the inhabitants of one city to those of another, "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; he shall teach us of his ways and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."[31] There all people would assemble to pray, to keep the Sabbaths, to offer sacrifices[32], and in particular to keep the feast of tabernacles[33]. All treasures would flow to Jerusalem[34]; gold, silver, and costly apparel would there be amassed[35]; and as the *élite* of all nations[36] would assemble there as worshippers, all of them with a present in their hands[37],

[28] Isa. xxxiv. 6; xliii. 3, 4. Mic. v. 15. [29] Isa. lx. 12.

[30] Isa. xxv. 7; lx. 4. 9. Zech. viii. 3.

[31] Mic. iv. 2. Isa. ii. 3; li. 5. Zech. viii. 21, 22.

[32] Isa. lvi. 7. Zeph. iii. 9, 10.

[33] Zech. xiv. 16. Any recusant nation would be punished by having "no rain," that celestial blessing which seems to emanate immediately from God. Comp. 2 Sam. i. 21. 1 Kings xvii. 1, 14; xviii. 1. Isa. v. 6.

[34] Isa. lx. 5, 6.

[35] Hag. ii. 7. Zech. xiv. 14. Psal. lxviii. 29.

[36] Not "the desire," as in our version of Hag. ii. 7. Comp. Gen. xlix. 10. Isa. xviii. 7. Hitzig Minor Proph. p. 287.

[37] Exod. xxiii. 15. Deut. xvi. 16.

it necessarily followed that the glory of "the latter," or restored house, would eclipse even Solomon's. The covenant, according to which all Jehovah's people were to be called "holy" and "sons of God and prophets,"[38] would be literally and fully realized, insomuch that the bells of horses would now bear the sacred inscription of the high priest's breastplate[39], "Holiness to the Lord." Every pot in the Lord's house would be as the bowls before the altar; nay, every pot throughout Jerusalem and Judah would in like manner be "holiness" to the Lord[40]. The medium through which, in Hebrew phrase, mental superiority was conferred, and ordinary men converted into priests and prophets, was the spirit[41]; this, called in the New Testament "power from on high," would in these latter days be "poured out abundantly on all flesh," or rather on all of Hebrew descent[42]; all the sons and daughters of Israel, even the servants and handmaids, would partake the inspiration, thus becoming that "holy remnant"[43] no longer requiring to be taught by prophets, since all would be themselves prophets or immediate disciples of God[44]; and "the earth would be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea."[45] War would cease because Jewish prowess would no longer have an adversary[46]; a reign of universal peace and righteousness would be established because Jewish law and dominion would be universal; suffering would cease with sin and sin with suffering[47]. In the universal reign of righteousness was implied the triumph of the principles advocated by the prophets,

[38] Exod. xix. 6. Isa. iv. 3; lx. 21. Comp. Lev. xi. 43 sq.; xix. 2; Wisd. vii. 27; "Kedashim," or saints. Job. xv. 15.

[39] Exod. xxviii. 36. [40] Zech. xiv. 20, 21.

[41] Numb. xi. 25. 29. 1 Sam. x. 6. 9, &c. Gesen. Isa. xi. 2.

[42] Joel ii. 28. Isa. xxix. 24; xxxii. 15. The gift of the Spirit thus became an essential part of the Messianic expectation; but the expression, "all flesh," was not supposed to mean more than "all Israelites" (see ch. iii. 2, 3); hence the astonishment when "the Gentiles also" seemed to have shared the gift.

[43] Isa. iv. 3; lxi. 6; lxii. 12. [44] Isa. liv. 13.

[45] Isa. xi. 9. Hab. ii. 14. Comp. Hos. iv. 6. Dan. xii. 4.

[46] Ewald to Micah, Proph. vol. i. 340. [47] Isa. lx. 18.

and it is in this sense declared that the nation would be as the Lord's bride newly betrothed in righteousness[48], and all its population his sons[49]; that God would solemnly renew the covenant[50], which would never more be broken or forgotten[51]; that Israel would be ashamed of its idolatries and earnestly repent[52]; that Jehovah would take away their heart of stone and give them a heart of flesh[53], inscribing his law in it[54]. As in prophetical denouncements the aspect of the moral world was supposed to be reflected in the physical, the Messianic expectation was filled up from historical and poetic tradition, from the blessings of the law, and the imagery of the golden age. Palestine would be too narrow for its people[55], and the earth's plenteousness would be proportioned to its multitudinous population. Want and famine would be impossible, cattle would swarm upon the pastures, valley and hill flow with abundant water, the mountains teem with milk and wine[56], the desert would gush with fountains, even as Eden, the garden of the Lord[57]. Every one would arrive at the original longevity abridged by the primæval curse[58], and only partially enjoyed by succeeding patriarchs[59]. Everything would be on a grander scale; the humblest inhabitant would "be as David, the house of David as God, as the angel of the Lord before them."[60] The stars would shine brighter than before, the sun's light would be sevenfold, the moon's light equal to that of the sun[61]. The moral revolution would be attended with a renovation of nature. Jehovah would make a new heaven and a new earth[62], and the office of sun and moon would be superseded by the everlasting light emanating from the presence of the Lord himself[63].

[48] Hos. ii. 19.
[49] Hos. i. 10.
[50] Ezek. xvi. and xxxiv.
[51] Jer. xxxi. 31; xxxii. 40; l. 5.
[52] Ezek. xvi. 61; xx. 43.
[53] Ezek. xi. 19; xxxvi. 25.
[54] Jer. xxxi. 33; xxxii. 39.
[55] Isa. xlix. 19.
[56] Isa. xxx. 23; xli. 17. Amos ix. 13. Comp. Job v. 23.
[57] Isa. li. 3. Ezek. xxvi. 35. Joel ii. 3.
[58] Gen. vi. 3. Wisd. ii. 23.
[59] Isa. lxv. 20. Zech. viii. 4.
[60] Zech. xii. 8.
[61] Isa. xxx. 26.
[62] Isa. lxv. 17; lxvi. 22.
[63] Isa. lx. 19.

Again, as in the olden time, the beasts of the field would become innoxious[64], and man would resume his original superiority and dominion as "lord of creation;"[65] universal harmony would reign through nature; the wolf would dwell with the lamb; the leopard lie down with the kid; lions and the carnivorous tribes would again, as in the golden age, eat grass like oxen, and the serpent either lose his noxious qualities, or be rigorously restricted to his primitive meal of dust[66]. And, as in the days of Solomon, the "pacific," or man of rest, Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and fig-tree[67], so in the new Jerusalem, the city of "peace," the sanctuary of the Lord's rest, weapons of war would be useless, swords would be beaten into ploughshares, spears into pruning hooks[68]; horses and chariots, cities and walls, would be no more wanted[69]; the great king would make his entry into Jerusalem mounted on the pacific ass[70], and weapons and war cloaks serve for burning[71], so as for a long time to supersede all other kinds of fuel.

Such in its main features was the Messianic or ideal kingdom conceived by the prophets, and authoritatively announced by them in the official form of a royal proclamation from the Supreme Head of the nation, "The word of the Lord hath spoken it." It was founded partly on special reminiscences, partly on the ideal of a renewal of a social paradise or golden

[64] Ezek. xxxiv. 25. 28. Hos. ii. 18. Comp. Jonah iii. 8. Photius Höschl. p. 6.

[65] Gen. i. 26. 2 Esd. vi. 54.

[66] Gen. iii. 14. Isa. xl. 7, 8; lxv. 25. Comp. Theocrit. Id. 24. 84. Virg. Eclog. iv. 24. Hor. Epod. xvi. 24. The Hebrews took many of their notions of the golden age from the reign of David, as the Persians adapted theirs from the imaginary times of the great Djemshid, when there was neither frost nor simoom, no tyrant or beggar, no "tearing tooth," no decay, no death. Gesen. Isa. ii. 428.

[67] 1 Kings iv. 24; v. 4; viii. 56. 1 Chron. xxii. 9.

[68] Isa. ii. 4. Mic. iv. 4. Hos. ii. 18.

[69] Mic. v. 10. Psal. xlvi. 9.

[70] Zech. ix. 10. The horse was a warlike animal, "πολεμιος." Herod. i. 79. Comp. Exod. xv. 21. Job xxxix. 19. 21. Mic. v. 10. Isa. ii. 7; xxx. 16; xxxi. 1. Virg. Æn. iii. 540.

[71] Isa. ix. 5. Ezek. xxxix. 9.

age. Many of the elements so obtained came in time to be considered as technically essential; but no absolute consistency can be expected in visions proceeding from many different individuals and composed under every variety of circumstances[72]. Sometimes all nations are represented as subdued or exterminated; sometimes as partakers in the blessings of conversion to Jehovah; sometimes Israel wages a desolating warfare[73], and again all warfare is ended, the sword turned into the ploughshare, the evil beast tamed or destroyed; sometimes the change is heralded by a personal Messiah; sometimes proceeds without any visible mediator immediately from the Lord himself; or else the prophets generally, or even Cyrus under the denomination of "Messiah," are made the agents of his will. Many traits, which eventually became dogmas, arose out of peculiarities of exaggerated and poetical expression; for instance, the reclaiming of the wild beast, the sevenfold light of sun and stars, and the comparison of the great revolution to a convulsion of nature[74]. These ideas were certainly poetical, but since the details of the future can only be supplied by imagination, poetry was in this case the equivalent or standard of truth, the only truth which the case admitted of, and which it was folly or treason to disbelieve. The advent of the new theocracy was dated according to circumstances as immediately succeeding the impending pressure of the day, whether it were locusts, famine, invasion, or captivity; in all cases the change was to occur soon; and the disappointment of the many faithful Jews who died without seeing their hopes accomplished furnished a perplexing problem for after speculation.

[72] These inconsistencies of Messianic expectation are used by St. John (ch. vii.) to expose the blindness of the Jews in regard to the spiritualism of the real Christ.

[73] Thus Jacob is said to act as a lion. Mic. v. 8.

[74] Ezek. xl. 48.

HEBREW THEORY

OF

RETRIBUTION AND IMMORTALITY.

REVERSES AND EVENTUAL RESTORATION

OF

"THE GOOD MAN."

Θιῷ δυνατὸν ἐκ μιλαίνας
Νυκτὸς ἀμίαντον ὄρσαι φάος,
Κιλαινεφεῖ τι σκότει καλύψαι
Καθαρὸν ἀμέρας σέλας.

PIND. FRAG. INCERT. 98.

"Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο δὴ ἴσως οὐκ ὀλίγης παραμυθίας δεῖται καὶ πίστεως, ὡς ἔστι τι ἡ ψυχὴ ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τινὰ δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ φρόνησιν."—PLATO'S PHÆDO, p. 70.

HEBREW THEORY

OF

RETRIBUTION AND IMMORTALITY.

§ 1.

HEBREW THEORY OF RETRIBUTION.

To explain the moral problem of the Universe, to reconcile its mingled light and shade with belief in a good and omnipotent God, has always been the most perplexing problem of theologians. It was soon seen that the notion of evil is complex, being either moral or physical; the former meaning crime in relation to man, sin in regard to God. God, it was said, is author of the evil which punishes and corrects (the mala supplicii) but not of moral evil (mala delicti); nevertheless it was felt that by these distinctions the difficulty was not entirely removed, until men perceiving evil to be often not unmixed with good, came at last to doubt or even to deny the reality of its existence[1]. A somewhat similar solution, though very dif-

[1] Aristot. Metaph. viii. 9. 3, Bek. Comp. xi. 10. "Δηλον ὁτι οὐκ ἐστι τὸ κακὸν παρὰ τὰ πράγματα, ὑστέρον γὰρ τῇ φύσει τὸ κακὸν τῆς δυναμέως." Origen, de Princip. ii. 9. 2, p. 216, ed. Redepenning. "Certum est malum esse bono carere." Aug. de Civ. D. xi. 9. "Mali nulla natura est, sed amissio boni mali nomen accessit." Comp. c. Julian. i. 9. It may now be considered as admitted that the constant presence of what is termed evil is necessary to maintain human nature in healthy action. Evils (so called) are the landmarks and lighthouses of God's order; if we break our shins or wreck our vessels against them, it is not his fault.

ferently expressed, was eventually discovered by the reflecting among the Hebrews. But their primary theory was the rude and simple one of the lex talionis, making prosperity and adversity inevitable results of merit or demerit. Believing the general government of the world to be ordained with especial regard to that of their own nation, they imagined the full recompense of good or bad conduct to be comprehended within those temporal or outward rewards and punishments which alone were contemplated by the theocracy[2]. This theory is formally stated in the Levitical blessings and curses; where to allegiance are promised rewards of victory, peace, wealth, deliverance from wild animals, length of days and continued enjoyment of the sacred soil of Palestine and of the presence of its divine king; while a long list of disasters, defeat, captivity, pestilence, and even cannibalism are denounced against the disobedient. The prophets adopt the same theory and imagery in their consolations and denouncements; promising temporal blessings to the upright and corresponding calamity to the wicked[3]. An attempt to illustrate this hypothesis in the form of narrative forms the staple of Hebrew history. All the facts related are a theocratic lesson. The annalist shows from events that prosperity or adversity has ever been in close relation as an effect of observance or non-observance of the law. If a calamity has occurred it is because the Israelites had sinned, and been inattentive to the warnings of the prophets[4]. The same retributory law supposed to control the public weal is exhibited in the poetical and gnomic writings in its application to individuals, sometimes in single aphorisms, sometimes antithetically. "The Lord knoweth the way of the righteous; but

[2] Hence it becomes possible to *prove* from the Old Testament that national suffering is a direct consequence of national sin, however preposterous the argument when analyzed and applied to individuals, and however contrary to the doctrine of the New Testament. See the Bishop of St. Asaph's Sermon on the Irish potato-famine preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, before both Houses of Parliament.

[3] Isa. i. 19, 20; iii. 10, 11. Jer. xii. 1; xviii. 20; xx. 14. Knobel's Prophetismus, i. 283. 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

[4] 2 Kings xvii. 7. 13; and the historical Psalms lxxviii. and cvi.

the way of the ungodly shall perish."[5] "He that feareth the Lord shall dwell at ease, and his seed," it is often added, "shall inherit the earth,"[6] a reward particularly promised to "the meek."[7] "With long life will I satisfy him, and show him my salvation."[8] "If a man desire many days and a prosperous life, let him depart from evil and do good, set a watch upon his tongue, seek peace and pursue it perseveringly."[9] "But the face of the Lord is against them that do evil to cut off the remembrance of them from the earth."[10] The Book of Proverbs speaks the same language, only wisdom is there more prominently put forward as synonymous with virtue. Length of days, long life, peace, riches and honour are the gifts of wisdom[11]; on the other hand the years of the wicked will be shortened and their expectation perish[12]. As righteousness tendeth to life, so he that pursueth evil pursueth it to his own death[13].

Facts, however, instantly discountenance this summary mode of treating the mysteries of providential government. When we leave the vagueness of national aggregates in which some imaginary stumbling-block of offence may always be found to account for an impressive calamity[14], whether it be secreting a devoted thing in a tent, a murder long ago committed[15], the endowment of a heterodox college[16], or omission of a letter on a coin, it is immediately found in individual cases that the present suffering of the good and undeserved prosperity of the wicked are unquestionable realities forming an ever-recurring

[5] Psal. i. and cxii.
[6] Psal. xxv. 13.
[7] Psal. xxxvii. 11.
[8] Psal. xci. 16.
[9] Psal. xxxiv. 12-14.
[10] Psal. xxxiv. 16.
[11] Prov. iii. 2. 16; xxii. 4.
[12] Prov. x. 28; xi. 31.
[13] Prov. xi. 19.

[14] It should be recollected that the Levitical ceremonies of atonement were palliatives, but no effectual cure for all sin, much of which might remain concealed, or be from its very nature inexpiable. Lev. xvi. 16. Numb. xv. 22. 27. 30. Job i. 5. Psal. xix. 12.

[15] 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

[16] That it should ever have been believed that the Maynooth grant was the cause of the cholera will some day appear as monstrous as that Saul's sons should have been murdered to alleviate David's famine.

subject of speculation. "Wherefore," it was asked, "do the wicked live, yea become old, and mighty in power? Their seed is established before them, their offspring before their eyes. Their houses are secured with peace, the rod of God comes not on them. Their bull gendereth, and faileth not; their cow calveth, and casteth not her calf."[17] "I was envious," says the Psalmist, "at the presumptuous, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked. They have no share in the sufferings of other men. Therefore doth pride encompass their neck, and they attire themselves with fierceness as with a garment."[18] Private still more than public calamity seemed to defy inquiry, and to justify expostulation with Jehovah. "Thou that art of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the righteous?"[19] "Behold," says the Psalmist[20], "these are the ungodly who prosper in the world, they increase in riches." From the notoriety and frequency of the association of prosperity and crime it even became customary to speak of the rich and wicked as synonymous. For as in the history of the nation[21], so in individual cases it often happened that success engendered arrogance, and that the prosperous were clearly undeserving of their good fortune[22]. The original theory was thus as it were reversed; and from this change of idea arose the expressions "men of the world," men who "have their portion in this life;"[23] hence too the parallelism of the "rich" with the "wicked" as correlatives in Isaiah[24], and the denunciation of "woe to the rich," but "blessed are the poor," in the New Testament.

[17] Job xxi. 7; xii. 6. Psal. xciv. 3.

[18] Psal. lxxiii. 3.

[19] Habak. i. 13. Jer. xii. 1; xviii. 20; xx. 14.

[20] Psal. lxxiii. 12.

[21] Deut. vi. 11; viii. 10, 13; xxxii. 15.

[22] Comp. Job xxi. 13. Isa. ii. 7; v. 8. Ib. Gesen. and Lex. p. 834. Prov. xviii. 23. Mic. vi. 12.

[23] Psal. xvii. 14.

[24] Isa. liii. 9.

§ 2.

SCEPTICAL AND RATIONALISTIC INFERENCES.

From the difficulty of solving these obscurities without abandoning inveterate prejudices many were led either into despondency, or a careless indifference and incredulity in the vigilance, justice, and goodness of Providence. They said either that there "is no God," or that God would not see or requite misdoing[1]. They held the maxim of Sardanapalus; "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," was the favourite sentiment of these Sophists[2]. "It is vain," they said, "to serve God, since we see the wicked prosper."[3] This argument, which at an earlier period would probably have made men desert Jehovah for another divine patron[4], in more advanced times produced despondency or dissoluteness, or else that independence of thought which learned to deal philosophically with things sacred, and which in its ultimate development became Sadduceeism. But the reflection awakened by disappointment did not at first exhibit the precision and distinctness it assumed afterwards. It was rather the point of speculative divergence of the three sects, a religious rationalism including much of the earnest orthodoxy of the Pharisee and of the severity of the Essene mingled with its own freedom. It was not inconsistent with the character of the Hebrew Deity to conceive his government to be a sort of physical and moral equilibrium, like the divine "harmony" or "rhythm" of the ancient Greeks[5]. This idea of a divine universal harmony has been already adverted to as the basis of the theology of Herodotus, who describes the supreme

[1] Psal. x. 13; xiv. 1; lxxiii. 9 to 11; xciv. 7. Comp. Cic. N. D. iii. 32.
[2] Isa. xxii. 13. 1 Cor. xv. 32. Strabo, xiv. 672. (692, Tch.)
[3] Mal. ii. 17; iii. 14. Zeph. i. 12. Psal. lxxiii. 13. Eccles. vii. 15.
[4] Amos v. 26. Zeph. i. 5, in Ewald. Proph. i. 363.
[5] Æschyl. Prom. 566. Archilochi Frag. 14, 15, p. 98, Gaisf.

control over human affairs as something inimical to excesses and extremes, striking the loftiest towers with lightning[6], and causing the wreck of the Persian fleet in order to neutralize its numerical superiority over the Greeks[7]. Æsop when questioned what Jupiter was doing replied, "Humbling the exalted, and raising up the lowly."[8] The Hebrews superadded this sentiment to the theory of earthly recompenses. "The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich; killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up;"[9] "he filleth the hungry with good things and the rich he sends empty away; he hath put down the mighty from their seats and exalted them of low degree."[10] "He raiseth the poor out of the dust and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill that he may set him among princes; he maketh the barren woman to keep house and to be a joyful mother of children."[11] The rewards of virtue and penalties of crime were the reversal or contrast of the antecedent condition. To the meek, for instance, were promised satisfaction and the inheritance of the earth[12]; while against the well fed were denounced leanness and famine[13], against the haughty humiliation[14], against the delicate woman the horrors of disease and cannibalism[15]. In this theory was implied a consolatory hope that God would take mercy on the afflicted and hear the desire of the humble[16]; while the rich, like Agamemnon treading on sumptuous embroidery[17], or King Uzziah, who when strong was lifted up to his destruction[18], had ever to fear some disastrous reverse[19].

[6] Herod. vii. 10. 46; i. 32; iii. 40.
[7] Herod. viii. 13.
[8] Diog. L. i. 3. 2.
[9] 1 Sam. ii. 6-8.
[10] Luke i. 52. Psal. cxvi. 6; lxxv. 7; cxviii. 22. Job v. 11.
[11] Psal. cxiii. 7. 9.
[12] Psal. xxii. 26; xxxvii. 11; cxlvii. 6.
[13] Isa. v. 13; x. 16. Luke i. 53.
[14] Isa. ii. 17.
[15] Deut. xxviii. 54. Isa. iii. 16.
[16] Psal. ix. 13; x. 17.
[17] Æsch. Agam. 897, Blomf.
[18] 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.
[19] Prov. i. 32. Ezek. xxi. 26. Isa. xxvi. 5.

Hence partly was inferred the difficulty which the rich would experience in gaining admission to the kingdom of God[20]; and hence too in the contrasted fortunes of Dives and Lazarus, no allusion is made to merit or demerit, but the sentence of Abraham rests solely on the necessity of compensation, and of reversing in obedience to a paramount retributory law the earthly extremes of opulence and indigence.

From the theory of an infallible though mysterious equipoise in the government of the world, the Hebrews thus derived a faith and a rationalistic philosophy similar to the golden rule of moderation advocated by the sages of Greece[21]. Yet the same hypothetical views impressed the mystical and the worldly in different ways; and the belief which in one produced an ardent fanaticism became in colder temperaments the germ of a more calculating plan of conduct. It was under the rule of the later Persian satraps, when calamity was no longer alleviated or forgotten in the enthusiastic spiritualism of the ancient Hebrew, when extravagances of conduct, sanctimoniousness, turbulence, or corruption[22], answered to as many diversities of speculative opinion, and when numerous writings issuing from the struggle of old doctrines with new had perplexed rather than explained the problem, that the author of Ecclesiastes endeavoured to strike a balance among the controversies of his age, and without compromising either reason or religion, to obtain a sound practical principle for the guidance of life. He gives a melancholy picture of the times[23] and of human life in general[24]; it is a "sore travail," a scene of oppression, iniquity, and sorrow, of unavailing toil, precarious hopes, and unsatisfying enjoyments. The righteous and the wicked fare alike; he that sacrificeth is as he that

[20] Matt. xix. 23.

[21] "Παντι μεσῳ το κρατος θεος ωπασεν." Æschyl. Eum. 476, Bothe. Plut. Vit. Solon, 85[d]. Eurip. Phœniss. 546. Clem. Alex. 667. 17. Plutarch, Symp. ii. 10. Supr. vol. i.

[22] Eccles. v. 7; vii. 9; xvi. 17.

[23] Eccles. iv. 1 to 3.

[24] Eccles. i. 13, 14; ii. 23, &c.; v. 17.

sacrificeth not; the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong; all human things seem the sport of chance[25]; moreover, the condition of the soul after death is involved in the same or even greater uncertainty; the wise man dies as well as the fool; all go to one place, beyond which there is nothing but obscurity and doubt[26], and which is probably a state of mere forgetfulness or unconsciousness[27]. "For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea they have all one breath, so that a man hath no pre-eminence (in this respect) above a beast."[28] But, granting all this, it is at the same time indisputable that amidst the changes and chances of life the mind is able to discern certain though partial indications of a strict inevitable necessity controling all nature, and overruling the operations and destiny of man[29]. Change the name necessity into moral Providence, to a God inscrutable and inflexible yet beneficent and just, who will eventually bring every work to judgment[30], and the result becomes the most natural form of the first Hebrew philosophy. What expedient could a writer with these views select as the practical *summum bonum*, the true secret of happiness? It could not be wealth or any of those external objects or pursuits already admitted to be unsatisfying, to be only "vanity and vexation;" nor could it be wisdom, for wisdom, though in itself a priceless treasure, can never by man be purely or perfectly attained; man after intense and wasting labour finds himself unable thoroughly to understand the mysterious circle of events[31], and his wisdom, such as it is, is so constantly thwarted by frailty and folly as to become nearly useless to himself and others[32]. The resource recommended, the only seemingly which remained open, is that of a

[25] Eccles. ix. 2. 11; vii. 15.
[26] Eccles. ii. 15, 16; iii. 20, 21.
[27] Eccles. ix. 10.
[28] Eccles. iii. 19.
[29] Eccles i. 2-11; iii. 14; vii. 13; ix. 1; xi. 8.
[30] Eccles. xii. 14.
[31] Eccles. i. 13; ii. 15; iii. 11; viii. 17; xi. 5.
[32] Eccles. vii. 20; ix. 3, and 13-18.

cheerful enjoyment of the hour, like the εὐθυμια of Democritus. Enjoyment is the true zest and realization of existence; naturally inseparable from it, it is the gift of God himself[33], the "portion" allotted by him to man[34], certain therefore and indestructible, and containing in itself the evidence of God's favour[35]. This maxim might easily be perverted; a considerable part of the book is therefore devoted to guard against misconstruction by marking its limits and conditions. As the gift of God it must of course be something pure and holy; not mere idle levity, or inconsiderate pursuit of the things contemptuously termed vanities, but the happiness which results from doing good[36], from keeping God's commands[37], from general habits of activity and discretion[38]. Its external aspect will be exempt from all that is one-sided and overstrained, since it is guided by the sobriety and moderation of true wisdom[39]; hence the bitter contempt which the writer expresses for men's vain pursuits, vain, because in themselves incapable of supplying happiness, and also apt to fall into ridiculous extremes; hence his untiring keenness in dissecting the follies and eccentrities of life. The true felicity may be called fear of God[40], accompanied with cheerfulness and confidence; it reposes on a conviction of the fixity and justice of the divine purposes, and includes therefore faith; a faith, which if not to be literally realized in the mythical retribution of the grave, will nevertheless be in some way fully and speedily accomplished[41]. This holy and reverential joy is the "peace of God;"[42] it is conformed to the right, the expedient, the opportune[43]; it is often more akin to seriousness and sorrow than to feasting and

[33] Eccles. ii. 24 to 26; iii. 12; viii. 15.
[34] Eccles. iii. 22; v. 18.
[35] Eccles. v. 20; ix. 7.
[36] Eccles. iii. 12; xi. 1.
[37] Eccles. v. 7.
[38] Eccles. ix. 10.
[39] Eccles. ii. 26; vii. 16.
[40] Eccles. iii. 14; v. 7; vii. 18; xii. 13.
[41] Eccles. iii. 17; v. 8; vii. 15. 18; viii. 11, 12; xi. 9; xii. 14. Comp. Job xiii. 26. Psal. xxv. 7.
[42] Psal. xxix. 11; xxxiv. 14; xxxvii. 37; lxxxv. 10.
[43] Eccles. iii. 1.

laughter; it loves patience rather than pride, and views the end of things as of more importance than the beginning[44]. At an earlier and more unsophisticated age this pure and holy joy seemed to dwell with man naturally and inalienably; it required not to be learned or studied, but made its abode with the spirits of the pious, and animated the voices of psalmist and prophet. It was only when after the golden age had expired, when continued misfortune had produced among the Hebrews that mental depression which on the grand scale of human nature has been called the Fall, that their religion seemed to wear a sombre aspect, and to be in danger of undergoing disadvantageous comparison with the superstitions of the heathen. The object of Ecclesiastes seems to be to vindicate under these disadvantages the old religion when fairly and rationally interpreted; to discover amidst corruption and misfortune an impregnable stronghold of holy yet cheerful confidence; to make life pleasant and supportable without fanaticism or vice; and by solving as far as possible the great moral problem, to reconcile the mind anew to God and to itself. "And if," says Ewald[45], "the attempt was less successful than the revolution which occurred four centuries later, if much is inadequately treated, and much, as the doctrine of immortality, left unnoticed and unresolved, still the book is an interesting and memorable attempt to adapt antiquated forms to altered circumstances, which in recapitulating and rationalizing the old religion lights on many thoughts which may be regarded as preparatory elements of the doctrine of the New Testament."

§ 3.

DOCTRINE OF FAITH.

In regard to matters which though not beyond hope lie beyond human comprehension and control, the only resource

[44] Comp. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 1, ch. x.

[45] Kohelet, p. 187.

is faith. But faith has several aspects; that which in the worldly is philosophic indifference, with the religious becomes an animated resignation, often degenerating through enthusiastic earnestness into superstition. The great boast of oriental religion was faith in a God confessed to be inscrutable. Uncompromising faith in God was the palladium of the Hebrews[1]; and while the majority maintained the fervent spirit of their ancestors, their prophets bitterly reproved that ignoble Epicureanism which countenanced loose morals in distrust of God's justice. They held invincible belief in the protecting care of Jehovah over his people[2], at least over those among them who might be properly called his children[3], an idea which ancient mythus had beautifully expressed by the image of angels encamping round them[4], bearing them as it were in their hands to prevent their stumbling[5]. Man is unceasingly watched by God[6]; by him his days are numbered[7] and his limit fixed. God exercises special superintendence over the heart and person of every worthy Israelite[8], a privilege eventually extended to the Christian[9]. The miraculous was not the exception but the rule; he who pours out seasonable rain from the bottles of heaven[10] on his chosen did but enlarge the flow to cause the disastrous deluge; the fires of Sodom were but the same meteoric agents or "angels"[11] who would hereafter wreak vengeance on the enemies of the Hebrews in the same locality[12]. Faith no doubt produced its own verification, and, confirmed by long experience, became approved as the infallible token of

[1] Gen. xv. 1-6. Comp. Psal. vii. 10; xviii. 2; lix. 9; lxii. 2. 6; lxxxix. 18; xciv. 22.
[2] Job xxxiv. 21. Psal. xxii. 10; cxxxix. 16.
[3] Psal. lxxiii. 15.
[4] Gen. xxxii. 1. Psal. xxxiv. 1. 2 Kings vi. 17.
[5] Psal. xxxvii. 17; xci. passim. Prov. iii. 23.
[6] Job xiv. 16; xxxiv. 21. Prov. v. 21.
[7] Job xiv. 5. Psal. cxxxix. 16.
[8] Job i. 10. Psal. xci. Prov. xxi. 1.
[9] Matt. x. 29, 30.
[10] Job xxxvi. 27; xxxviii. 37.
[11] Job xxxvii. 2, 3. Psal. xxix. 3. 7; cxlviii. 8.
[12] Ezek. xxxviii. 22; xxxix. 15. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 258.

establishment and success[13], since it engendered the fanaticism which, whether in Israelite, Islamite, or Covenanter, often equalled wisdom in council and discipline in the field. Faith was the general feeling of which the Messianic theory was the political expression. It is this assurance of God's protection, unconquerable and inexhaustible as its source, that sown in the people's hearts by the voices of the prophets and fed with the blood of martyrs[14], has ever proved the miraculous talisman of Hebrew nationality, responding to the severity of pressure by more eager and elastic expectation. The Pharisee was the legitimate descendant of the ancient zealot, of that rigorous devotion to the law matured during the exile among the party afterwards called Asideans[15], who on several occasions preferred certain death rather than eat pork or violate the Sabbath, and whose energy mainly contributed to establish the political independence of the Asmonean princes. Faith in God might be manifested in various ways; for instance, in reliance on his word and promises communicated by his authorized interpreters, the prophets; or that sanguine confidence in the partially favourable dispensations of heaven which seemed as an immediate revelation to the mind of every Jew, providing him with a never-failing resource against despair. As the earth shook and the waters of the sea fled away of old when God miraculously interposed in favour of his people[16], so Habakkuk anticipates the ultimate confirmation of his grand principle or prophecy[17] in a convulsion of nature accompanying the fall of the Chaldæans. "Though the fig-tree blossoms not, and the vines yield no fruit; though the growth of the olive fail, and the fields yield no meat; yet will I rejoice in the Lord, rejoice in the God of my salvation; Jehovah the Lord is my strength, he

[13] Comp. Isa. vii. 9. 2 Chron. xx. 20. Hab. ii. 4. Psal. xxxvii. 3.

[14] Comp. Dan. xii. 3. Isa. liii. 5, with Comment. 2 Mac. vi. and vii.

[15] "Hasidim." 1 Mac. ii. 42.

[16] Psal. xviii. 6; lxviii. 7; lxxiv. 12; lxxvi.; lxxvii.; cvi. 7; cxxxvi. 13. "The meek," *i. e.*, the Jews. Psal. lxxvi. 9; cxlvii. 6; cxlix. 4; xxxvii. 11.

[17] Hab. ii. 4.

makes my feet like those of the hind, and causes me to walk on my high places."[18]

The lyric effusion concluding the announcement of Habakkuk may exemplify how the inspiration of the prophet became popularized and re-echoed from a thousand hearts through the intervention of the poet, extending itself from a mere occasional feeling into an axiom or principle embracing all the contingencies of life. In his more discursive efforts the poet often entered argumentatively into a defence of the great theme exemplified by Hebrew history in general as well as by the principal characters who figure in it; and hence arose the Stoical renunciation of appearance, the seeming reversal already alluded to of the sensuous Levitical retribution theory. The 37th Psalm is the exhortation of an experienced sage to his disciples not to be puzzled or discouraged by the momentary prosperity of the wicked, but in confidence and quiet to await the deliverance or "salvation" of Jehovah. The ungodly, he declares, will assuredly be cut down and wither as the grass; whereas the righteous will be had in everlasting remembrance, and "dwell in the land for ever." "I have been young and now am old," says the poet, "yet never have I seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread. I have indeed seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree; yet he passed away, and, lo! he was not; I sought him, but he could not be found." "I have, indeed, occasionally been staggered by the unaccountable impunity of guilt, and my confidence has given way to temporary misgiving; I had nearly wronged the piety of God's children by a rash opinion[19]; but a reference to the oracles of divine illumination at last removed this painful feeling, when I learned to look to the ultimate result of the two contrasted lines of conduct instead of specious appearances. I then found my fears to have originated in sheer ignorance, and I became for ever confirmed in faith in an invisible Protector who will guide me with his counsels and eventually lead me to honour."[20] "I am no

[18] Hab. iii. 17-19. [19] Psal. lxxiii. 17. [20] Psal. lxxiii. 24.

longer afraid because one is made rich, or the glory of his house is increased; for when he dies he shall carry nothing away, his glory shall not follow him; he goes as a sheep to the shambles; death shall feed on him; God alone, not riches or high station, can ransom my soul from untimely death"[21] when it threatens to lay hold of me.

The solution of the mystery here, as in the celebrated maxim of Solon, consists in faith in final compensation[22], all discouraging appearances notwithstanding. The moral like the physical world must be governed by certain laws[23], it being impossible to suppose the ways of God to be without the definite aim guiding the prudential action of men[24]. The mysterious course of Providence is directed by a plan of which mortals and their deeds are the heedless instruments[25], and in which retribution, though postponed for a time[26], is in the long run inevitable. The sentiment of hope which many ancient writers thought of questionable advantage[27], sometimes regarding it as the main solace of life[28], sometimes as a treacherous delusion or waking dream[29], was open to no exception in reference to a partial Deity, and in a religious point of view was by the oriental sage esteemed both wisdom and virtue. "He who hath faith," says the Hindoo poet[30], "findeth wisdom, whilst the ignorant, the man without faith, is lost. Neither this world, nor that which is above, nor happiness, can be enjoyed by the man of doubting mind." The Hebrew Psalmist speaks the

[21] Psal. xlix. 15, 19; lv. 23. Lengerke, Psalmen. i. p. 250.

[22] Aristot. Eth. Nic. i. 8 or 10. Herod. i. 32. Ovid, Met. iii. 135. Hes. Works and Days, 217. Wisd. xii. 12, 13.

[23] The "ειμαρμενη" of the Pharisees. Jos. War, ii. 8. 14. Ant. xviii. 1. 3.

[24] Gesen. to Isa. xxviii. 23-29.

[25] Isa. v. 12. Mic. iv. 12.

[26] Isa. v. 19; viii. 16, 17. Hab. ii. 3. Hesiod, Works and Days, 218. 267.

[27] Soph. Antig. 616. Æschyl. Prom. 258.

[28] Bias in Diog. L. i. 5. 5. (87.) Theognis, v. 1131.

[29] Diog. L. v. 1. 11. (18.) Simonid. Frag. 100. 5; 231. 6. Thucyd. ii. 62. Göttling's Hesiod, p. 171[a].

[30] Bagavad-Geeta, Lect. iv. 39. Comp. the LXX version of Isa. vii. 9. "Αν μη πιστευσητε οὐδε μη συνητε."

same language. Faith in the eventual justice of the divine decrees is wisdom[31]; scepticism, or the superficiality which looks only to appearances, both vice and folly[32]. "Though he slay me," exclaims the sage, "yet will I trust in him; I will hope continually, and praise him more and more."[33] To uphold this hope, to maintain its reasonableness by an appeal to experience was the great aim of psalmist and annalist; while the prophet exacted unhesitating belief as the condition of realizing his consolatory predictions[34]. Eastern genius everywhere delighted to illustrate this transcendental solution of the great problem of life by striking narratives, such as the exaltation of Joseph, the downfall of Haman, the death of Goliath by a stripling, the moral lessons of Herodotus ending with the great cotemporary catastrophe of the overthrow of the Persian hosts by a handful of Greeks; and the sublime odes of Greek tragedy re-echoed the religious sentiment awakened by this latter event in language worthy to supply a parallel with Hebrew inspiration. "May propitious fate," sings the chorus[35], "help me to maintain a guarded piety in every word and action; for all are subject to those supernal laws of which Heaven alone is parent, and in which God's mighty arm works with undecaying vigour. The favourites of fortune unnaturally surfeited with good are led by presumptuous insolence to the brink of an abyss, and are suddenly hurled headlong into the depths of irretrievable despair. May God prosper the holy cause of my country! Never will I cease to make God my strength and my defence. As for him who walks irrespective of divine justice, may evil fate o'ertake him for his pride; how can he who acts unjustly escape the reproach of conscience? and if deeds like these are rewarded, why do I lead the chorus, or repair to the sacred shrines of Delphi, Abæ, or Olympia? O sovereign

[31] Psal. xlix. 3. 13. Job xxviii. 28.
[32] Job ii. 10; xxi. 27. Gen. xv. 6. Psal. lxii. 8; lxiv. 10; cxii. 7. Isa. xxvi. 3.
[33] Job xiii. 15. Psal. lxxi. 14.
[34] Isa. vii. 9. 2 Chron. xx. 20. Comp. Isa. xxviii. 16; xxx. 15. Hab. ii. 4.
[35] Œdip. Tyr. 864.

Zeus, universal king, let not these things be hid from thee or elude thy eternal sway." Again, in the Agamemnon[36], the chorus sings, "He missed not the season of his vengeance, nor aimed the shaft in vain. They are fallen, they feel the hand of the Almighty; this is a sure saying, it is indelibly graven in events for ever. God willed, and it was done; his hand wrought what his purpose had decreed. They said in their hearts, God knoweth it not; the despisers of what is holy have said, he stoops not to regard the concerns of men. Lo! the sword has awakened among their posterity; in the madness of their pride and the multitude of their riches has the judgment burst upon them. Far from me be the sumptuous extravagance of the proud; may wisdom teach me to cling to humble fortune and to be content[37]. For wealth is no security against death[38]; he who in wanton pride has spurned the altar of justice shall surely perish. The fatal flattery of destruction sweeps him onwards; all remedy is then too late."

§ 4.

SPECULATIVE GROUNDS OF FAITH.

To support their faith the Hebrews employed all the resources of speculative wisdom, anticipating much of the argument employed by Plutarch in his book "De Serâ Vindictâ." In order to reconcile the lex talionis, as applied to the divine government, with the suffering of good men, it might be assumed first, that as no one, even the most seeming virtuous, is altogether faultless before God, so no one can impugn God's justice as if suffering were unmerited[1]; and secondly, that suffering may in reality be wholesome chastisement inflicted for

[36] Agam. v. 355.
[37] Comp. Psal. xxxvii. 16.
[38] Psal. xlix. 7.
[1] Matt. ix. 2. Job. iv. 17. 19; xxv. 4. 6. Comp. i. 5.

beneficial ends of moral improvement[2]; as a father chastens the son whom he loves, and as the husbandman in the parable breaks the clods and threshes out the grain for the harvest[3]. But these attempts at explanation adopted in the arguments of some of Job's friends, and implying of course, according to the vulgar notion, an imputation of guilt, are pronounced by the definitive sentence of Eloah to be rash and inconclusive. The last and only solution of the mystery is faith; faith absolute and unquestioning; explanations are often impossible, and it is better to refer the problem at once to the unsearchable decrees of God, submitting with resignation to what we cannot avoid or understand.

Mystery is the principal characteristic of the early God. His moral aspect is a perpetual self-contradiction[4]. He causes both darkness and light, evil and good[5]. There are many cases of undeserved individual hardship which it is impossible to explain satisfactorily either on the ground of trial or that of chastisement; these difficult cases, if not to be reconciled with God's mercy by implicit unquestioning faith[6], could be effectually met only by assumptions adequate to comprehend them, viz., an invisible or transcendental cause of evil (Satan), and a transcendental or posthumous retribution.

The severity of Eastern despotism in punishing not only the delinquent himself, but his children and kindred, had been adopted by Hebrew law and practice[7], and was naturally transferred from human usages to the divine government[8]. Thence arose the proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and

[2] Deut. viii. 5. Job v. 17; xxxiii. 14. 30; xxxvi. 7. 16. 2 Sam. vii. 14. Prov. iii. 11, 12. Isa. xlviii. 10; liii. 10. Hab. i. 12. Ecclûs. ii. 5; xxxvi. 1. Wisd. xi. 10.

[3] Isa. xxviii. 24. 29.

[4] Isa. lv. 8. Ecclûs. xi. 4.

[5] Isa. xlv. 7. 15. Lament. iii. 38. Job ii. 10. Amos iii. 6. Ecclûs. xi. 14.

[6] Comp. 2 Mac. viii. 18. Wisd. xi. 25, 26.

[7] Exod. xx. 5; xxxiv. 7. 2 Sam. xii. 14; xxi. 1. 1 Kings xiii. 34; xiv. 10. 17; xxi. 28.

[8] Psal. cix. 10. Jer. xvi. 4; xviii. 21; xxxii. 18. Tobit iii. 3.

the children's teeth are set on edge."[9] This doctrine, though as plainly at variance with justice as with the fundamental principle of the theocracy, was often appealed to either prospectively or retrospectively to account for the anomalies of the present[10]. The suffering good might be descended from bad ancestors, or recover their immediate loss in the fortunes of their posterity; the prosperous wicked might die childless or unhappy in their children, or might owe their success to the merit of their fathers. The later prophets who already felt many of the imperfections of the old covenant, and were desirous of superseding it by a new one, protest against so unfair a doctrine[11]; but though it was afterwards admitted that a merciful God would not allow the execution of so harsh a law unless the sons imitated their fathers' crimes[12], the substitutive idea seems to have been too strong to yield to a sense of abstract right, and the Hebrews, naturally desirous to accuse any one but themselves, continued to charge their sufferings to the account of their fathers' iniquity[13], and were often less scrupulous in their own conduct through the idea that their sins would be visited not on themselves but on their children[14].

The notion of substitution was not confined to lineal inheritance. The rude sentiment of justice expressed in the maxim, "An eye for an eye" was still more widely deserted by the sacrificial theory. One mode of explaining the suffering of the good was discovered in the device of vicarious expiation. So firmly rooted was this idea that even the prophets in a degree countenance it, and in Alexandria we find a Jew pronouncing the suffering of the just to be an "acceptable offering" to the Almighty[15]. The sacrificial theorist is necessarily

[9] Comp. Horace, Od. iii. 6. 1.

[10] Job xxi. 19. 21; xxvii. 13. 15. Comp. Gen. ix. 25.

[11] Jer. xxxi. 29 sq. Ezek. xviii. Deut. xxiv. 16. Comp. Exod. xxxii. 33.

[12] Gen. xviii. 25. Rosenmüller to Ezek. xviii. 19. 2 Kings xiv. 6.

[13] Lam. v. 7. Sirach xliv. 12. John ix. 2.

[14] Jarch. to Jer. xxxi. 29. Isa. xxxix. 8. 2 Kings xx. 19.

[15] Wisd. iii. 6.

an ascetic. Privation portends indemnification. Faith reverses practice as well as theory. Penance is meritorious; calamity desirable and consolatory as a divinely-inflicted penance[16]. Mankind have never yet escaped this very superficial and monstrous fiction. The New Testament doctrine, "Blessed are the poor and the afflicted," is but a continuation of the old idea in which all misfortune was counted as debit to be charged on heaven; either as expiating former offence, or earning future mercies by plagues[17]. "Rejoice," says the text, "when you are persecuted, for great is your reward in heaven;" and the old Hebrew dogma of the sure "rewards" of the law[18] suggesting the strict retaliation of the last judgment[19] is reflected in St. Peter's appeal, "Lo! we have forsaken all to follow thee; what shall we have then?"[20] Any system of interpretation by mere guess-work was plainly better suited to confound than to elucidate the nice arrangements which really exist in Providential retribution.

But the chief ground of "faith" was the religious sentiment itself co-operating with national pride. The feeling was expressed in the Levitical covenant, according to which, as the promise was conditional, so the curse was not to be irreversible, but in case of repentance to be withdrawn by God's clemency[21]. Thus the old theory would after all turn out to be the strictly correct one. The sufferings of the good would be transitory; heaviness may endure for the night, but joy would return in the morning[22]. A happy requital would follow the interval of woe[23], the captive be indemnified with redoubled prosperity after his return[24]. The prose account of Job is wound up in

[16] "Men should rejoice more over afflictions than blessings, for afflictions imply forgiveness of sins." Bk. Mechilta in Gfrörer, ii. 171. "The atonement of affliction is like that of sacrifice, or even still more efficacious, as affecting the person, while the latter touches only the possession." Ib. 172.

[17] Psal. xc. 15. [18] Psal. xix. 12.

[19] Comp. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 285, 286.

[20] Luke xviii. 30. Matt. xix. 27. [21] Lev. xxvi. 42.

[22] Psal. xxx. 5; xxxiv. 19; lxxxix. 32, 33. 2 Sam. vii. 14, 15.

[23] 2 Sam. xvi. 2. [24] Isa. xl. 2; liv. 7. Zech. ix. 12.

this spirit; the hero is more than indemnified for all his losses. And as to an afflicted people the prospect of change was comfort[25], the same prospective theory was employed as a warning to the fortunate, and as an assurance of eventual vengeance on the heathen foes of Israel, who abusing the power of chastisement permitted to them by God, made the sufferings of his people wantonly and needlessly severe[26]. Spiritually construed the same axioms sufficed to reach those high religious consolations which were the foundation of Christianity. The author of the Book of Wisdom, though condescending to some of the ruder explanations, as that of the child suffering for the parent[27], combats the old sensuous view of temporal reward on the high moral ground that the only thing really valuable and immortal is virtue: "Blessed," he says, "is the sterility of the righteous[28]; wisdom alone is grey hair to men, and an unspotted life is old age;" the righteous Enoch was speedily "taken away" from the world, for in the mysterious counsels of God[29] even death may be felicity[30].

§ 5.

TYPICAL SUFFERING OF THE "GOOD MAN."

Hebrew tradition was rich in names and stories illustrative of its favourite theory, resembling those pleasant adventures in which a fly executes Allah's judgment against the wicked enchanter, or where a noisome cavern makes the pathway of ascent to the talisman of bliss. Noah, Daniel, and Job were celebrated for their misfortunes as for their virtues[1]; they were bright ex-

[25] Isa. xl.

[26] Isa. xlvii. 6. Joel iii. 2. Amos i. Zech. i. 15.

[27] Wisd. iii. 11, 12. 16; iv. 3. 6.

[28] Wisd. iii. 13, 14.

[29] Wisd. ii. 22.

[30] Wisd. iv. 10-16.

[1] Ezek. xiv. 14. 20. Daniel is alluded to by Ezekiel as a well-known pattern of *ancient* uprightness. Comp. Lengerke's Daniel, Pref. p. xciii. "It is clear," says Ewald (Propheten, ii. p. 560), "that Ezekiel treats Daniel as a long since departed

amples of the eventual triumph of the upright displayed for the improvement and consolation of posterity. The romantic history of Joseph was appropriated to similar ends of moral illustration. He[2] to whom the moon and stars bowed down, to whom the eleven sheaves made obeisance, was cast by his envious brethren into a pit at Dothan[3]. His many-coloured coat was dipped in goat's blood, and he was lamented as dead. Meantime, like the famous Arabian bird which periodically buried its parent upon a funeral pyre of spices at Heliopolis[4], the persecuted youth was carried away among bales of myrrh to Egypt[5], where he again lost his garment, again was thrown into a dungeon, but eventually through God's favour and the miraculous power he possessed of foreseeing[6] the physical changes of the elements, married the daughter of the high-priest of On[7],

hero of antiquity like Noah and Job. Job, the 'persecuted' or 'hated of God' (comp. Hitzig's Job, p. 8, note. Hom. Iliad, vi. 200) living to an incredible age after his adventure with his three friends, whose names and description indicate obscurity and death, was pronounced by the Jews themselves to be an allegorical personage." Baba Bathra, ch. i. fol. 15[a].

[2] His name probably means "Increase," alluded to Gen. xlix. 22. Deut. xxxiii. 13, 14. He is son of the Sun, according to Jacob's own construction of the dream. Gen. xxxviii. 10. The word Seph has however been said to be an Egyptian attribute of the Deity in the sense of "Generator," as Har-Seph ("Arsaphes," Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. xxxvii.), interpreted, Deus "manifestus" "Generator;" comp. "Peteseph," Joseph. Apion. i. 32.

[3] The "two tanks." Comp. Thenius to 2 Kings vi. 13; the "ark" of Moses (Exod. ii. 3), and "trough" of Romulus (Plutarch, Vit. R.). Jacob's removal to Bethel or Kirjath-Arba (Hebron), while his sons were still feeding the flocks at Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 1. 16; xxxvii. 2. 12), may have been contrived to support his character as general patriarch of the country.

[4] Herod. ii. 73. In other accounts, he consumed his own body, but rose again out of its ashes. It would be curious if the son of Joseph, Ephraim, should be found to mean "man of ashes," from אֵפֶר.

[5] Gen. xxxvii. 25. Ewald gives an historic meaning to the story, as intimating an earlier Hebrew migration to Egypt cotemporaneous with the Hyksos. Geschichte, i. 459.

[6] "Prodigiorum sagacissimus." Justin. xxxvi. 2.

[7] Heliopolis, or Ain Shemesh, "fountain of the Sun." It is well known how often in mythology the priest is substituted for the God.

and "went out over all the land."[8] He proved to be its mainstay against famine, and in consideration of his wisdom, acknowledged though in a mere Syrian nomad to transcend all the renowned wisdom of Egypt[9], he became its legislator as well as ruler, and was accounted author of its well-known distribution into tributary nomes[10]. A recollection of the high importance attached to possessing the bones of the Nature-god[11] may suggest a probability that the careful preservation of Joseph's mummy had a specific religious meaning[12], especially when it is added that the remains were deposited in the very place[13] where the flocks of the patriarch were fed, and which afterwards became the chief sanctuary of his Samaritan successors. The striking vicissitudes in the life of David were well adapted to illustrate the fortunes of the nation or the mutability of human affairs in general. The infant conqueror of the giant becomes the guerilla chief or exile of Adullam and Engedi, from whence he issues victorious to raise the monarchy to unrivalled splendour. An elegiac poet of the captivity may possibly have had in view the extremes experienced by the great Psalmist when in a strain always considered by Hebrew interpreters as describing national sufferings in the person of an individual[14], he represents the faithful "servant of God" enduring the bitter scorn

[8] His name was Psom-thom-phanek, "Salvator mundi;" or "Zaphnath-Phanach," of which the first member means "secrecy," the second "discovery." Gen. xli. 43. 45. The herald cried before his chariot, Abrek! *i. e.*, "Bow the knee," or "Bow the head."

[9] Gen. xli. 39.

[10] Gen. xlvii. 20.

[11] See above, p. 138; and infr. sect. 10.

[12] His very bones were "regarded of the Lord." Ecclûs xlix. 15. Gen. l. 25. Exod. xiii. 19. Josh. xxiv. 32.

[13] Shechem or Sichem, the sacred city of the "shoulder" (Lev. vii. 32; ix. 21; x. 14. Gen. xxiv. 9. 1 Sam. ix. 24. Isa. ix. 6), son of Hamor, the "Ass." Compare the obscure Messianic prediction, Gen. xlix. 10, 11 (where the 11th verse may seem to apply not to Judah, but to the problematical "Shiloh") with Zech. ix. 9. Tacit. Hist. v. 4. Plutarch, Quæst. Conviv. iv. 5. 2. 10. Joseph. Ant. xi. 8. 6; Apion. ii. 7. On the consecration of Sichem, see Gen. xii. 7; xxxiii. 20. Josh. xxiv. 26. Judg. ix. 46.

[14] Psal. xxii.

of the heathen and exposed to imminent death. The Lord's protection is derided by the wicked[15], while the just sufferer is the mark of insulting gesture and comment, his hands and feet are bound[16], his garments parted by lot among his enemies, like those of a plundered traveller or condemned malefactor. Far different from this disastrous issue was the anticipated Messianic triumph of Hebrew theory; but the disciples of Jesus very naturally made theory bend to indisputable facts, and accommodated to the tragic end of their master many appropriate Scripture images which had not been usually considered as having a Messianic relation. The subject of the 22nd Psalm is merely the hypothetic ideal of a just man under affliction, the problem formerly discussed in the Book of Job, and still further illustrated in the description of the "righteous servant of the Lord" in the last and most beautiful of the prophecies classed under the name of "Isaiah." By degrees the fortunes of the "Good Man," as learned from tradition or experience, received the form of an established symbol or type, a matter of theory or theoretic faith. The just is always a mark for the persecution and malignity of the wicked[17]; the insulting demeanour of his enemies is described by "gaping with their mouth" and "sharpening their eyes on him;"[18] as, on the other hand, the eventual triumph of the good would be signalized by "seeing his desire on his enemies," whose fall would be more bitterly felt through their being witnesses of the contrasted fortune of the just[19]. Closing the mouth and keeping silence is the gesture of submission and respect[20] most

[15] Psal. v. 8. Comp. Job xvi. 10. Psal. xxxv. 16. 21. Isa. xxxvii. 22.

[16] Lengerke, Psalmen. vol. i. p. 118. Gesen. Lex. p. 460.

[17] Psal. x. 8; xxxvii. 12. 32. Compare the strange version of Isa. iii. 10 in the LXX with Herod. i. 97. "Τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον ἐστιν."

[18] Job xvi. 9. Psal. xxxvii. 12. Lam. iii. 46. To the priests of Egypt laughter was profane (Porphyr. Abst. iv. 311, 312), scoffing being an attribute of Satan. (Psal. i. 1. Clem. Alex. Pæd. 2, ch. v.; 3, ch. iv. s. 29.)

[19] Psal. cxii. 10. Mic. vii. 10. 16. Rev. xi. 12.

[20] Job xxix. 9, 10; xl. 4.

appropriate to the resigned sufferer[21]; and as the future glory of the "servant of the Lord"[22] is magnified by the anticipation that kings would "shut their mouths at him," so the most becoming demeanour[23] under unmerited suffering is represented by "closing the mouth;" the victim is dumb "as a lamb led to slaughter, or as a sheep before the shearers." The person of the unfortunate, as in the case of Job, becomes altered and disfigured so as to make him an object of contempt and horror. His beauty, the usual mark of divine favour[24], pines away[25]; the body is wounded and emaciated[26]; the flesh is consumed and the bones stick out[27], the breath becomes corrupt[28], the bones and veins as it were cleave asunder[29]. The sufferer[30] bears a visage so marred and disfigured that men look on him with astonishment; he no longer possesses the beauty which might be expected to distinguish a divinely-appointed messenger; men turn from him with loathing, and his sufferings are aggravated by the desertion of his neighbours and kinsmen. He has to undergo that last bereaval of the unhappy, the loss of his clothing[31], the division of his raiment by spoilers marking him as a victim by the road side[32], or as one delivered over to the executioner, helpless, that is, or dead. The parting of Christ's garments, according to the Roman law *de bonis damnatorum*, of course appeared a remarkable coincidence[33], implying to the writer's mind the prophetical character of the psalm, and an anticipation of the notion of a suffering Messiah.

[21] 2 Sam. xvi. 12. Psal. xxxviii. 13, 14; xxxix. 9.

[22] Isa. lii. 15. [23] Isa. liii. 7.

[24] 1 Sam. x. 23, 24; xvi. 12. Psal. xlv. 2. Isa. iv. 2; comp. xxxiii. 17.

[25] Psal. xxxix. 11.

[26] Job xxxiii. 21. 5. 7. Job xxx. 17.

[27] Job xxxiii. 21; Psal. xxxi. 3; xxii. 17; xxxi. 10; xxxiii. 3; cii. 5.

[28] Job xvii. 1. [29] Job xvi. 13; xxx. 17. Psal. xvi. 17.

[30] Isa. lii. 14; liii. 3. Comp. Psal. xxxi. 11; xxxviii. 11. Job xix. 13. 19; xxx. 10.

[31] Isa. iii. 6.

[32] Gen. xxxvii. 23. Luke x. 20. Job xxii. 6. Mic. ii. 8.

[33] Θιῶν τυχῇ.

§ 6.

THE "SERVANT OF THE LORD" IN ISAIAH.

But the great typical example of God's retributive dealing was Israel itself. Israel's relation to God had been expressed under many forms: that of wife, son, daughter, and servant. The latter image, already often used by Jeremiah[1] and Ezekiel[2], is most conspicuously brought forward by the great unknown prophet of the exile[3], to whom, as Cyrus is God's minister or instrument for war, Israel is his eternal servant[4] to proclaim to all nations his saving embassage of peace. The composition alluded to is pre-eminently interesting not only for its religious and poetical beauty but for the insight it gives into the moral condition of the Hebrews towards the close of their captivity. The land of Israel is still a desert waste[5], Jerusalem lies in ruins[6], the temple has been burned[7]. But the time approaches when it is to be rebuilt. A rumour from the desert summons a prophet to take his stand upon the watch-tower, from whence we witness with him the advance of the Persian armament[8]. The invader's success is already predetermined[9], and the time of the composition has been sometimes conjectured to have been the summer when Cyrus before descending into Mesopotamia diverted the course of the Gyndes[10], or, as the Hebrew writer says[11], "dried up the rivers," an operation which would seem to have had the same relation to the subsequent attack on Babylon as the draining of the Alban Lake to the Roman siege of Veii. The Hebrew majority appear apathetic or despondent, reconciled to their chain or weary of hoping for release. From this state of prostration a band of patriots attempts to rouse

[1] Jer. xxx. 10; xlvi. 27.
[2] Ezek. xxviii. 25; xxxvii. 25.
[3] Isa. lx. 66.
[4] Isa. xliv. 21; xlv. 4; lxi. 6.
[5] Isa. lxii. 4.
[6] Isa. xliv. 26; li. 3.
[7] Isa. lxiv. 11.
[8] Comp. Isa. xxi. 6; xl. 9. Herod. i. 80.
[9] Isa. xxi. 9; xlv. 1.
[10] Herod. i. 189.
[11] Isa. xliv. 27. Comp. xi. 15; xxxvii. 25.

their countrymen to a renewed prospect of recovering their independence and homes. They are probably to be considered as consisting chiefly of the self-constituted order of prophets, those specially gifted "servants of the Lord,"[12] for a long time exposed to disgrace and insult, but who persevering in spite of contumely were now animated with enthusiastic hopes of renewed influence and dignity through favour of their God, and the probable re-establishment of his ancient worship. The poem commences with a divine proclamation to comfort the people with the assurance that the day of evil or expiation has passed, and that Jehovah, renewing his covenant, will make ample amends for their suffering by a glorious restoration of his faithful servants[13]. "The redeemed of the Lord shall return, and shall come with singing into Zion, everlasting joy shall be upon their head, sorrow and mourning shall flee away."[14] Jehovah himself, their "Saviour" and "Redeemer,"[15] leads them[16]; it is he who raises up to them a deliverer in Cyrus[17], the path before him is prepared as before an Eastern monarch[18]; all difficulties vanish[19]; the desert becomes a garden, the crooked is made straight, the rough places plain. The poet summons heaven and earth to unite in jubilee[20] at the exhilarating promise of unbounded prosperity. All the Messianic expectations, riches, length of days, numerous offspring, extensive dominion, peace throughout nature[21], await the just inheritors of the new Jerusalem, the true worshippers and priests of the Lord[22]. Now would be realized a new heaven and a new earth[23]. The Lord's empire would be extended over the Gentiles, all nations would behold his glory. The "servant

[12] 2 Kings ix. 7.
[13] Isa. xl. 1; xlix. 13; lvii. 13; lix. 20.
[14] Isa. li. 11; lv. 12.
[15] Isa. xlix. 26, &c.
[16] Isa. lii. 12; xl. 11.
[17] Isa. xlv. 1; xlvi. 11; xlviii. 15. 18.
[18] Diod. S. ii. 18. Arrian, Alex. iv. 30.
[19] Isa. xl. 3, 4; xlii. 16; xliii. 19; xlviii. 21; xlix. 11.
[20] Isa. xliv. 23; xlix. 13; lv. 12.
[21] Isa. lxv. 25.
[22] Isa. liv. 13; lxi. 6; lxv. 16.
[23] Isa. lxv. 17; lxvi. 12.

of Jehovah" means primarily the Hebrew people[24]; but the especial "servant of the Lord" is that distinguished body, the prophets, including perhaps occasionally all right-minded Israelites as distinguished from "the transgressors," those who as God's "witnesses" and "messengers" were to be the instruments of the coming salvation[25]. Though personified in their collective capacity as an individual, the plurality transpires in parallel expressions[26], as where the Lord is said to have "formed them from the womb to be his servant, to raise up the tribes of Judah, and to restore the preserved of Israel."[27] "Ye are my witnesses," saith the Lord, "and my servant whom I have chosen,"[28] "mine elect in whom my soul delighteth;"[29] on whom God pours out his spirit[30], whom he appoints to be interpreters of his word[31] and heralds of his will. Their mission is to open a new covenant with his people[32], to be a light to lighten the Gentiles, to open the eyes of the blind, the prison doors of the captive[33], to revive the spirits of the meek, to comfort the afflicted[34], to spread religion and salvation among all nations of the earth[35].

But this ideal impersonation of the true Israelitish or prophetic character, this "servant" of the Most High, had by no means hitherto enjoyed even among his own people the consideration to which he was entitled. The sufferings of the prophets were proverbial; by their bold unscrupulous denouncements of vice and idolatry, of everything wicked and untheocratic, the ministers of heaven had become more and more obnoxious to priests, kings, and people. Under Ahab,

[24] Isa. xli. 8, 9; xliv. 1, 21; xlv. 4; xlviii. 20; "ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς τοῦ ὅλου λαοῦ." Origen in Cels. i. 42.

[25] Isa. xlii. 1; xliii. 10; xliv. 26; xlix. 3, 5; lii. 13; liii. 11. Comp. Jer. xxv. 4; xxvi. 5. Amos iii. 7.

[26] Isa. xliii. 10, 12.

[27] Isa. xliv. 26; xlix. 5, 6.

[28] Isa. xliii. 10. 12.

[29] Isa. xlii. 1.

[30] Isa. xlii. 1; xlviii. 16; lix. 21; lxi. 1.

[31] Isa. li. 16; l. 4, 5.

[32] Isa. xlix. 8.

[33] Isa. xlii. 6, 7; xlix. 9; lii. 7, 8.

[34] Isa. lvii. 15; lxi. 2.

[35] Isa. xlii. 1. 12; xlix. and li.

the Jehovists were nearly exterminated[36], the survivors were forbidden to speak openly[37]. Under Asa, Joash, and Joachim[38], they suffered imprisonment and martyrdom; and Josephus relates that a massacre of the prophets was directed by Manasseh[39], in which, according to tradition, the great Isaiah perished. The whole life of Jeremiah was a series of persecutions resulting from the hatred of the party of priests and false prophets united with the court[40]; from that time forwards the ill-treatment of prophets continued to be a source of national reproach and remorse[41], which the later Jews, like the persecutors of Dante or Galileo, endeavoured in vain to atone for by tardy honours[42], by "building the tombs of the prophets, and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous." At a time of general oppression the prophets would naturally suffer most. As restless leaders whose very office was to make their people dissatisfied with captivity, they would be most obnoxious to the foreigner, and at the same time would have to bear the disappointment and reproaches of their countrymen. No one had "believed their report;"[43] they had laboured and spent their strength for nought[44]; they had endured insult and reproach[45], but suffered silently and resignedly, even to the extremity of death[46]. The legend of the fiery furnace and lions' den may have had its basis of fact in violences actually committed against some among their number[47]. The people who witnessed their affliction thought according to the common notion that they were punished for their misdeeds; but it was not so: they had suffered in analogy with the sacrificial doctrine which had always formed part of Jewish ritual, not for themselves, but to

[36] 1 Kings xviii. 4; xix. 10. 2 Kings ix. 7.
[37] Amos vii. 10.
[38] 2 Chron. xvi. 10; xxiv. 21. Jer. xxvi. 21.
[39] Jos. Ant. 10. 3. 10.
[40] Jer. xv. 15.
[41] Neh. ix. 26. Matt. v. 12. Acts vii. 52. 1 Thess. ii. 15.
[42] Matt. xxiii. 29. 31.
[43] Comp. Isa. xlii. 18; liii. 1.
[44] Isa. xlix. 4.
[45] Isa. xlix. 7; lii. 14; liii. 2, 3.
[46] Isa. l. 6, 7; liii. 7, 8, 9.
[47] Gesen. Isa. liii. 8. 10; lvii. 1. Nah. iii. 19. Psal. cxxxvii.

atone for the sins of their people[48]. Yet though the prophetic body might be said in the persons of many of their number to have suffered death and to be buried, they yet in their collective character survived[49], and would witness a glorious change. At sight of him who was abhorred by the Gentiles kings shall submissively arise from their seats, and princes shall worship[50]. No true Israelite could regard his humiliation as other than temporary. The feebleness of the individual is lost and forgotten in the magnitude of the office; for the "Lord's servant" is not merely a prophet or even body of prophets; he is the personification of an indestructible idea, Jehovah's imperishable truth which he feels authorized to publish before admiring nations to the ends of the earth[51]. "Behold my servant, even he whose visage was marred more than any other man, shall be exalted and be very high; many a nation shall rise before him, many a king shall bow."[52] "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee; in a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer."[53]

The idea of vicarious atonement had from the earliest ages been interwoven with Hebrew thought and practice. The sins of David and of Achan involved the whole nation in their consequences, and the offence with Bathsheba was followed by the death of the child according to the severe law decreeing its responsibility for the parent's offence[54]. It was presumed in the hypothesis that God's inexorable justice might claim some other victim for crime than the guilty party. The writer in Isaiah adopts this theory, at least he adopts its language; the righteous are said to perish through the guilt of the wicked[55]; and again, God shows his favour to the Hebrews by giving

[48] Isa. liii. 4. 56. Comp. xlii. 24.
[49] Isa. liii. 9, 10.
[50] Isa. xlix. 7; lii. 15. Comp. Job xxix. 9.
[51] Isa. xlix. 6.
[52] Isa. lii. 13 sq.
[53] Isa. liv. 7.
[54] Exod. xx. 5. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. 14. Lam. v. 7. Isa. lxv. 7.
[55] Isa. lvii. 1. Gesen. ib.

"Egypt and Ethiopia for their ransom and people for their life."[56] The great object of the prophet is to proclaim the trial and "expiation" of Jerusalem to be "finished;"[57] that the people are henceforth to receive double of Jehovah's hand in requital for their "penance." Proportioned to the depression of the Lord's servant was, according to the admitted law of retribution[58], to be his exaltation; from the abyss of disgrace and despair he would be raised above princes[59]. As Israel among the nations of the earth such was the prophet to his people. The suffering had been a consequence of sin[60]; but all had not sinned alike, and the stripes of the Lord's servant were an expiation for the undeserving among those who were now to share the triumph. It has been argued[61] that the salutary effect ascribed in the 53rd chapter to the patient suffering of the true prophet is to be understood as the mere natural result of noble example and persevering admonition. But if, even to our minds, such an explanation seems to do violence to the obvious meaning, far greater would be its inapplicability in the feeling of a Hebrew. Unwilling to put what they think a derogatory construction on a sublime composition, critics desire to explain away the seeming anomaly of a writer who disclaiming the vulgar estimate of external forms[62], would yet appear to

[56] Isa. xliii. 4. It has been said that the word "ransom" as here employed, as also in Prov. xxi. 18 (comp. also Job xxxiii. 24), is "figurative," since to suppose the just really to require expiation would be to make him unjust. (De Wette, De Morte Christi, p. 32.) But how then should the punishment of the unjust at all concern or be connected with the just? The object of atonement is to place the offender in a condition to obtain the divine pardon for secret or unintentional faults. "Who can tell how oft he offendeth?" Even the just man (before the law) has much to expiate; hence, according to the principle that "from him that hath not shall be taken even what he seemeth to have," the occasional good deeds of the impious are reserved to eke out any deficiency in the qualifications of the just. (Comp. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 184. 285, 286.)

[57] Isa. xl. 2.

[58] Psal. xc. 15. Isa. ix. 2.

[59] Isa. xlix. 7; lii. 14.

[60] Isa. xlviii. 18 sq.; lxiii. 10.

[61] De Wette, De Morte Christi, p. 45.

[62] Isa. xliii. 23; lviii. 3 sq.; lxvi. 1. 3. The latter passage however seems to be from a different hand. Ewald, Propheten, ii. p. 409.

countenance the theory he ought to have repudiated. The sacrificial language is therefore called a mere metaphor; but the *limits* of metaphor are hard to distinguish, and the feelings of the distant past are not to be judged by the standard of the present. This noble poem, which with several other beautiful but unauthentic compositions[63] was thought worthy to bear the name of the greatest of the prophets, however sometimes rising above the level of ordinary sentiment, is after all intensely Judaical. The prospect of spiritual illumination held out to the heathen is not gratuitous. Israel is still God's unforgotten "chosen" or elect[64], who would "suck the milk" and "eat the riches" of the Gentiles[65]. And if justice was violated in one direction, why not in another[66]? Without wasting words on what might be assumed as generally understood, the prophet, taking the sacrificial theory as a basis for estimating providential arrangements, proceeds to enforce his great moral inference of repentance in a kind of penitential hymn to be rehearsed by the returning patriots[67]. "Who," he exclaims, "has believed our report?"[68] who seen the arm of Jehovah revealed in our behalf, according to the foregoing predictions[69]? The labour of the Lord's servant was long in vain; he did not appear recommended by the garb and comeliness usually distinguishing a divinely-appointed messenger[70]. He was foremost in suffering and humiliation[71], a condition indicated by the gesture of closing the lips or hanging the head[72]. The people ought in justice to acknowledge that these sorrows should properly have fallen on themselves, and that the holy servant of the Most High had been made to suffer the penalty of their iniquities. They should say, "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows;" and we imagined that he was stricken and afflicted, not vica-

[63] Comp. ch. xxv. 6-8.
[64] Isa. xlix. 14; xliv. 1.
[65] Isa. xlix. 22; lx. passim; lxi. 5, 6.
[66] Comp. the original of ch. lvii. 1.
[67] Isa. lii. 11.
[68] Isa. liii. 1. Comp. xlii. 18; xlviii. 6. 8; xlix. 4.
[69] Comp. li. 9; lii. 10.
[70] 1 Sam. x. 23; xvi. 12. 18. Psal. xlv. 2.
[71] Comp. l. 6.
[72] Isa. v. 7. Comp. l. 7; lii. 15. Job xxix. 9.

ously, but by the just anger of God against himself. But it was not so; "he was wounded for our transgressions, and stricken for our misdeeds; his chastisement was the ransom of our peace; with his stripes we are healed." "He was 'removed away' through persecution and judgment, and who among his cotemporaries considered this[73], or understood that for the people's sins he was withdrawn from among the living? He was insulted even when life was extinct[74], and buried among his impious oppressors, although he did no evil, and no guile was in his mouth." He thus performed an expiation for sin not only in his death but after death[75]. But although his soul was given up as an offering for sin by the fiat of Jehovah, he, that is, the still continuing community of pious Israelites, shall see his posterity and shall live many days; the work of the Lord, the extension of religious knowledge, shall prosper in his hands; he shall be triumphantly rewarded for his heroic self-devotion.

§ 7.

THE "δικαιος" (JUST MAN) OF THE BOOK OF WISDOM.

The Hebrew people, the "son" whom Jehovah had called forth out of Egypt, languished under oppression, and the "δικαιος" of Wisdom[1], a Jewish book written in the century immediately preceding the Christian æra, is generally understood to have nearly the same meaning as the "servant of the Lord" in Isaiah. He is the nation opposed to its heathen oppressors, the just man contrasted with the wicked, and consequently claiming, as did the Jews in general, to have God for his father[2]. The wise and good are proverbially a mark for the antipathy and obloquy of the wicked[3]; they are tortured and con-

[73] Comp. Knobel to Isa. lvii. 1.
[74] Comp. Jer. xxvi. 23.
[75] Hos. ix. 6. Amos vii. 17. 2 Mac. v. 10.
[1] Wisd. ii. 10.
[2] Isa. ii. 13. 16; xii. 20. Comp. Exod. iv. 22. Hos. xi. 1.
[3] Comp. Horace, Ep. ii. 1. 13.

demned to a shameful death in order to prove to the sarcastic curiosity of their enemies how far they are entitled to claim the protection of their pretended "father."[4] Those enemies might be either Gentiles to whom the vengeance taken on the ancient Egyptian tyrants might serve as warning[5]; or those recreant and irreligious Jews, who from philosophical free-thinking had passed to decided immorality and impiety[6]. To the ridicule and insult with which these sensualists persecuted their countrymen the writer returns the same answer which had long before been made[7], that their vicious proceedings arose out of ignorance of God's ultimate purposes in favour of the good, whose sufferings were only probationary, and whose departure from life, though to appearance resembling misery, was in reality the introduction to peace and glory[8]. The paradox of the sensualist is the spiritualist's faith. There is here no prophecy peculiarly regarding Jesus of Nazareth, but rather a prediction suggested by sure experience, which will be found to hold good with every one who for any enviable superiority or peculiarity makes himself conspicuous among his fellows. Envy will merit as its shade pursue. It is a general law of human nature well expressed by a powerful modern writer[9], "reformers, in all ages, whatever their object, have been unpitied martyrs, and the multitude have evinced a savage exultation in their sacrifice. Let in the light upon a nest of young owls, and they cry out against the injury you have done them. Men of mediocrity are young owls; when you present them with strong brilliant ideas, they exclaim against them as false, dangerous, and deserving punishment. Every abuse attempted to be reformed is the patrimony of those who have more influence than the reformers."

[4] Wisd. ii. 18. Comp. John xix. 7. Psal. lxxxix. 27.

[5] Wisd. xvii. and xviii.

[6] "Οι των ιερων νομων αποστατης." Philo. de Virtut. vol. ii. p. 406; and De Vit. Mos. ib. p. 85. De Confus. Ling. i. 405. Comp. Wisd. ii. 12; iii. 10.

[7] Comp. Psal. xxxvii. 32, &c.

[8] Psal. iii. 2, 3. 5; iv. 2; x. 17.

[9] Adventures of a Younger Son.

§ 8.

HEBREW IDEAS OF A FUTURE STATE.

There still obviously remained much unexplained in the retributory theory, but it was not till late in the course of the development of the Hebrews that the deficiency was adequately felt and supplied out of the boundless stores of the possible. The doctrine of future retribution formed no part of their received ideas and laws. The Levitical code, strictly limited to temporal promises, reflects the common feeling of the people, and many Scripture expressions in seeming contradiction to this will be found on near examination to suggest more than they were really meant for. On the subject of a future life the Pentateuch is silent. For instance, there is no proof that the term "pilgrimage" in Genesis xlvii. 9 implies any such belief[1], or any more than the brief and precarious tenure of life[2]. Again, the passage unfairly quoted from Exodus in Matthew[3], means only that Jehovah, the protecting God of the patriarchs, would continue to act as such to their posterity[4]. The cause of the omission was not that the Hebrews, unlike all other nations, were destitute of any conception of ghostly existence, nor yet that they had no opportunity of acquiring, for instance, through intercourse with Egypt, what they had not learned at home. The silence of the legislator may be accounted for by the fact that the doctrine was not extant in a shape available for his purpose. It was not so associated with the idea of retribution as to be directly applicable to morals or politics. The hope of immortality was in its origin closely connected with Nature religion; whereas in Jehovism the traces of Nature worship were nearly obliterated by the fixed dogmatical forms of the theocratic theory. The great aim of this theory was a

[1] As Philo would construe it. De Confus. Linguarum, p. 17. Heb. xi. 13, 14.
[2] Comp. Psal. xxxix. 12; cxix. 54. 1 Chron. xxix. 15.
[3] Matt. xxii. 32.
[4] Gesen. to Isa. xxvi. 19.

strong political establishment which should rival the splendours and triumphs of the reign of David. The cherished hope of aspiring minds would only be profaned by being gratuitously announced to the sensuous vulgar, to whom secure residence in a land of ease and plenty, of "milk and honey," would seem far more valuable than the indistinct prospects of the world of spirits. The Levitical retribution was framed accordingly. It was tangible and immediate; and the denunciations and promises of the prophets were but an echo of the blessings and curses of the law. Continuance in the land with its accessory comforts was assured on fulfilment of certain conditions, and we sympathize with the uneasy feeling of the theocratic compiler of the Book of Kings when compelled to record the disasters of a monarch against whom no positive crime could be alleged, or only the minor and lately-invented one of permitting the use of "high places" in competition with the metropolitan temple[5]. No one ventured to question the dispensation, though as time wore on it became more and more difficult to conceive the mode in which it could be accomplished. It was the difficulty arising from the practical refutation of the theory by indisputable facts which led to the moral speculation forming so large a part of the poetical books of the Bible, ending in an enthusiastic hypothesis of faith, and eventually in higher views of futurity. Had the Pentateuch anticipated these views it would have been contradictory to itself; and might, moreover, to common minds have tended more to encourage the idolatrous accompaniments it condemns than the wholesome hope connected with consciousness of immortality. At the same time, the repeated prohibition of necromantic and necrolatrous practices[6], and the obstinacy with which, nevertheless, they seem to have been retained[7], prove that the dead were not regarded as wholly extinct. This may be shown from many intimations in ancient record without

[5] Comp. 2 Kings xii. 18. 20; xiv. 26, 27; xv. 5.

[6] Lev. xix. 31. Deut. xviii. 11.

[7] 1 Sam. xxviii. 7. 2 Kings xxi. 6; xxiii. 4. Isa. viii. 19.

having recourse to the rabbinical interpretation of the passage in Exodus[8], a construction obviously strained and inconclusive[9]. For example, the phrase used in describing the death of the patriarchs, the being "gathered to their fathers," cannot mean merely their consignment to the ancestral tomb, since it is employed in reference to persons, as Moses and Aaron[10], whose sepulchres were unknown, and, moreover, is applied to an event expressly distinguished from the burial ceremony[11]. It seems rather to describe the dying man entering into the society of his departed ancestry, the reunion of disembodied spirits[12]. The place of this reunion is distinctly pointed out by the same authority[13] as being "Scheol," a word meaning either the "voracious,"[14] or more probably the "abyss,"[15] or lower world, the nether region of the universe, as deep below as heaven is high above[16]. The general receptacle of the dead is an ideal enlargement of the notion of a sepulchre[17]. It is a land of darkness and of the shadow of death, where light itself becomes darkness[18], a prison with gates and bars[19], admitting neither escape nor ransom[20]. It is the abode of rest[21], forgetfulness[22], and silence[23], where even God is unremembered[24], where the hymn

[8] Exod. iii. 15. Matt. xxii. 32, with Wetstein's note. Strauss, Life of Jesus, vol. ii. p. 139.

[9] In Isaiah Jehovah is expressly said to be the God of the Israelites who died in the captivity, and whose resurrection is but doubtfully hinted at. Gesen. to Isa. xxvi. 19. Knobel, p. 190.

[10] Numb. xxvii. 13. Deut. xxxii. 50.

[11] Gen. xlix. 33; l. 13.

[12] Job xxx. 23.

[13] Gen. xxxvii. 37.

[14] "Orcus rapax," Catull.; "Acherontis avari," &c. Comp. Prov. xxvii. 20; xxx. 16. Hab. ii. 5. Isa. v. 14.

[15] The "pit."

[16] Deut. xxxii. 22. Job xi. 8. Psal. cxxxix. 8. Ezek. xxxi. 14. Amos ix. 2. De Wette's Biblische Dogmatik, p. 88.

[17] Gen. xlii. 38; xliv. 29.

[18] Job x. 22.

[19] Isa. xxxviii. 10. Job xvii. 16.

[20] Prov. vii. 27. Psal. xlix. 7. Job vii. 9.

[21] Job iii. 13. 17.

[22] Psal. lxxxviii. 12.

[23] Psal. xciv. 17; cxv. 17

[24] Psal. vi. 5; xxx. 10.

of praise and the wail of woe are alike hushed[25], and where there is neither work nor thought, knowledge nor wisdom[26]. Its population are the lifeless and bloodless shades, the Raphaim, answering to the umbræ tenues or εἴδωλα of Homer. Scheol was in strictness the house "appointed to receive all living;"[27] yet there were certain exceptions, as in the case of those pious favourites of Heaven, who, like Enoch and Elijah, were transferred to heaven without dying. The unusual circumstances, too, attending the deaths of Moses and Aaron may have countenanced or have followed from an impression that the decease of extraordinary men is necessarily attended by extraordinary circumstances[28]. On the other hand, there was a notion that the greatly wicked are sometimes swallowed up alive by Scheol[29]. So that in general the opinions of the early Hebrews were nearly the same as those of the Greeks. They had their wan ghosts, inmates of their Hades or world below; from the general doom were exempted their mythical heroes, who, distinguished for piety, if not for bravery, were translated to an elysium without dying; and lastly, in the remote background of their thoughts and records lay the conception of a pantheistic absorption, when the spirit figuratively "breathed into the nostrils" of man at his creation, would, as the body crumbled into its original dust, "return to the God who gave it."[30]

Such views of the condition of the dead were not likely to afford much either of restraint or of consolation to the living.

[25] Isa. xxxviii. 18.

[26] Eccles. ix. 10. Sometimes however the shades, like those in Homer, seem to be dressed and employed as they were on earth. 1 Sam. xxviii. 14. Isa. xiv. Ezek. xxxii.

[27] Job xxx. 23.

[28] Numb. xx. 24. 29. Deut. x. 6; xxxiv. 1. 6. Joseph. Antiq. iii. 5. 7; iv. 8. 48.

[29] Numb. xvi. 30. Psal. lv. 15. Gesen. to Isa. v. 14, vol. ii. p. 238.

[30] Eccles. xii. 7. Job xxxii. 8; xxxiv. 14. Psal. civ. 29. Comp. Isa. xlii. 5. Jer. xxxviii. 16. Numb. xvi. 22. 1 Kings xviii. 12. A passage in Euripides frag. Chrys. vii. is an exact parallel to that in Ecclesiastes. Comp. Eurip. Supplices, 543.

Hope is said to remain no longer than while life continues[31]; no cheering hope mingles with lamentations for the dead[32], and the prospect of rejoining deceased friends is anything but encouraging[33]. Job, David, and Hezekiah entreat that they may see the Lord, that is, salvation, in the "land of the living;"[34] they evince nothing of the elsewhere common anticipation[35] of a posthumous realization of disappointed hope. Bitter indeed must be the lot from which death is a desirable release[36]! "There is hope of a tree," says Job, repeating the sentiment of Achilles in Homer, "there is hope of a tree which is cut down that it will sprout again; even though its root decay within the ground, yet the scent of water will make it bud forth as if newly planted. But man lieth down and riseth not again; never until the heavens be no more will he awake, or be aroused out of his slumber." Job for a moment longs to repose in the quiet of the grave, to find there temporary respite from God's wrath; but he instantly checks the wish[37] when reflecting that once dead he could never revive, and resolves that it is better to endure patiently the servitude of life until God grants the natural discharge from it[38].

§ 9.

THE PHRASE, "DELIVERY FROM DEATH."

The future triumph of the good is often alluded to in terms which though suggesting to our minds the idea of life after

[31] Job vii. 9, 10; x. 21; xvii. 11. 15, 16. Psal. xxxix. 13.

[32] 1 Sam. i. 17; xviii. 33; xix. 1.

[33] 2 Sam. xii. 22, 23. Gen. xxxvii. 35.

[34] Comp. Psal. lxxxviii. 11; lxxxix. 47.

[35] Ps. Plat. Epinomis, 973. [36] Job iii. 21.

[37] According to the common version; but see infr.

[38] Job xiv. 7-14. It is not that man is to revive after the heavens had passed away, according to the idea in Psal. cii. 26. Isa. li. 6. Such a construction would destroy the obvious intention, and neutralize the force of the antithesis about the tree.

death, had originally no such meaning; and indeed it will be found that such a construction would often prove fatal to the connection and general aim of the composition. Those who endure extreme bodily or mental suffering may be said, without much exaggeration, to be brought near to the grave[1], to sit in darkness and the shadow of death[2], to say to corruption, thou art my father, and to the worm, thou art my mother[3], to be like a dead man out of mind[4], to go down to the pit[5], or to the depths of Scheol[6], or, as St. Paul expresses it, to "die daily." In the poem composed by David upon his deliverance from Saul and his enemies, he speaks of himself as encompassed by the "sorrows of hell and the pains of death;"[7] and the same language recurs in many of the psalms supposed to describe the sufferings of the Jewish nation personified as an individual[8]. The sufferer exclaims, "My soul is full of troubles; my life draweth nigh to the grave. I am counted with them that go down to the pit. Among the dead is my couch[9], like the slain who lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more. I am afflicted and expiring, from my youth up have I borne thy terrors, causing trepidation and dismay[10]. Return, O Lord, and deliver my soul; O save me! for in death there is no remembrance of thee; in the grave, who shall give thee thanks?[11]. What profit is there in my blood when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise thee?[12] Shall thy loving kindness be shown in the grave, or thy faithfulness in 'destruction'[13]? The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day." Such was the natural language of a sufferer like

[1] Job xxxiii. 22. Psal. cvii. 18; ix. 13.
[2] Psal. lv. 4; cxliii. 3.
[3] Job xvii. 14.
[4] Psal. xxxi. 12.
[5] Psal. xxx. 9; lxxxviii. 4; cxliii. 7. Ezek. xxvi. 20; xxviii. 8.
[6] Psal. lxiii. 9; lxxxvi. 13. Prov. xxiii. 14.
[7] 2 Sam. xxii. 6.
[8] Psal. vi.; xiii.; xxii. 15; xxxviii.; xxxix.; xl.; lxxxviii.
[9] חפשי Ges. W. B.
[10] Psal. lxxxviii. 3. 5. 15.
[11] Psal. vi. 4; cxv. 17.
[12] Psal. xxx. 9.
[13] Psal. lxxxviii. 11.

the pious Hezekiah recovering from sickness or sorrow[14]; a figurative mode of expression like that in the 116th Psalm, where God is said to have delivered the writer from extreme anguish, and to have saved "his soul from death, his eyes from tears, and his feet from falling."[15] Death, the extreme penalty, includes all minor inflictions, and is put for punishment generally. Fools are said to die for want of wisdom[16]; death is the consequence of despising reproof[17]. Ephraim, according to Hosea[18], died in consequence of his sin with Baal; yet after this continued to sin more and more, so that by death is evidently meant only temporary woe or humiliation. On the other hand, the just though brought to the verge of death are said to be saved through the care of the Almighty[19]. They exclaim in holy confidence, "I shall not die but live; I shall still walk before the Lord in the land of the living[20]. God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave, that is, from untimely death[21]; he will be at hand at the last extremity to heal and save;"[22] to give that length of days and peaceful continuance in the land which in Hebrew opinion was to reward the good. The suffering Psalmist utters the same hope[23], "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor allow thy holy one (*i. e.*, thy pious worshipper)[24] to see the pit or descend into the grave."[25] The

[14] Isa. xxxviii. 19. Comp. Ecclûs. xvii. 28.

[15] Comp. 1 Sam. ii. 6; "*τον παρα προσδοκιαν σωθεντα φαμεν εξ Ἁδου αναβεβηκεναι.*" That no actual death can be intended is evident from the often-repeated maxim that from Scheol there is no escape. (Job vii. 9; xvii. 16. Prov. vii. 27. Isa. xxxviii. 10. Song of Solomon, viii. 6.) It is something like the "*λογῳ ματην θνησκειν*" of Sophocles. (Electra. 63.) A child duly corrected is said to be saved from "death" (Prov. xxiii. 13); and the man who "quits the way of understanding" to "remain in the congregation of the dead." (Prov. xxi. 16.)

[16] Prov. x. 21. Hos. iv. 6. Isa. v. 13.

[17] Prov. xv. 10; xix. 16.

[18] Hos. xiii. 1.

[19] Job xxxvi. 8. 11; xlix. 9. 15.

[20] Psal. cxviii. 17.

[21] Psal. xlix. 16. Comp. Psal. xvi. and xvii.; also lv. 23. Job xxi. 17. 21. Lengerke, "Psalmen," i. p. 250.

[22] Job xxxiii. 18. 28. 30.

[23] Psal. xvi. 10.

[24] Comp. Exod. xix. 6. Deut. xxxiii. 6. Psal. l. 5. Jer. xi. 15.

[25] Comp. as to the LXX version "*διαφθορα.*" Job xxxiii. 18. Psal. xxx. 3. 9; also Psal. xxx. 3.

same kind of restoration is ascribed to the righteous "servant of the Lord," who in Isaiah is represented as already dead and buried[26]. But perhaps the most memorable passage of this kind is that in Job[27], where the sufferer expresses a firm conviction that his Almighty Redeemer, Vindicator, and Saviour[28], on whom alone he relies, will eventually attest his innocence and restore him to prosperity and health, or, in oriental phrase, enable him to "see God," as he actually does at the close of the poem[29]; a passage, says Grotius, never referred to by the Jews in proof of a resurrection, though they zealously sought out every authority available for that purpose. Job finding his friends incredulous as to his innocence, wishes his protestations to be written down and published in the most durable characters to posterity who would judge him more fairly. "Yet why," he corrects himself, "should I be thus anxious about posterity? No! my vindicator lives; I shall yet survive the triumphant assertion of my innocence;" the tone of eager wish suddenly changes to that of confident expectation. God himself is the Redeemer or Vindicator[30]; let the world say what it may, he is a living and infallible witness of the truth, and sure to assert it; "last of all of us he will step forth on the arena of our dispute; and though my skin be torn and wounded[31], and this my woe-struck body destroyed, yet even without my flesh, reduced, that is, to a mere skeleton[32], I shall 'see God.' Yes, I shall see him come with my own eyes, and not another after I myself am no more."[33]

[26] Isa. liii. 10.
[27] Job xix. 25.
[28] Job xiii. 15, 16; xvi. 19, 20; xxii. 25. 27.
[29] Job xlii. 5.
[30] Comp. Psal. xix. 15; xxvi. 11.
[31] Job vii. 5-20.
[32] Job xiii. 15; xvi. 8; xix. 20.
[33] Job xlii. 7. Prov. xxvii. 2. Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia, art. Resurrection, p. 610.

§ 10.

MYTHICAL EXPRESSIONS OF THE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY.

Yet allowing for latitude of expression it is clear, that as no theory of retribution can be complete without an appeal to futurity, so there has been scarcely any from which such an appeal has been wholly excluded. The belief in immortality is rather a natural feeling, an adjunct of self-consciousness, than a dogma belonging to any age or country[1]. And if any doctrine may be truly said to be inspired or divine, surely it is that which gives eternity to man's nature; which reconciles its seeming anomalies and contradictions; which makes him strong in weakness, perfectable in imperfection; which alone gives an adequate object for his hopes and energies, and value and dignity to his pursuits. The belief in the soul's immortality is concurrent with that in an infinite external spirit, since it is chiefly through consciousness of the dignity of mind within us that we learn to appreciate its evidences in the universe. To fortify and as far as possible to impart this hope was the great aim of ancient wisdom whether expressed in forms of poetry or philosophy. Life rising out of death was the great "mystery"[2] which symbolism delighted to represent under a thousand ingenious forms. Nature was ransacked for attestations to the grand truth which seems to transcend all other gifts of imagination, or rather to be their essence and consummation. Such evidences were easily discovered; they were found in the olive and lotus, in the evergreen myrtle of the mystæ and of the grave of Polydorus, the deadly but self-renewing serpent, the phenomena of germination, of daily and yearly change, and the nectareous food resembling celestial ambrosia[3] at once soporific

[1] Origen against Cels. vii. 334, Spenc.
[2] 1 Cor. xv. 51.
[3] Exod. xvi. 31. Psal. lxxviii. 25.

and salutary, which threw into a trance the aged Cronus, but gave new vigour to Iamus and Zeus[4]. Sleep was beautifully called the "minor mystery of death;"[5] life's seeming suspension restores its powers, and hence the image of Sleep was placed in the temple of Æsculapius[6]. Through its aid was accomplished the prolific intermarriage of the binary divinity[7], and the Cthonian power was imagined to send forth new life by his nuptials within the dark recesses where Trophonius prepared the marriage chamber of Semele or Alcmena[8]. Night or Athar was mother of the universe, but her immediate children were Sleep and Death[9]. The stories of the birth of Apollo from Latona, of gods married in prisons or caverns, or of dead heroes, like Glaucus, resuscitated in graves[10], are allegories of the necessary alternation of life and death in Nature, changes easily seen to be but expedients to preserve her virginity and purity[11] invisible in the general sum of her operations, whose aggregate presents only a majestic calm rebuking alike man's presumption and despair[12]. The typical death of the Nature-god was a profound but consolatory mystery; the healing charms of Orpheus[13] were connected with his destruction, and his bones, those valued pledges of fertility and victory[14],

[4] Pind. Ol. vi. 79. Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 678.

[5] Plut. Consol. ad Apollon. ii. 107.

[6] Paus. ii. 10. 2.

[7] Iliad, xiv. 231 sq.

[8] Paus. ix. 11. 1.

[9] Theog. 211. Paus. v. 18. 2. Iliad, xvi. 672.

[10] Glaucus, a child of Minos, while pursuing a mouse, fell into a vat of honey and was killed. The seer Polyidus, who explained the riddle of the three-coloured heifer by comparing it to the berry which is successively white, red and black, succeeded in recovering the child to life by means of a plant detected by a serpent. There was, however, a proverb ascribing the resurrection of Glaucus to the very food which killed him. Γλαυκος πινων μιλι ανεστη.

[11] Eratosth. Catast. 21.

[12] Job xiv. 14. Soph. Œd. Colon. 393.

[13] Eurip. Alcest. 367. 988.

[14] For instance, those of Osiris (Plutarch, Isis and Osiris), Œdipus (Soph. Colon. 1534. 1765), Orestes (Herod. i. 67. Paus. iii. 3), Pelops (Paus. v. 13), Orpheus (Paus. ix. 30), Hyacinthus (Paus. iii. 19), Tisamenus (Paus. vii. 1), Theseus (Paus. i. 17, fin. Plut. Vit. ad fin.) The expression, "ἑρμαμ' Ἀθηνων," at v. 58 of the Œdipus Coloneus, is an apparent prolepsis of v. 1524. 1764. Lobeck, Aglaoph. 281.

were by a beautiful contrivance often buried within the sacred precincts of his immortal equivalent. The conviction of the soul's permanent existence so plainly impressed on mythology seemed to be partially interrupted in popular Greek poetry. The poets appear to have shrunk from any representation of conscious existence[15] independent of the body, and the disembodied ψυχη or εἴδωλον, which alone descended to Hades, was but a dream or shadow of the former man. Yet even in the epic, Achilles and Diomed, Menelaus and Rhadamanthus, were supposed to have obtained exemption from the common lot by being transferred to Elysium, and Hercules seemed to have effected by valour even more than Sisyphus had done by wisdom[16] or Orpheus by harmony. The heroes living in Elysium or the happy islands were not dead; though lost to sense they were immortal as the stars, whose transference to another hemisphere seemed to image forth their destiny[17]. The poetical exemption of the heroes from death became in the mysteries, which were but solemn commemorations in the spirit of ancient religion, the type of an apotheosis to which not only the distinguished hero, but every meritorious individual might aspire. The Greeks seem to have been scarcely conscious of the real source from which they derived their earliest notions of the soul's indestructibility. These notions must be assumed to have formed part of the Greeks themselves[18], or of the feelings and traditions transmitted to them from their Gothic or Thracian ancestors[19] dwelling in what were called the Hyperborean gardens of Phœbus or of Midas[20], where Dionysus and Apollo, Orpheus and Linus, were one, and where the hypothetical migration of the soul suggested the adventures of Xamolxis and Aristeas. Pythagoras, the reputed son or impersonation of Apollo, was

[15] Tiresias alone possesses φρενες in Hades. Spanheim to Callimachus, Lavacr. Palladis, v. 129.

[16] Pherecyd. Frag. 41, Sturz.

[17] Aristoph. Pax. v. 799.

[18] Plato, Cratyl. 400. Phædo, pp. 62. 68. Theret. 176. Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 518, Pott. Bœch's Philolaüs, 180, 181.

[19] Herod. iv. 93, 94; v. 4.

[20] Soph. in Strabo, vii. 295. Herod. viii.

said to have been initiated in the Orphic mysteries at Libethra in Thrace; a story implying that the old theological ideas connected with the name of Orpheus or Dionysus Hades[21], were adopted and developed by the Pythagoreans, as they were also among the Cretan disciples of Epimenides[22], thence spreading with fresh force through new channels of theology, poetry, and philosophy[23]. It was probably through this coalition and perpetuation to which Herodotus alludes[24], that Æschylus[25] learned to speak of Orpheus as a worshipper of Apollo-Helios[26], and Pindar, that most religious of poets[27], may have borrowed from the same direct sources much of the imagery in which, with a very different view from the Homeric, he invests his retributory Elysium of the just[28]. But when the Greeks became for the first time acquainted with Egypt, they seemed in their admiration to recognise a claim far higher than that of Pythagoras and Orpheus to the origination of doctrines, which after all were probably but a more precise statement of ideas long before

[21] Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 35. Clem. Alex. Protr. ii. 30, Pott. He was called in the Alcmæonis "Supreme of Gods." Etym. Magn. Zagreus.

[22] Hœck, Kreta, iii. p. 298.

[23] Eurip. in Schol. Hippolyt. 191. Alcest. 744. Sext. Emp. Pyrr. H. iii. 24, p. 157.

[24] Herod. ii. 81. 123. [25] Cic. Tusc. ii. 10.

[26] Eratosth. Catast. 24.

[27] "Θεῖοι τῶν ποιητῶν." Plato, Meno, 81 b. Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 598. Euseb. Pr. Ev. xii. xiii. p. 675. It should, however, be observed that Pindar's idea is not exactly the Pythagorean, and we are therefore obliged to imagine some second source. Hoeck, Kreta, iii. 209. 211.

[28] Without having recourse to the suspected fragment (3) in the Threni, it is clear from other passages, and from Plato, that Pindar's lower world is not a mere phantasmagoria of shadows, but a scene in which moral distinctions are strictly enforced. The body, it is true, is "subject to all-powerful death;" "yet a living image of existence survives, that alone being from the gods." (Thren. 2.) "It is the same infelt being which when the body is asleep distinguishes in dreams the pleasant from the painful." (Ib.) "He who possesses the true light, foreknows his destiny; that the intractable spirit after death is forthwith adjudged and punished, while a happy life of eternal sunshine in meadows damasked with roses and enriched with golden fruit awaits the good." (Ol. ii. 101 sq.; and Frag. Thren. 1. Plut. Consol. ad Apollon. p. 120.)

extant independently among themselves in the form of symbolical suggestion[29]. Still later they were led to conclude that even Egypt and Ethiopia had in these matters learned from India[30], where, as everywhere else, the origin of the doctrine was as remote and untraceable as the origin of man himself. Its natural expression may be found in the language of Crishna in the Bagvad-Geeta[31], "I myself never was non-existent, nor thou, nor these princes of the earth; nor shall we ever hereafter cease to be. As the soul in this mortal frame findeth infancy, youth, and age; so in some future frame will it find the like. At this the wise is not dismayed." "The soul is not a thing of which a man may say, it hath been, or is about to be, or is to be hereafter; for it is a thing without birth; it is pre-existent, changeless, eternal, and is not to be destroyed with this mortal frame." "As a man throwing away old garments putteth on new, even so the soul quitting a worn-out frame enters into another. The weapon divideth it not, the fire burneth it not, the water melteth it not," &c.

§ 11.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE AMONG THE HEBREWS.

Among the Hebrews the idea of spiritual immortality was retarded, as above stated, by the theocratic theory. They could not, like many ancients, consider early death a mark of divine favour; since the choicest theocratic blessings were "continuance in the land" and "length of days." The soul, though not extinct, had been consigned to a neutral condition in which there was neither grief nor joy nor retributive distinction; and

[29] Pind. Thren. 4.

[30] Philostrat. Vit. Ap. iii. 6, and vi. 8. Euseb. Chron. p. 25. Creuz. S. i. 298. Diog. Laert. Proem. v. 8.

[31] Lect. ii. 12 sq.

the exceptions to the general lot authorized by tradition, such as Enoch and Elijah, were cases far beyond the hopes of common men. Good men indeed, after this precedent (if the phrase be not rather the precedent for the story), were said not to die, but to be taken away[1], to depart, to go hence and be no more seen, to cease to be among the living[2], to sleep, &c.[3], as the Goths "departed" to Zamolxis, or the Egyptians to their great benefactor Osiris[4]. Such phraseology no doubt prepared the way for the adoption of higher conceptions so soon as man should become deliberately conscious of his own dignity; and it may be that even concurrently with the common and gross view superior minds may have already fallen back on natural analogies, and imagined the life of the departed to be reunited in a more elevated sense with its source[5]. There are indeed several passages in the poetical books from which it is difficult to exclude some such elementary anticipation of a higher existence. For instance, in a psalm (probably of late date)[6], the writer having placed his absolute trust in Jehovah, henceforth bids defiance to pain and death; for "thou wilt not," he says, "abandon my soul to hell (Scheol), nor suffer thy pious servant[7] to see the pit." The same thought is perhaps still more pointedly expressed in the 49th Psalm[8]; yet it should be noticed that these passages scarcely amount to the expression of a hope, much less announce a dogma, and their aspiration, "pondering" as it were the spirit's flight on the verge of an

[1] 2 Kings ii. 9, 10. Isa. liii. 8; lvii. 1. Wisd. xiv. 15.

[2] Gen. v. 24. Joseph. Ant. i. 3, 4; iii. 5. 7; iv. 8. 48. Livy, i. 16. Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 23. Menag. ii. 43. Lysias, Orat. Reiske, p. 66.

[3] "Κοιμασται, θνησκειν μη λεγε τους αγαθους." Callimachus in Brunck's Analecta, i. 472.

[4] Whose death was not to be named. Herod. ii. 61. 132. 170. Wesseling to Diod. S. i. 20. Eurip. Bacchæ. 1339.

[5] Gen. ii. 7. Psal. cxlvi. 4. Eccles. iii. 21; xii. 7.

[6] Psal. xvi. 10, quoted above in its more obvious sense.

[7] Thy "holy one" is here the "Israelite indeed," one of the sacred community of worshippers of Jehovah opposed to the heathen. Comp. v. 3, 4.

[8] Ver. 15.

abyss, is the more noble and interesting from its very uncertainty[9]. "The beauty and sublimity of these Psalms," says Ewald[10], "consists in this, that we here for the first time see the soul raising for itself a bulwark of elevated hope in spite of prepossession and authority, wresting as it were the prize of victory in a struggle with contradiction and doubt, until it wins for itself a faith which most fresh and blooming when most immature, is as yet equally free from pedantic mannerism and superstitious extravagance. In the 14th chapter of Job, whose last verse betrays continuing belief in the obscure pains of Scheol, the poet exclaims, "O that thou wouldst hide me in the grave, that thou wouldst keep me concealed until thy wrath were past! that thou wouldst appoint me a set time, and then remember me! If a man die, shall he live again? For such a hope[11] all the days of my servitude would I manfully bear until my release were come. Thou shouldst call and I (from the grave) would answer thee; thou wouldst remember the work of thy hands; for even now thou countest my footsteps and watchest over my sin." These expressions, though not amounting to the doctrine of a resurrection, seem to contain the simple and rational materials of a hope which might afterwards become one.

The theory, in its earliest systematic form, was that most nearly allied to ancient prepossessions. The golden age of the Hebrews was the worldly notion of a renewal of the earthly theocracy or political re-establishment of their nation. It seems to have been the continued disappointment of the Messianic hopes which first gave a turn to their mode of thought, by teaching them to look for some expedient through which theory might be reconciled with the unpleasant fact that many pious inheritors of the promise who ought to have witnessed its

[9] For, as St. Paul says, "We are saved by hope; that which is seen, and it may be added, that which we think we see, is not hope." (Rom. viii. 24.) The life and beauty of hope depend on the *consciousness* of uncertainty.

[10] Ewald, p. 203.

[11] So, according to Hitzig.

fulfilment had been prematurely cut off. The old theory could under these circumstances be fully vindicated only by presuming a bodily resurrection, admitting, in spite of former dicta, the possibility of escape out of Scheol. This form was taken by Hebrew faith during the captivity; and it is not impossible, notwithstanding the objections raised[12], that the contact of Zoroastrian opinions may have subsequently favoured its development, though it did not originate it[13]. The accounts of persons supposed to have been recalled to life by the prophets[14] must have been recorded about this time, and could

[12] Comp. Müller, in Ullman and Umbreit, Theolog. Stud. and Krit. vol. 8. Theopompi Chii Fragm. Wichers. p. 160.

[13] Theopompus is said to have stated in his history of Philip of Macedon the Magian belief in a resurrection. ("Ἀναβιώσεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους." Diog. Laert. Prœm. 9. "Τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐδαιμονας ἔσεσθαι, μητε τροφῆς δεομένους μητε σκιαν ποιουντας." Plut. Isis and Osiris, ch. 47. Annæus Gazæus Dial. de Anim. Immortalitate, identifies ἀναβίωσις and ἀνασταςις.) "Promissa à Democrito vanitas, qui non revixit ipse." (Plin. N. H. vii. 56, p. 411.) The Boundehesch (p. 111, Kleuker) describes the children of the resurrection as reversing the usual dietetic order, successively living on meat, milk, and bread, until at last they would require water only. "Sosiosch," it is said, "will revive the dead, as it is written, Zoroaster asked Ormuzd, and said, 'The wind bears forth the dust of the body, water washes it away; how then shall the body come again? how shall the dead arise?' Ormuzd answered, 'I am he who holds the star-spangled heaven in ethereal space; who makes this sphere which once was buried in darkness a flood of light. Through me the earth became a world firm and lasting—the earth on which walks the lord of the world. I am he who makes the light of sun, moon, and stars pierce the clouds. I make the corn-seed, which perishing in the ground sprouts anew, multiplying endlessly, &c. &c. I created man whose eye is light, whose life is the breath of his nostrils; I placed within him life's inextinguishable power. Let the wicked One arise, and try to effect a resurrection; vain would be his effort; no corpse can he revive; but surely shall thy eyes some day see all things live anew. Skeletons shall be clothed with veins and sinews. And when the resurrection is finished it shall never a second time take place; for then shall the glorified earth bring forth bones, and water, and blood, hair, fire, and life, as at the beginning.'" Even in the Yashna (52 Ha. p. 142, Kleuker) the same doctrine appears to be taught; but Burnouf has shown that words often translated "resurrection" by Anquetil do not amount to such meaning. Journal Asiatique, 3rd ser. vol. 10, July and September, 1840.

[14] 1 Kings xvii. 17 sq. 2 Kings iv. 8; xiii. 21.

scarcely have been tolerated had there not been an impression as to the possibility of bodily revival. Such an idea may have been assisted by the familiar phenomena of dreaming and suspended animation[15]. The Egyptian might on such grounds have been led to think the work of death incomplete as long as putrefaction could be prevented[16], so that if by embalmment the body could be made to retain the general form of its organization, the soul too would maintain its individual or "determinate" relation to it[17], and preserving in Amenthe something of its earthly shape and character[18], might at the appointed period of 3000 years return to its former habitation[19]. The priests whose influence over the living greatly depended on their supposed power over the spirits of the dead, might have tolerated the customary rites of burial though their own notions may have soared above them[20]. For while the speculative pantheist assumes an ocean of spirituality out of which life and consciousness are unceasingly evolved and to which they return, the sensuous are unable to appreciate any state of existence beyond the limits of a contracted individuality, as their God also is a "person" who must be personally communicated with. The God of the Hebrews was that divine pastor

[15] Comp. Plin. N. H. vii. 53. (52.) Herod. iv. 15. Pind. ub. sup.

[16] The same idea may be found in the Talmud (Jerusalem Gemara in Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 74), according to which the soul of the departed flits for three days round the corpse in hope of re-entering it; at length, when the signs of decay become evident, it hurries away. The common notion of haunted graves and churchyards evidently arises from the same source. (Comp. Enoch ix. 12.)

[17] Servius to Æn. iii. 68. Tertullian de Anim. 23, p. 288. Baehr's Herod. ii. 123.

[18] The shades of the dead were supposed to have the appearance of the living. Nitzsch to Odyss. xi. 189. Virg. Æn. ii. 272; vi. 651.

[19] Creuz. S. ii. 16. Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 310. Wyttenbach to Plutarch de S. V. Comp. Göthe's Wilhelm Meister, Trans. ii. 1. It is not clear why the embalmment of animals should be thought adverse to this view (Wilkinson's Egypt, 2nd ser., vol. ii. p. 444), since the Egyptian, like the untutored Indian, might have hoped to be accompanied in the resurrection by his favourite cat or dog.

[20] Porphyr. Abstin. iv. 10. Plut. Isis and Osiris, 29. Cic. de Leg. i. 9, Creuzer.

who "walked" with Adam and with Enoch, and who though seated above the firmament[21], was also the ever-present Ruler and Vindicator in the midst of Israel[22]. The remnant who should renew his dominion and share his eventual triumph must therefore be a living and embodied one, with employments and gratifications to correspond. The prophets in this sense announce the hope of reanimation to their disappointed and buried countrymen, or to the exiled Israelites in general, to whom Babylon was as a grave, and whose restoration might aptly be called a resurrection. Ezekiel was commissioned to prophesy a resurrection of the dead as part of a general plan of restoration after the captivity; and this, not merely by way of frigid allusion to a received dogma, but to give consolation in despair[23] by the announcement of a hitherto unprecedented exertion of the beneficent power of Jehovah[24]. To the mournful inquiry "wilt thou again revive us?" the divine voice responds in the affirmative, "I will swallow up death in victory."[25] The visionary plain[26] appeared to the prophet's eye full of dry bones[27]; and upon the word which he was directed to announce there was a noise as it were of thunder, bone was reunited to bone, and having been covered again with flesh and sinews was lastly animated with breath. "These bones," says Jehovah, "are the whole house of Israel[28]; they have said, Our bones are dried up, our hope is lost; therefore, son of man, prophesy and say to them, Behold, O my people, I will even open your graves and cause you to come forth, and bring you again to your own country." The vision is but an energetic form of expressing in reference to the particular circumstances of the Israelites the general hope uttered in Job and Psalms. At a somewhat later time when Babylon had been destroyed[29], yet the restored Jews were still far from enjoying the populousness and splendour they anticipated, another prophet employs

[21] Isa. xl. 22.
[22] Ezek. xxxiii. 10.
[23] Hos. xiii. 14. Isa. xxv. 8.
[24] Ezek. xxxvii.
[25] Isa. xxiv. 10.
[26] Joel ii. 27; iii. 16.
[27] See Deut. xxxii. 29. 1 Sam. ii. 6.
[28] Ezek. iii. 12. 22.
[29] Ezek. xxxvii. 11.

nearly the same imagery. "The dead," he says[30], "live no more, shadows rise not again, therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them (the wicked), and made all their memory to perish. Yet thou, O Jehovah, art he who multipliest the nation, and thou art glorified; thou widenest all its borders. . . . . Lord, in trouble they[31] sought thee; in their affliction was thy 'severity' whispered; as a travailing woman crieth in her pangs, so sat we agonized in thy sight, Jehovah! We were in labour and in pain; we have brought forth but wind; the land is still undelivered, nor are its people brought forth to inhabit it." Then with a beautiful transition from despondency to hope he exclaims, "O that thy dead might live again, that my buried countrymen could rise! Awake and sing, ye dwellers in the dust; for the dew of Jehovah is as the quickening dew which reinvigorates the grass, and the earth again sends forth its shadows to new existence."[32] How tame, compared with these passages, appears the sentiment when matured and fixed in the form of dogma as announced in the 12th chapter of Daniel, where the faithful Jews, especially their zealous chiefs and martyrs[33], are distinguished by the great boon of eternal life above those who apostatized in time of persecution! The inference to which Socrates was led through confidence in the immutability and eternity of truth[34] was with the Hebrew only the completed expression of an exaggerated political hope. The selfish form of the doctrine harmonized with its source. As the Messianic restoration belonged exclusively to the pious, or to "Jehovah's remnant," so the Messianic resurrection was confined to "Jehovah's dead,"[35] the limitation exercising throughout a marked influence on Christian as well as Jewish theory[36]. The completion of the Messianic was at

[30] Isa. xxvi. 14. [31] The captive Israelites.

[32] On the "Dew of Jehovah," see Psal. lxxii. 6. Job xiv. 9. Gesen. to Isa. xxvi. 19. Comp. Psal. i. 3.

[33] Lengerke to Dan. xi. 33 a e.

[34] Phædo, p. 77. [35] 2 Mac. vii. 9. 14.

[36] 1 Thess. iv. 16. Luke xiv. 14. Rev. xx. 4, 5. Schöttgen, Hor. Heb. ii. 366. Havernick to Ezek. xxxvii. p. 586.

the same time the completion of the Providential theory. In the resurrection all moral inequalities would be fully compensated; and it was added that present chastening was a token of God's favour, an earnest of the future remuneration of his favourites, while it was observed that God hastens to reward the occasional good deeds of the enemies of the Jews, in order for their more effectual destruction hereafter[37].

The resurrection doctrine seems to have made but slow progress; for with the exception of two doubtful passages[38], which may be no more than instances of vague expression, the Palestinian Apocrypha, including Baruch Ecclesiasticus and Tobit, contemplate only the state of Scheol. At the Christian æra, however, it appears a general doctrine of Judaism assuming several forms. To the Pharisees who maintained the bodily or Messianic resurrection, the Sadducees appeared to deny immortality altogether[39]; for they who presuming the life to be in the blood, could conceive no continuing existence except by bodily revival, would of course so construe a mere retention of the ancient Scheol doctrine, or the equally unsubstantial theory maintained by emanationists and pantheists of the school of Ecclesiastes. Equally opposed to the Pharisaic doctrine was that which mainly under the influence of Greek philosophy prevailed among the Jews of Alexandria, according to which the body, so far from being essential to existence, was the spirit's prison, escape from it being life's true commencement[40]. This is the idea of Philo, of the Alexandrian authors of 4th Maccabees and of the Book of Wisdom, and also of the

[37] "Quemadmodum in seculo futuro piis rependitur præmium boni operis etiam levissimi quod perpetrarunt, ita in seculo hoc rependitur impiis præmium cujuscunque levissimi boni operis." Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 170, 171. Traces of the same feeling occur in the New Testament. Comp. Luke vi. 21. 24; xvi. 25.

[38] Tobit iii. 6. Ecclûs. xlviii. 11.

[39] "Διαμονην ψυχης και τας καθ' ἁδου τιμωριας, αναιρουσι." Joseph. Ant. xviii. 1. 4. War, ii. 8. 14. Comp. Matt. xxii. 23. Mark xii. 18. Luke xx. 27. Acts xxiii. 8. Justin. M. Tryph. ch. 80.

[40] "Διεσδυσαν αρχαν." Pind. Frag. Inc. 96. Plato, Phædo, 67 sq.

Essenes, who believed a spiritual immortality and retribution, but not a resurrection. For though in Alexandrian theosophy Platonic idealism makes an incongruous medley with Jewish exclusiveness and sensuousness[41], spiritualism on the whole predominates. According to Philo, the souls of the good pass to their heavenly home immediately on death[42]; others travel through various transmigrations, while, as in Plato, the eternal punishment of the wicked is left half fact half allegory[43]. "Man," says the author of Wisdom, "was created for immortality; death came into the world through the devil. But righteousness is immortal[44]; the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, who at a future day of retribution[45] will crown them with beauty and everlasting life, while their adversaries (*i. e.* the wicked) will lie in Egyptian darkness[46], or be utterly annihilated."[47] According to the prevailing Pharisaic doctrine the soul at death descends to Scheol or Hades, where it awaits resurrection. During this interval there is no real life; yet even Scheol distinguishes between good and bad[48]; there is an infernal Paradise as well as a Gehenna[49]; the resurrection is of the just only, the wicked remain bound in Gehenna. The Essenes blended Alexandrian philosophy with the common Jewish imagery; but in their joyous elevation and translation of the good to the happy islands[50] the Greek Elysium seems substituted for the Hebrew Paradise. The New Testament writers follow for the most part the Pharisaic type. The only hope of

[41] Wisd. iii. 8, for instance, seems to mix the notion of a Messianic restoration on earth with a heavenly immortality.

[42] Gfrörer's Philo, i. 403.

[43] "Ὁ προς αληθειαν ἁδης ὁ του μοχθηρου βιος εστι." Gfrörer, ib. p. 405. Comp. Zeller, Phil. Gr. ii. 264 sq.

[44] Wisd. ii. 23, 24; i. 15.

[45] Comp. iii. 18.

[46] Wisd. xvii. 21.

[47] Wisd. iv. 19.

[48] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 1. 3. Ὑπο θονος χδικαιωσεις και τιμας αἱς αρετης η κακιας πιστηδευσις εν τῳ βιῳ γεγονε· και ταις μεν ειργμον αιδιον προστιθεσθαι, ταις δε ῥαστωνην ου αναβιουν. Comp. B. I. ii. 8. 14.

[49] Eisenmenger, ii. 297. 314. Justin. M. Tryph. ch. 5.

[50] As represented by Josephus, B. I. ii. 8. 11.

the dead is resurrection ("ἀναστασις ἐκ νεκρων"); the state of the departed being described in analogy with the appearance of the corpse, as a "sleep." When Christ from the position that "God is not the god of the dead, but of the living,"[51] infers not merely man's immortality but his resurrection, it is implied that without a resurrection God would *not* be God of the living; and St. Paul, when complaining of the burden of the flesh[52], does not wish to be unclothed, *i. e.* in Scheol, but to be reclothed, *i. e.* with a new body[53]. It cannot be expected that a multiform doctrine should be uniformly represented by many writers; and we find in the New Testament traces of heterogeneous elements under a corresponding ambiguity of expression. The words used by Jesus, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit," certainly do not of themselves contradict an intermediate Scheol theory; even the immediate Paradise promised to the crucified malefactor may be understood of the subtelluric Paradise above alluded to[54]; while the colloquy of tortured Dives with Abraham is expressly said to be "in Hades."[55] Still the Messianic reign and that of Scheol naturally tended to encroach on each other. It was a position of the Alexandrians, fortified by ancient authority, that those who die for God live to God; that those who die for the law are immediately received to the bosom of the patriarchs[56]; and though the dogma of an intermediate state is held by Tertullian and others[57] so essential that those denying it are not to be considered Christians or even Jews, the Alexandrian doctrine supported by the legendary cases of translation seems to have exercised considerable influence[58] at a time when the interval preceding resurrection was accounted very short[59], and when almost all Christians might

[51] Matt. xxii. 32.
[52] 2 Cor. v. 4.
[53] Comp. 1 Cor. xv. 51.
[54] Wetstein and De Wette to Luke xxiii. 43.
[55] Luke xvi. 23.
[56] 4 Mac. ch. 17, end. See Gfrörer, vol. ii. p. 192. Comp. Deut. xxxiii. 3.
[57] Tertull. de An. 55. Justin. Tryph. chs. 5 and 80. Irenæ. v. 31. 2.
[58] Especially over the fourth Gospel.
[59] Rev. xx. 4; xxii. 20.

claim the privileges of martyrs[60]. The two views, that of bodily revival and of divine spiritual communion, coalesced also in the intermediate notion of a "spiritual body." Philo speaks of the soul as a "divine effluence of bright essence" (*απαυγασμα θειον*), and as it may be said that God is light (*φως νοητον*), so the soul may be called a "particle of divine fire," made like the celestial bodies of that æther or elemental quintessence spoken of by Indian and other sages[61]. When pseudo-Solomon[62] talks of the "just running to and fro like sparks among the stubble," the ancient idea of a punishmemt of the heathen by the Jews[63] mingles with that of the luminous or fiery nature of liberated spirits[64]; Josephus too alludes to the pure bodies of the resurrection (*ἁγνοις παλιν αντενοικιζονται σωμασιν*), blending Pharisaism with Essenism. The body is the soul's garment, and clean or white garments were necessary to enter the kingdom of God[65]. The high priest Joshua, whose garments were changed before the Lord[66], was pronounced, according to the progressive elevation of the mediatorial ideal[67], a personage fit to stand among the angels[68]. The same notion of glorification which seems to have existed in Egypt[69], and which Theopompus ascribes to Zoroaster[70] (since it is scarcely possible to conceive a continued personal existence except by revival of the old body or investiture in a new one), prevailed also among

[60] Acts vii. 59. Philip. i. 23. Heb. xii. 23. Rev. vi. 9; vii. 9. 15; xiv. 1. Tertullian (de Res. ch. 43) lays it down, "Nemo peregrinatus à corpore statim immoratur penes Dominum nisi ex Martyrii prærogativâ." Comp. Dan. xii. 3.

[61] Gfrörer's Philo, i. 377. Strabo, p. 713. Aristot. de Cœlo, 2. Iamblich. Myst. i. 17.

[62] Wisd. iii. 7. [63] Zech. xii. 6. Obadiah 18. Mal. iv. 1.

[64] Comp. ch. ii. 2, and Gfrörer, ii. p. 257.

[65] Matt. xxii. 11. Rev. iii. 4; vi. 11; vii. 13; xix. 8.

[66] Zech. iii. 7.

[67] Hag. i. 13. Mal. ii. 7. Zech. xii. 8. 2 Sam. xiv. 17; xix. 27. Joseph. B. I. i. 2. 8.

[68] Comp. Wisd. v. 5. [69] Porphyr. Abstin. iv. 10. Supr. p. 290, n. 20.

[70] Plutarch, ub. sup. Boundehesch, p. 61. Compare Burnouf on the Yashna, p. 129. It seems to have been part of the idea of a Ferver or Yazata to be clothed or capable of being clothed in a suitable body.

Christians. In opposition to the grossness of the Pharisees[71], Jesus taught that the spirits of the good revived in purified bodies would live for ever like the angels with God in heaven, partaking his felicity and glory[72]; while the wicked would find in Scheol not a mere neutral resting-place, but the positive eternal punishments of Gehenna[73]. It was however impossible to blend all the phases of theory into a perfectly harmonious system. There remained inevitable inconsistencies, a spiritual futurity mixed with earthly imagery, a single and a double resurrection, a Messianic restoration of the just only, replaced or followed by a day of general reckoning for all men.

[71] Matt. xxii. 30.

[72] Matt. xix. 28. Rom. viii. 17. 19. 1 Cor. vi. 2; xv. 44. 2 Tim. ii. 12. Wisd. iii. 8.

[73] The figures of "worm and fire" were ancient precedents (Isa. lxvi. 24. Ecclûs. vii. 18. Judith xvi. 17. Mark ix. 44) adopted from the rites of sepulture, and others which will appear hereafter.

NOTION

OF A

SUPERNATURAL MESSIAH.

DIFFERENT MODIFICATIONS

OF THE

MESSIANIC THEORY IN THE DAYS OF JESUS.

"Cùm in hoc libro dubias opiniones posuero, reprehendi non debeo. Qui enim putabit judicari oportere et posse, cum audierit, faciet ipse. Hominis enim hæc est opinari, Dei scire."—VARRO, IN AUGUSTIN DE CIVIT. DEI, VII. 17.

NOTION

OF A

SUPERNATURAL MESSIAH.

§ 1.

ORIGIN OF THE IDEA OF A SUPERNATURAL MESSIAH.

MANY Asiatic nations are known to have entertained conceptions not unlike the Messianic theory of the Hebrews. There is, however, no proof of plagiarism on either side; that other nations borrowed it from the Hebrews or the Hebrews from other nations. All the Messianic types must be considered as strictly Judaical. The frequent repetition of certain visionary wishes in a certain direction or form eventually gave to that form the fixity of dogmatical theory. The theory was only the theocratic government and theocratic retribution prospectively idealized. It had been sometimes imagined that Jehovah would himself lead back his people to their homes as he before led them out of Egypt[1]. The writer of the concluding portion of Isaiah describes the new Jerusalem as governed by no mortal king, but a pure theocracy under the personal care of Jehovah, with the prophets alone for his functionaries and attendants. But since in practice the intervention of a specific mediator had been found indispensable, it was more usual to connect the future prospect with some exalted hero or

[1] Above, pp. 217. 229.

distinguished mortal, who as Jehovah's representative and servant should bear the earthly office most nearly resembling his own, and revive the kingly authority of David. The coming deliverer was therefore styled "Ruler," "King," or "Prince" of Israel[2], or figuratively its "shepherd;" sometimes a "shoot from the stem of Jesse," or David himself revived in his successor[3]. But though the mediation contemplated by the older prophets never really exceeded the limits of human agency, they often used expressions which literally construed might seem to describe a supernatural visitant. The future king was to share the attributes of the supreme monarch; he was to be as it were the "Salvation of Jehovah" personified[4]; and though the "El Gibor" of Isaiah[5], even if correctly rendered "mighty God," may in reality only imply representative dignity and prowess, as in the parallel passage in Micah, "He shall stand and feed in the strength of the Lord, and in the majesty of the name of his God;"[6] and is therefore no more conclusive of supernatural character than those other passages[7] where kings in general are after Eastern usage addressed as gods, yet such phraseology must have had a tendency to mislead when the spirit of the prophetical afflatus had ceased, and its effusions began to be studied in a superstitious spirit. The whole sentiment and language of the Hebrews contributed to this result. The "presence" of the divine monarch was the high privilege inseparable from theocracy. Moses, like the other heroes and emanations of mythology, had been permitted to be an associate of the Power[8], the light of whose presence was to the Israelite as the yearly visitation of Perseus or Osiris to the

[2] Mic. ii. 13; v. 1. Jer. xxiii. 5; xxx. 21.

[3] Hos. iii. 5. Jer. xxx. 9. Ezek. xxxiv. 23; xxxvii. 24.

[4] Jer. xxiii. 6.

[5] Isa. ix. 6. Rather "puissant hero." Gesen. voc. אֵל.

[6] Isa. v. 4. He is still therefore Jehovah's "servant" (Zech. iii. 8), and stands in fear of him. Isa. xi. 2, 3.

[7] Psal. lxxxii. 1. 6. John x.

[8] Exod. xxxiii. 18. 20. Herod. ii. 42. Plut. Isis, ch. lx. Joseph. Apion. i. 26.

Egyptian[9]. And when in later times the abode of the Almighty became more elevated and remote, his people were still distinguished by the manifestation of his "glory," which, together with his recorded oracles, they considered their inalienable and most valued possession[10]. As all good must unquestionably proceed from a divine source, particularly wisdom, the greatest of all goods[11], unusual talent of any kind was said to be inspired; and hence Besaleel, the artist of the tabernacle, possessed "the spirit of God to devise cunning works in gold, silver, and brass." However startling it may be to a modern ear to hear the artist of the needle or servant of the table described as inspired, the pious Hebrews hesitated not to consider the makers of Aaron's priestly robes, like the early Christian deacons, as having "divine wisdom;" for those hereditary robes had a deep symbolical meaning[12], and wisdom, in its widest sense, may be said to include every branch of human skill[13]. Such feelings and phrases were general in antiquity, inalienable from that Paradisiacal state which Judaism may be regarded as a continuing struggle to recover. The soul's awakening was a painful process from which it shrunk appalled, striving, if possible, to hide its self-consciousness among the fancies of its early dream. Like the despondent prophet in the desert[14], it required the strongest tonics of spiritual food before it could face its desperate mission. It was perhaps fortunate that the veil was not suddenly torn away. Through a long intellectual twilight the Hebrew God, though not palpably present as to the first inhabitants of Eden, was still like a stage mechanist but half concealed behind the azure of the sky or the drapery of the tabernacle. His condescending

[9] Herod. ii. 91; iii. 27. Jud. viii. 29.

[10] Gfrörer, Urchrist. i. 215. Psal. lxxxv. 9. Isa. iv. 5. Rom. iii. 2.

[11] Prov. ii. 6.

[12] Comp. Lev. xxi. 10. Wisd. xviii. 24. Ecclûs. xlv. 8; l. 11. They were the garment of the Universe, hung by Zeus upon an oak in Pherecydes, and woven at the loom of Time by the Earth-spirit in Faust.

[13] Wisd. x. 10, 11, carries this idea to great lengths.

[14] 1 Kings xix. 6.

familiarity with his people was ever proportioned to their helplessness and ignorance. Angelic embassies succeeded to direct communications, and the balance of account was made good by visions, dreams, and omens[15]. Even when the Urim oracle had long become an object of antiquarian curiosity[16], when the "Schekinah" was dimmed, and the prophetical "Word" had died out with but faint hopes of revival in the colony of Nehemiah, its place but ill supplied by the superstitious echo of the wind or thunder reflected from flood or mountain[17], still to the Hebrews the age of miracle or of intellectual pupilage had not ceased, nor had the belief in a divine rule been explained or refuted by philosophy. Everything which in these later days was conceived possible in the way of salutary miraculous intervention was grouped around the office and person of the Messiah. If the Godlike quality was not to be innate in him, at least according to prophecy, it would be imparted to him immediately after birth. A superabundant outpouring of the spirit, that true source of all authority, had from the earliest prophetic æra been foretold as one of the chief characteristics of Messianic times. This gift comprehending all others, as "wisdom," especially "counsel," or kingly wisdom, the "might" necessary to enforce its decrees[18], and the "spirit of knowledge and fear of God" constituting the perfection of the religious character[19], was of course to be conferred in a supereminent degree on the Messiah himself; and as the general estimate of a golden futurity was heightened by climax, the desert becoming a garden, the moon shining with the lustre of the sun, the sun itself with sevenfold splendour[20], the same exaggeration was applied to Messiah's person as to the face of nature, the fertility of the soil, and the condition of the people[21]. "In that day the feeble among the inhabitants of Jerusalem

[15] Hitzig to Joel, p. 20, and to Job iv. 12; xxxiii. 15.
[16] Josephus, Ant. iii. 8, 9. Mangey's Philo, ii. 152.
[17] The Bath-Kol, or "daughter of the voice."
[18] Mic. iii. 8. Prov. viii. 15.
[19] Gesen. to Isa. xi. 2.
[20] Isa. xxx. 26.
[21] Comp. Exod. xix. 6. Isa. iv. 3.

would be as David, and the house of David as God, as the angel of Jehovah before them."[22] The presence of God and of his angel, that importa nt element of the Israelitish covenant[23], had in the flourishing times of the monarchy been conceptionally connected with the attributes of the chief magistrate, who by his admiring followers had often been compared to God's angel[24] or to God himself[25]. His heir also had been addressed as "son of God," as God's "first-born," higher than the kings of the earth[26]; and so partaking the divine majesty and power had been represented to hold the same relation to Jehovah as to his father upon the earthly divan of judgment—as "the man of his right hand, the son of man whom he made so strong for himself."[27] Such phrases, though in their origin only exaggerations of courtly address, might easily be used to countenance the idea of a supernatural personage when such a notion had been otherwise suggested. The real origin of the idea of a superhuman Messiah was despair of human aid combining with a more developed angelology. Heaven seemed to open in proportion as earth receded from hope, and two centuries of dependency to Persian rule seem to have been powerfully instrumental in filling up the blank of political disappointment by visionary suggestions. The chief characteristics of Magism were its moral dualism and its elaborate theory of the ranks and denominations of the spirit world. The Jews themselves professed to have borrowed in this respect from a source[28] in which, as in Hebrew theory, the Deity was as an Eastern monarch surrounded by his divan, presiding in a "congregation of the mighty," called "saints," "sons of God," and "messengers" or "Angels," and including under one name both heavenly councillors and heavenly constellations. These

[22] Zech. xii. 8.

[23] Exod. xxiii. 20; xxxiii. 14.

[24] 1 Sam. xxix. 9. 2 Sam. xiv. 17; xix. 27.

[25] Psal. xlv. 7; lxxxii. 1. 6. Gesen. Thesaurus, p. 86; and Comment. Isa. vol. ii. p. 365.

[26] Psal. lxxxix. 27.

[27] Psal. lxxx. 17. Comp. xvi. 8; cx. 1.

[28] Supr. vol. i. 128. 428, n. 61.

beings, who in the earlier Hebrew writings are scarcely separated from the elements or from Jehovah's person[29], gradually assumed a distinct personality as Messengers of the Supreme, at first like God himself in human form, afterwards in æthereal or luminous bodies with wings[30], and eyes and face like lightning[31], their humanity becoming constantly fainter. One of the most important among them was the "Captain of the Lord's host,"[32] the "Angel of the Covenant" or "presence" bearing God's own name[33], who acted as guide to the Israelites in the desert and drove out the Canaanites. It was natural that the Messianic champion should be confounded with this agent, that the "wonderful" hero of Isaiah should be compared with the "wonderful" being of Manoah's vision[34], and that the majestic array of titles pointing him out as nearly allied to the divine should receive the usual rendering of the Alexandrian translators[35]. The same precedent seems to be alluded to by the last of the O. T. prophets whose own name paraphrases his office[36], connecting with the presence of the divine herald or messenger of Jehovah a revival of the then almost extinct prophetic spirit which ought to have been continuous[37], and which was at all events to precede the Lord's personal coming[38]. In course of time the names and offices of intermediate Beings were more clearly laid down, and their

[29] Comp. Psal. lxxviii. 49; civ. 4; cxlviii. 8. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17. 2 Kings xix. 35. The angel in Gen. xxxi. 11, is afterwards called the "God of Bethel;" the angel of the burning bush assumes the name of Jehovah; so that it is difficult to say whether the angel, *e. g.*, in Psal. xxxv. 5, 6, is a poetic figure or an actual being; מַלְאָךְ (embassy) or one of the מַלְאָכִים (embassadors).

[30] Isa. vi. 2. Dan. ix. 21.

[31] Dan. x. 5.

[32] Josh. v. 14.

[33] Exod. xxiii. 20, 21; xxxiii. 2. 14.

[34] Judg. xiii. 18, 19. Comp. Exod. xv. 11. Psal. lxxvii. 11. 14. Gesen. Lex. p. 855.

[35] Isa. ix. 6. LXX. Comp. Job xx. 15. Psal. viii. 5; xcvii. (xcvi. LXX) 7; cxxxviii. (cxxxvii. LXX) 1.

[36] Malach or Malachi, called "Αγγελος Κυριου" by the LXX, ch. ii. 7; iii. 1. Comp. Hag. i. 13. Job xxxiii. 23. 4 Esd. i. 40.

[37] According to Deut. xviii. 15. 18.

[38] According to Isa. xl. 3.

general superintending care over the good already expressed under the poetical image of "encamping round them,"[39] or "upholding them in their arms,"[40] became, as in the Persian system, expanded into an angelic hierarchy exercising actual official superintendence over each several aspect of individual or social existence. Each soul had its tutelary spirit[41], every nation its angelic guardian[42]; and of the seven archangels distinguished above the rest as "great princes"[43] who, like the Persian Amschaspunds, were privileged to stand in God's presence[44], one called Michael was appointed guardian of pseudo-Daniel's countrymen[45], and in that capacity fought against their oppressors, the "Princes" of Persia and of Grecia[46]. It was natural that as the futurity of individuals had been extended beyond former limits, so the person of Messiah should undergo a corresponding change; and accordingly in Daniel's vision the representative of Jehovah's power appears as a superhuman Being in the clouds, though retaining, like the angels, and in accordance with typological nomenclature[47], the outward form of a "son of man."

§ 2.

TIME OF MESSIAH'S COMING.

During the severe persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, when the cause of Hebrew faith in its struggle with colossal heathenism seemed desperate, and when notwithstanding some bright examples of heroism the majority of the higher class

[39] Psal. xxxiv. 7. Comp. Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. 2 Kings vi. 17.

[40] Psal. lvi. 13; xci. 11, 12; cxvi. 8. [41] Matt. xviii. 10.

[42] Deut. xxxii. 8. Comp. the LXX and Eisenmenger's "Judaism Unveiled," vol. i. p. 806.

[43] Dan. x. 13; xii. 1. [44] Tobit xii. 15. Luke i. 19.

[45] Dan. xii. 1. Taking in this respect, as in others (Rev. xii. 7. Isa. li. 9), the office of Jehovah.

[46] Dan. x. 13. 20. [47] Psal. lxxx. 17.

was inclined to submit and to apostatise[1], an unknown writer adopted the ancient name of "Daniel" in order to revive the almost extinct hopes of his countrymen, and to exemplify the proper bearing of a faithful Hebrew in presence of a Gentile tyrant. At this time the ancient activity of the prophets as public[2] functionaries had ceased; the herald of divinity who used openly to frequent the street and the palace had retired to the solitude of his chamber[3]; the statesman and orator had become the contemplative visionary or poet whose productions were rather imaginative reveries than the practical and sagacious prognostications of the olden time. Written oracles of this more fanciful kind were often called forth by an excited state of public feeling, their authors gladly availing themselves of the name and influence of celebrated predecessors in order to give greater authority to their lessons and predictions. The object of pseudo-Daniel is to foreshow under a form adapted to make the deepest impression on his countrymen by a prophecy half allusive[4], half apocalyptic, the approaching destruction of heathenism through the advent of Messiah. Immediately after the overthrow of the four beasts, emblematic of four successive heathen empires, the last being the Macedonian with its offset Syria, the "kingdom" would devolve to the "saints of the Most High," that is, to the Messianic establishment of Jewish expectation, presided over by a Being appearing in "the clouds," and distinguished like the angels by his "human form" from the uncouth symbols of the Gentile monarchies. Every attribute and accessory of the ideal kingdom, such as the newly developed doctrines of a resurrection and last judgment which had before been exclusively connected with Jehovah himself, were now transferred to his supernatural represen-

[1] The temple services were superseded, and the high-priest Joshua adopted the Greek name of Jason.

[2] The son of Sirach seems not to have known Daniel as a prophet. (Ecclûs. 48 and 49.) The age of pseudo-Daniel is generally placed B.C. 160.

[3] Ezek. iii. 24.

[4] *i.e.* historical allusion converted into prediction, conformably to the age and character of its assumed author.

tative, the "Messiah," a title which, hitherto confined to human "anointed" authorities[5], such as kings, priests, or prophets, became henceforth specifically appropriated to the ideal personage who was to be the "Hope," the "Expectation," and the "Salvation" of Israel[6]. It was of course a most important and anxious problem at what time the great Deliverer would make his appearance. The period naturally chosen by the older prophets was the end of the "affliction" or captivity[7]; Serubbabel, therefore, under whom a restoration first took place, being of Davidical lineage[8], and zealous in the theocratic cause, was hailed by the cotemporary prophets Haggai and Zechariah as himself the expected chief[9]. However the capacities and deeds of Serubbabel fell far short of Jewish ambition. An interval of comparatively tranquil government might soothe the sting of disappointment, but fresh disasters soon called forth a fresh effervescence of religious patriotism. The writer assuming the name of Daniel takes his ground upon the seventy years announced as the term of the Babylonish captivity by Jeremiah[10]. This term having in a Messianic sense failed according to its literal meaning, the author adopts a special mode of reckoning it. He treats the seventy years as seventy sabbatical periods or weeks of years (490 years), a term which, as subdivided by the writer and reckoned from the date of the original oracle of Jeremiah, or from the "going forth" of the angelic word to the imaginary Daniel[11], may be thrown forward beyond the eventful æra of Antiochus Epiphanes under whom the real author appears to have lived, and whose

[5] Even in Daniel the title does not occur in the special sense as since used, but only in the general meaning of a legitimate prince. Comp. ix. 25. Psal. ii. 2. Dan. vii. 13. The Book of Enoch, ch. xlviii. 11; li. 4, speaks of the "Messiah" for the first time, but gives him also the titles of the "Son of Man" (xlvi. 1. 3; xlviii. 2; lxi. 10, &c.; lxii. 15; lxviii. 38, &c.; lxix. 1) and "the chosen." (xlv. 3.)

[6] Luke ii. 25. 30. Acts xxviii. 20.

[7] Ezek. xxxvii. 22.

[8] 1 Chron. iii. 17. Joseph. Ant. xi. 3. 10.

[9] Hag. ii. 20–23. Zech. iii. 8; iv. 6, 7; vi. 12, 13. Ezra iii. 8; vi. 15.

[10] Jer. xxv. 1. 12; xxix. 10. Dan. ix. 2.

[11] Dan. ix. 23, 24.

acts he evidently has in view[12]. He says[13], "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and holy city, until the finishing of the transgression at its climax[14], until the atonement for guilt and accomplishment of eternal justice; until (lastly) the vision and prophecy (Jeremiah's) shall be ratified by the event, and the most holy (*i. e.* the temple) anointed or reconsecrated. Know, therefore, and understand—From the going forth of the command to restore and build Jerusalem until the anointing of a prince[15] there are seven weeks; and for 62 weeks the city shall be rebuilt with streets and conduits, but in troublous times; after 62 weeks an "anointed" prince shall be cut off, and there shall be no one—*i. e.* no legitimate prince—for Seleucus Philopator, the immediate predecessor of Antiochus Epiphanes, was murdered by Heliodorus, leaving no one immediately at hand to assume the succession[16]. Lastly, after ten preceding "horns" or kings, that is, seven actual kings and three pretenders whom he "overcame,"[17] would come Antiochus himself, called the "reprobate,"[18] the "sinner," and "the wicked root,"[19] who during one week (completing the 70) would make an impious alliance with many[20] and wear out "the saints of the Most High,"[21] destroying "the mighty and holy people."[22] In the midst of the week he would suspend the daily sacrifice and set up the abomination of a heathen idol in the holy place. But his career now approached its close. The end of tribulation coincident with the tyrant's

[12] Josephus, Ant. x. 11. 7.

[13] Ch. ix. 24.

[14] Comp. viii. 12. 23.

[15] *i. e.* until Cyrus. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Isa. xlv. 1; or Serubbabel. Ezra iii. 2.

[16] Comp. xi. 20.

[17] Comp. vii. 8. 24; *i. e.* Heliodorus, Ptolemy Philometer, and the son of Seleucus, Demetrius Soter, then a hostage at Rome. These three were superseded by the craft of Antiochus, viii. 25; xi. 21.

[18] Ant. xi. 21.

[19] 1 Mac. i. 10; ii. 48.

[20] Dan. ix. 27; *i. e.* the apostate Jews. Comp. xi. 30. 32; xii. 10; 1 Mac. i. 11. 52; iii. 5; ix. 23; x. 14.

[21] Dan. vii. 25.

[22] Dan. viii. 24.

death is adjudged before the divine tribunal[23], and at the expiration of the specified period calculated at "a time and times and half a time," or three years and a half in round numbers[24], the "son of man" would appear in the clouds to commence an everlasting dominion of "the saints," among whom would be enrolled those and those only whose names should be found written in the book of life[25].

It need scarcely be said that these adventurous predictions, which at the time of utterance could not have had that aspect of obscurity under which they afterwards appeared to Josephus[26], turned out to be as fallacious as all that had preceded them. After a few intervals of precarious independence the victories of the Maccabees ended very much as they began, in vassalage. Hemmed in within the circle of Roman power, the Jews seemed as far as ever from the fulfilment of their hope; yet they bore up against despair, and began to calculate afresh the prophetic prognostications imagined to have express reference to the Messiah[27], although the exact time of their accomplishment remained a mystery acknowledged to be impenetrable, "known only to God."[28] Such calculations continued to be founded on the data supplied by Daniel, assisted by mystical combinations of the sacred numbers 7 and 10, one the cypher of creation, the other of the law. It seems to have been common for Jews and Christians to assign for the duration of the world a period analogous to that employed in its creation; and calculated on the principle of the 90th Psalm that one day is as a thousand years with God[29], the week of creation becomes a period of 7000 years for the fulfilment of all things. This reckoning, by means of which the Rabbis accounted for

[23] Dan. vii. 9 sq. [24] Or 1290 days. Comp. vii. 25; xii. 11.

[25] Dan. ii. 44; vii. 14. 27; xii. 1. Comp. Isa. iv. 3. Ezek. xiii. 9.

[26] War, vi. 5. 4.

[27] "Omnes prophetæ sine exceptione non nisi de diebus Messiæ prophetaverunt." Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 198. Comp. Acts iii. 24.

[28] Targum to Eccles. vii. 25. Comp. Matt. xxiv. 36. Mark xiii. 32. Bertholdt, Christologia, s. 10, pp. 35 and 44.

[29] Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 8.

the long continuance of the life of Adam after doom of death had been pronounced upon him[30], became the foundation of various mystical views of mundane eschatology. It is said in the 15th chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas, "God made in six days the works of his hands; he finished them on the seventh day, and rested the seventh day and sanctified it. Consider, my children, what that signifies: he finished them in six days. The meaning is this, that in six thousand years the Lord God will bring all things to an end, for with him one day is a thousand years, &c.; therefore in six days, that is, in six thousand years, shall all things be accomplished. And what is that he saith, 'and he rested the seventh day?' He meaneth this, that when his son shall come and abolish the season of the wicked one and judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun, moon, and stars, then he shall gloriously rest on that seventh day." Further on it is added, "When he saith to them, 'Your new moons and sabbaths I cannot bear them,' he means, the sabbaths ye now keep are not acceptable to me, but those which I have made—when resting from all things I shall begin the eighth day, that is, the beginning of the other world. For which cause we observe the eighth day with gladness in which Jesus rose from the dead, and having manifested himself to his disciples ascended into heaven." Similar language may be found in other Fathers[31]. There were however great discrepancies in applying the theory. There were no accurate chronological data to fix with certainty the time elapsed since the beginning of the world; and even supposing this point to have been ascertained, different writers had very different ideas as to whether the kingdom of Messiah was to commence in this world or in the next, the "*αἰων οὐτος*"

[30] Gen. ii. 17. "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt die." But, said the Rabbi, "Vos nescitis utrum diem ex meis, an diem è vestris. Ecce do ei diem unum ex meis, qui est mille annorum, ut ille vivat annos 930." Bereschith R. xix. 14.

[31] Irenæus in Hær. v. 28. Lactant. Instit. vii. 14, p. 693. August. Civ. D. xx. 7.

or the "αιων ὁ μελλων." The Talmud speaks of an ancient tradition according to which 6000 years of the world's duration were to be divided into 2000 before the law, 2000 under the law, and 2000 under Messias; so that the sabbatical millennium would belong to the future world. On the other hand Lactantius and other Christian Fathers make the reign of justice and of Messiah commence with the last earthly millennium, after which would follow the resurrection, judgment, and eternity. Variation in these respects was inevitable in consequence of the variety of views respecting the nature of the Messianic kingdom; for all admitted that the "last days"[32] far eclipse the present, that there would then be "no eating or drinking, no marrying, trafficking, or quarrelling,"[33] although wars and weapons, *e. g.*, the hereditary "war with Amalek" or Gog, were usually not only not excluded from the Messianic period, but to rage, at its commencement at least, with tenfold violence[34]. "The harp of the sanctuary had seven strings[35]; in the days of Messias it would have eight, in the future world ten."[36] Here the "days of Messiah" are distinguished both from "the present" and "the future;" others adjudged to the future world both Messiah's advent and that of his messenger Elijah, nay, even the great supper on the flesh of Leviathan[37]; and Rabbi Elias admits both the existing difference of opinion, and his own inability to decide a question of so much importance. Moreover, chronological facts were, from the absence of definite data, as difficult to settle as other differences of mere opinion. The author of the Book of Enoch, interesting from its proximity to the Christian æra, divides the cosmical period of 7000 years into ten weeks of 700 years each, considering

[32] The "αἰων ἐκεινος" (Luke xx. 35), or Olam Habba, as distinguished from the יְמוֹת הַמָּשִׁיחַ

[33] Pirke Afoth. iv. 16.

[34] Gfrörer, ib. ii. 213. "Εσται κοσμος ακοσμος απολλυμενων ανθρωπων." Lactant. vii. 16.

[35] Psal. xvi.

[36] Psal. xcii. 3.

[37] Gfrörer, ib. ii. 214.

himself, in his fictitious character, to be living at the close of the first of those weeks[38]. "Enoch," he says[39], "began to speak from a book, saying, I am born in 'the seventh' of the first week, while judgment and righteousness wait with patience;" that is, the first week is a golden age of the just. Seven weeks or periods succeed, including the age of the flood, of Abraham, of Moses, of Solomon, of the political division and captivity of the people, up to that of a perverse generation (the real age of the writer), when the just would begin to receive their reward; this is followed by an imaginary eighth week, which was to be a second golden age to the just and a day of retribution to oppressors. The real Enoch therefore conceived himself to be living at some time before the year of the world 4900, and this agrees with the chronology of Josephus, who reckons 5000 years from the creation to the commencement of the Roman war[40], reserving 2000 years for the Messianic period. These ideas agree with those of the later (4th) Book of Esdras[41] except in so far as the latter reserves only 400 years for the Messiah[42], thus carrying forward the author's age to a date inconsistent with any of the known chronological systems. Generally the Messianic advent, or "fulfilment of the times,"[43] appears to have been placed about A.M. 5000 or 5500[44], and this seems also to have been the notion of Josephus, who notwithstanding his pretence

[38] The real Enoch lived A.M. 622. Gen. v.

[39] Enoch xcii. 4. Comp. Laurence's Note, p. 208.

[40] Against Apion. i. 1.

[41] He says (xiv. 10 sq.; comp. Gfrörer, ii. 288), "The world is now in its old age. Its duration altogether is arranged in ten periods; we have now arrived at the tenth, and there remains half of a tenth to come."

[42] Esd. vii. 28, p. 234, vol. ii. Fabric. Cod. Ps. V. T., "After which period," it is said, "my son, the Messiah, shall die, and also all men having breath." This seems to allude to the 62 weeks of Daniel, after which an "anointed prince" was to be "cut off."

[43] Tobit xiv. 5. Ecclûs. l. 24. Gal. iv. 4. Eph. i. 10. 4 Esd. iv. 37. Matt. xxviii. 20. Mark i. 15.

[44] As in the Gospel of Nicodemus, xiv. 5; xxii. 11–20. Hypomnesticon Josephi, Fabr. Cod. Pseud. V. T. ch. cl. p. 339.

of making Vespasian the Messiah[45], evidently connects the Romans with Daniel's fourth monarchy[46], in spite of his studied silence betraying an anticipation of their defeat by the mystic "stone."[47] Thus either by a forced construction of Daniel, as by postponing the terminus *à quo* or commencement of reckoning[48], or by mixing his data with fanciful estimates of the duration of the world[49], a variety of speculations were made respecting the "completion of the appointed time," and the consequence was that during the century preceding the destruction of Jerusalem the advent of a Messiah was momentarily expected[50], causing a fanatical excitement in the public mind which repeatedly exploded in tumults and insurrections. As a last resource to reconcile prophecy with fact, it was said that the Messiah was already come, but was hid on account of the people's sins[51]. He was unconscious of his own mission, and would remain so until Elias should anoint and manifest him[52].

§ 3.

THE TEMPORAL MESSIAH.

The differences of opinion as to the time of Messiah's advent extended to his nature and the circumstances of his arrival. It was impossible that all the various types should

[45] War, vi. 5. 4. [46] Ant. x. 11. 7; comp. x. 10. 4.

[47] Probably adopted by Daniel from Gen. xlix. 24. Deut. xxxii. 4. Psal. cxviii. 22, &c.

[48] Or as in our Bibles by blending the 7 and 62 weeks together (Rosenmüller's Daniel, pp. 315, 316) into a total of 443 years which were to precede the first "anointing" of a chief.

[49] On the time of the application of Gen. xlix. 10, to the Messiah. Comp. Bohlen. Gen. ad loc., pp. 464. 466; and Hitzig to Ezekiel xxi. p. 153.

[50] Sueton. Vespas. ch. iv. Tacit. Hist. v. 13. Joseph. B. I. vi. 5.

[51] Schöttgen, T. ii. p. 489. Psal. xcv. 7. John vii. 27. 2 Thess. ii. 6.

[52] Justin. Martyr. Dial. Trypho. s. 9. 226[b]. 268[a]. Gfrörer, Urchristhenthum, ii. 224. John i. 26. 33; vii. 27.

fall into one consistent theory. Gfrörer distinguishes four Messianic types confounded in general tradition and usually more or less combined, yet each occasionally rising into distinct prominence according to the tendencies of the school or writer. It was the general belief of the Jews that Christ was to be "a man, the son of a man."[1] He was to be a powerful king or hero who would avenge them of their enemies, and cause them to exchange places with their Roman masters[2]. It was especially this notion which so often excited them to insurrection and cost them so many millions of lives; it was this too, a hope ever disappointed yet ever renewed, which without any miracle preserved their existence as a nation after the final destruction of their city and sanctuary, for ideas rule the world, and a notion may be the lever of an age and can alone give union and vitality to a community or race. It will appear strange that the Pharisees who believed a resurrection should have been foremost in cherishing the notion of a temporal Messiah, unless it be recollected that they were not a mere religious sect but a political party representing the hereditary defenders of Jewish nationalism; and that the conception of Messiahship most likely to recommend itself to zealous partizans did not necessarily exclude any prophetic types except those which were for the first time applied to suit the humble fortune and death of Jesus. The Pharisaic view contemplated no immediate change except a political revolution in favour of the Jews. The Messiah was to be a son of David; his birthplace to be Bethlehem, David's city[3]; his office would be to enfranchise his people[4], "setting the battle in array against his enemies and reddening the mountains with their blood."[5] He would then restore the dispersed Jews to

[1] Justin. M. Dial. Tryph. ch. xlix.

[2] Origen, Cels. ii. 29. Luke i. 71. 74.

[3] The remarkable oracle (Gen. xlix. 10) intimating the lasting supremacy of the tribe of Judah, was now applied to the Messiah, as in the Jerusalem Targum. Comp. Targ. Jonathan to Zech. x. 3, 4; and to Isa. xi. 1. Matt. ii. 4. John vii. 42.

[4] Luke i. 71. 74.

[5] Targum Jerus. Gen. xlix. 11.

their country[6], the "Prince of Peace" would succeed to the "mighty hero," and would realize all the golden anticipations of the prophets. The kings of the heathen would come with gifts from the uttermost earth[7], and all that Jacob once gave to Esau would now be made good to his descendants[8]. These splendours would be preceded by a period of calamity, by "Messiah's woes or pangs,"[9] those "signs" which so frequently occurring in the calamitous annals of the Jews seemed ever to bespeak his approach[10], among which are enumerated famine, shameless immorality, a failure of truth and wisdom, sons revolting against their fathers, daughters rising up against their mothers; a man's enemies would be those of his own household; the eyes of the remnant would become dim with weeping, and before the cessation of one woe another would take its place[11]. The appearance of Elias or Elijah to prepare and "restore all things" before the great day of Jehovah[12] would heal these intestine discords, so that the Lord on his arrival might not be obliged to pronounce against the Jews the ban or curse often uttered against the heathen[13]. Elijah would precede the Saviour's advent by three days. He would stand on the mountains of Israel according to Isaiah[14], and from the mention of "watchmen" in the plural it was supposed he would be accompanied by other celebrated characters, as Moses, Jeremiah, and Isaiah[15]. Those who were of opinion that the times were already accomplished and the Messiah born, but for the present concealed[16], believed that Elias would instal him in

[6] Baruch ii. 34. 2 Mac. ii. 18.

[7] According to Psal. lxviii. 32; lxxii. 10. Isa. lx. 6. Tobit xiii. 11.

[8] Bereschith Rabba to Gen. xxxiii. 10.

[9] "Ὠδῖνες."

[10] Matt. xxiv. 7. 33.

[11] Gfrörer, ii. 225.

[12] According to the Jews his office would include a decision on all the school disputes of the Rabbis.

[13] Mal. iv. 6. Comp. 1 Kings xx. 42. 1 Sam. xv. 2.

[14] Isa. lii. 7, 8.

[15] Matt. xvi. 14. 4 Esd. ii. 18; vii. 28.

[16] There is a story in the Talmud of a Jew who, informed by an Arabian of the birth of a Messiah (Hezekiah's son Menachem) in Bethlehem Judah, went to Bethle-

his office, before which ceremony he would have no peculiar power and be unrecognised either by himself or others[17]. His first appearance would be on the Galilæan mountains, doubtless for the reason given in the Sohar—"Messias revelabitur in portione Josephi primum et in terrâ Galilææ, quia Galilæi primum abierunt in exilium," this only paraphrasing an ancient oracle[18], predicting restoration of light and hope especially to the depopulated northern tribes. The Messianic succession of events is foreshown with unusual distinctness in the 37th, 38th, and 39th chapters of Ezekiel. First comes the Jewish resurrection; 2ndly, the reunion of the tribes; 3rdly, the war of the combined nation with the heathen host of Gog. In this terrific conflict, supposed to be alluded to in the 2nd Psalm, would be repeated the catastrophe of Sennacherib, the birds would feed for seven years on the bodies of the slain[19], and the result would be a universal Jewish empire, conferring even upon the lame and blind among the Israelites their share of booty. The kings of the earth would then be allowed[20] to make their peace with the Jewish sovereign by bringing presents, all of which would be graciously accepted except those of Rome alluded to under the name of "Edom," a notion not without influence in filling up the well-known legend of the Magi. The ultimate doom of the heathen is not clearly settled; the intolerant seem to have held that only the more friendly among them would be permitted to live as Jewish serfs; yet it was generally allowed that the Jewish religion would become universal; and the liberalism of Philo in regard to the privileges of conversion is expressed nearly as by St.

hem and found the child with his mother; but returning after a few days was informed that a whirlwind had carried the child away. Gfrörer, ib. ii. 223. Eisenmenger i. p. 259. Traces of this opinion occur in the New Testament. John vii. 27. 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7. Rev. xii. 5.

[17] Justin. M. Dial. Tryph. ch. viii. and xlix. pp. 226 and 268.

[18] Isa. ix. 2.

[19] Comp. Ezek. xxxix. 11. 17. Rev. xix. 17.

[20] According to Psal. lxviii. and lxxii. Isa. lx. 6.

Paul[21]. After the victory sorrow and infirmity would cease. The blind, deaf, and lame, would be so no longer. God would cleanse Israel from iniquity as a man cleanses a garment. His spirit would be plentifully poured out on all, especially on Messiah, and the Temple service would reach the acme of its glory. The Rabbinical descriptions of this consummation grotesquely exaggerate the sublimity of the prophets. Their sensuous notions passed into certain Christian theories, so that Origen complains of those slaves of the letter whose fancy revelled in a carnal resurrection and millennium, including eating, drinking, and marrying, so different from St. Paul's spiritualism[22]. Earth would spontaneously bring forth loaves and woollen garments[23]; the ears of corn would be of gigantic size; each cluster of grapes would equal thirty measures of wine, and be a load for a waggon or ship. On the "tops of the mountains,"[24] that is, on Sinai, Tabor, and Carmel piled on each other, would stand the new Jerusalem built as high as its length[25], three miles at least in cubical extent, or even reaching longitudinally (according to Zech. ix. 1) to the gates of Damascus. Its materials would be as superlative as its dimensions, consisting of crystal pearls and precious stones. Nor would there be any difficulty in finding population to fill so large a city. No one would be without posterity. A woman would bring forth daily; and if in opposition to these hopes an incredulous neophyte quoted the words of Ecclesiastes, "There is nothing new under the sun," the Rabbi undertook forthwith to prove his assertion by present earnest of the fact, saying, "Behold the bough bearing flowers, berries, and fruit together;" or, "Behold the hen who lays eggs daily!"[26] The

[21] Rom. xi. 17. Philo. de Execrat. Mang. ii. 433. Comp. Tobit xiv. 6, 7.

[22] De Principiis, ii. 11, p. 234, Ed. Redepenning. Similar hyperbolical descriptions of sensual enjoyment are ascribed by Papias in Irenæus to Christ himself. Comp. Matt. xxvi. 29.

[23] After Psal. lxxii. 16.

[24] Isa. ii. 2.

[25] From Zech. xiv. 10. Comp. Rev. xxi. 16.

[26] That there would be no lame, blind, or deaf, was proved from Exodus. "All the

figure of a banquet so beautifully applied to the kingdom of God in the New Testament reappears in its coarsest form in the Rabbinical descriptions; and the monstrous sea and land animals, Leviathan and Behemoth, which had been salted down from the beginning in preparation for the faithful, would be consumed by happy revellers in the banquet hall of Messiah[27].

§ 4.

DANIEL'S MESSIAH.

The Davidical Messiah and his kingdom were usually understood to be only temporary; the period was variously calculated, either at 40 or 400 years, according to the retributory rule stated in Psalm xc. 15[1], or, according to the mystical reckoning of "a day of Jehovah," 1000 years[2]. But the dominion of the saints under the supernatural leader called "son of man" in Daniel was to be "everlasting,"[3] and this notion concurrently prevalent and associated with the other complicated the Messianic theory of the Jews, as it afterwards became a basis of mystical Christology. The doctrine of the Messiah as a divine being does not appear to have been part of the general Jewish belief[4]; and the idea of a human deliverer who was to transmit, as Maimonides says, his sceptre to his posterity, contrasts strangely with the Being said to have been "born of the Most High before the morning star,"[5] he who

people *answered*;" "All the people *saw* the noise;" "Moses *led* the people to meet God." Isa. xxxv. 5. Matt. xi. 5.

[27] 4 Esd. vi. 52. Enoch lviii. 7. Gfrörer, ii. 34. 248. Bava Bathra. p. 75[2]. Job xli. 6.

[1] *i. e.* the periods of the wandering in the desert, or of Egyptian bondage. Psal. xcv. 10. Gen. xv. 13.

[2] Psal. xc. 4; Isa. lxiii. 4.

[3] John xii. 34.

[4] Origen against Cels. 1, ch. xlix.

[5] LXX version of Psal. lxxii. 5. 7; cx. 3. (lxxi. and cix.) Comp. LXX Isa. ix. 6. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 297, 298. These words probably allude to the Logos.

though living with God before the creation had hitherto been concealed, but would at length be manifested "to hunt the mighty ones from their lairs, to shatter the yoke of the strong, and to break in pieces the teeth of sinners."[6] Daniel had spoken of an "anointed" prince or Messiah[7], apparently distinct from the "son of man," who after 62 weeks would be "cut off;" and this prediction seems to have contributed to originate a notion now extant in the Talmud[8] of a double Messiah, the son of David, and another, the son of Joseph or Ephraim, who was to be killed in the war with Antichrist or Gog, and to whom applied the prediction of Zechariah about the "great mourning" and wounded prophet[9], interpreted in the fourth gospel of Jesus. The Fourth Book of Esdras[10] seems closely to follow Daniel when saying, "After a reign of 400 years shall my son, the Messiah, be cut off," 400 years being a round approximation to the 62 weeks, as also to the term of Egyptian servitude[11]; and possibly Jesus himself recognised in the same passage a prediction of his own fate[12]. Lactantius describes[13] a similar subordinate personage who would be killed by a wicked king and false prophet "out of Syria," and though the idea of a suffering Messiah was certainly not generally prevalent among the Jews of the first century, or for some time accepted even among Christians, it is still not impossible that the deeply-rooted notion of atonement may have been secretly attached to some forms of the theory by abstruse thinkers. The tendency of these notions would be to transfer the Davidical Messiah to times beyond the general resurrection and end of the world, or to subdivide the ideal future into a period of defeat and a closing scene of Messianic triumph. "When the time of the end draws nigh," says Lac-

[6] Enoch, ch. xlvi. and xlviii.; comp. lxi. 10.
[7] Dan. ix. 26.
[8] Gfrörer, ib. ii. 258 sq.
[9] Zech. xii. 10 sq. Ib. Hitzig.
[10] 4 Esd. vii. 29.
[11] Gen. xv. 13. Exod. xii. 40, 41. Gal. iii. 17.
[12] Matt. xvi. 21; xvii. 12. Luke xxiv. 46.
[13] Instit. vii. 17.

tantius, "a great prophet able to work miracles will be sent to convert men to the knowledge of God. Wherever they refuse to listen to him, he will shut up the heavens and withhold rain, convert water into blood, cause thirst and famine, and if any try to hurt him, fire will go forth from his mouth and consume them[14]. At length another king born of an evil spirit shall arise out of Syria, a destroyer of the human race, who shall fight against God's prophet, overcome and slay him, and leave him to lie unburied; but on the third day the victim shall revive, and to the astonishment of all beholders be carried up to heaven."[15] Through this translation an expedient was suggested by which the persecuted Messiah might become mystically identified either with Elias, or the supernatural Messianic Being supposed to be concealed or kept in charge with God[16] until the world's end, and then to be revealed in the manner of Daniel's vision. Precedent of course to this final scene would be the earthly war of Gog, the antitype of the reign of Antichrist, the latter being limited by Lactantius[17] to the "time, times and half a time" mentioned by Daniel[18]. The calamities of this period are described in 4th Esdras[19] nearly in the same terms as by the cotemporary writer of Matthew[20]. On earth there would be commotion among nations, princes would rush to mutual slaughter, and leaders be in consternation. The father would not withhold his hand from his own child; the horse would wade in blood to the breast; people would rise against people and nation against nation, and in these frightful disturbances Jerusalem would be almost destroyed[21]. "When

[14] Rev. xi. 5, 6. Lactantius possibly had Elias in view, but appears to have followed Jewish authority in his description of a single prophet.

[15] Comp. Rev. xi. 12; xii. 5.

[16] Bereschit. Rabba to Gen. ii. 9, in Gfrörer, ii. 298. 4 Esd. xiv. 7. Enoch xlviii. and lxi. Gospel of Nicodemus in Thilo. p. 756, ch. xxv.

[17] Lact. l. c.

[18] Comp. Rev. xi. 2, 3; xii. 12. 14; xx. 8. Forty-two months, 1260 days, or three years and a half.

[19] 4 Esd. ix. 1. [20] Matt. xxiv.

[21] Enoch xcviii. 1. Comp. Rev. xi. 1, 2; xiv. 20. Dan. ix. 26, combined with Zech. xiv. 2.

these signs come to pass, then know," says Esdras[22], "that the time has arrived when the Highest will visit the world he made." "The present world is made for many, the future only for few[23]; just as potter's clay is plentiful, but auriferous soil scarce." "Great is God's mercy! but for this not one-ten-thousandth part of mankind would rise again; no revival of the world or of its inhabitants would take place."[24] Worn out by intense suffering inflicted by the "wicked king," the just would cry to God for help; God would hear them and send a great king from heaven who would destroy the wicked with sword and flame[25]. The "Son of God" appears standing on Mount Sion; he is made to rise out of the sea yet to be borne upon the clouds, a confusion probably arising from mingling two distinct images in general opinion[26]. "There arose a wind from the sea," says Esdras[27], "which agitated all its waters. And I saw the wind rising in the form of a man who afterwards flew among the clouds. Wherever he turned his countenance all things trembled beneath his gaze; when he spoke all things fainted as wax melts before the fire. And after this I beheld, and lo! there was gathered together an innumerable multitude of men from the four winds to fight against the man who rose from the sea. And afterwards the man had cut out for himself a great mountain[28] and flew up upon it; and I wished to know the place where the mount was raised, but could not. All those who were gathered together to fight with the man were sore afraid, yet ventured the attack; and when they rose against him he lifted up no sword nor spear, nor even his hand; but a blast of fire issued from his mouth and consumed them,

[22] 4 Esd. ix. 1.
[23] 4 Esd. viii. 1.
[24] 4 Esd. viii. 1.
[25] Lactant. l. c.
[26] Dan. vii. 2, 3. 13.
[27] 4 Esd. xiii. 2 sq.
[28] Comp. Dan. ii. 34. 45. The imagery of the stone has been before alluded to. To this were applied the words of Zechariah (iv. 7) in combination with those of Isaiah (liii. 13) and Ezekiel (i. 18). Comp. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. pp. 261. 297.

so that there was left of all this multitude only cinders and smoke."[29]

§ 5.

THE MOSAIC TYPE.

The prediction of Malachi making Elijah the Forerunner was probably founded partly on the accredited moral efficacy of the prophetic office, partly on prior oracles[1], particularly the memorable announcement in Deuteronomy[2] of a series of successors to Moses. Elijah was a conspicuous example of a prophet of the older and grander type, including not only a political and moral censorship, but the hero or theocratic mediator who "anointed or withstood kings,"[3] and who having, like Moses, passed dry shod through the sea and conversed with God in Horeb[4], might, if not equalling the pre-eminence of the great legislator[5], be reasonably thought to have approached near to him. Jesus himself seems to have conceived that the career of John the Baptist had fulfilled the words of Malachi[6]; not indeed in the gross sense of personal identity repudiated by the Baptist himself[7], but spiritually, as intended by the prediction. Sometimes the office of forerunner is shared by other prophets with Elias[8]; for instance, the two witnesses of Revelations[9] having power to "close the heavens," answering per-

[29] Comp. Dan. viii. 25. Isa. xi. 4. Rev. xix. 13. 15. 21. That is, they were not destroyed by common physical means, but by the Word or Law. Comp. v. 28. 38. Rom. iv. 15; vii. 5. 7, 8; and below, p. 333.

[1] As Isa. xl. 3, 4; xlii. 16. Matt. iii. 3; xvii. 10. Luke i. 17; iii. 4. John 23.

[2] Deut. xviii. 15. 18.

[3] Ecclûs. xlviii. 6. 8. Wisd. x. 16. 1 Mac. ii. 58.

[4] Ecclûs. ib.

[5] Deut. xxxiv. 10.

[6] Matt. xi. 14.

[7] John i. 21.

[8] 4 Esd. vii. 28.

[9] Rev. xi. 3.

haps to the "Enoch and Elias" of the Gospel of Nicodemus[10], who, like Elias himself in other authorities[11], were to fight in the latter days against Antichrist; or again, Isaiah and Jeremiah[12], or still more frequently, Elias and Moses[13]. The names and persons multiplied out of one idea were easily confounded; the two heralds fell back into their original unity[14], and the collective idea of the prophet merged in the Messiah[15]. It was natural that the prediction of Moses respecting the personage who was to resemble himself should have a lasting influence over theory and be even construed as Messianic[16]. If so, it followed that the acts of Moses would be reproduced, or at least find a parallel, in those of Christ. It had long before been surmised that the Messianic deliverance would resemble the Mosaic even to the most minute details. In this parallel the prophets contemplated a repetition under Messiah of all the wonders of antiquity, of the plagues of Egypt, of the passage of the sea, and of the journey through the wilderness[17]. The Rabbins carried the resemblance farther. The latter deliverance, like the former, would occur in the month Nisan; Messiah like Moses[18] would return into Egypt, bearing the same miraculous rod, and riding the same ass, whose existence had been preternaturally prolonged from the days of Abraham. Under the force of these impressions there was little or no difficulty in applying to the Messiah passages not strictly applying to him, and plainly relating to the whole Israelitish people[19]. Moses was the great legendary type of a hero; it

[10] Nic. xxv. p. 756.

[11] Gfrörer, vol. ii. 228.

[12] 4 Esd. ii. 18. 2 Mac. xv. 14.

[13] Matt. xvii. 3. Luke ix. 30. Debarim Rabba in Gfrörer, ii. 230. Midraach Tanchuma, ib. God said to Moses, "In this world have I made thee prince over Israel, and in the other world, where the just receive their reward, thou shalt appear the first of them."

[14] 1 Mac. xiv. 41. John vii. 40.

[15] Acts iii. 21, 22.

[16] John i. 45; vi. 14. Acts vii. 37. Recognitiones Clementis in Coteler, i. 36. 43; and v. 10. Clem. Alex. Pæd. i. 7, p. 134, Pott.

[17] Comp. Mic. vii. 15. Isa. xxxii. 16.

[18] In Exod. iv. 20.

[19] Matt. ii. 15. Hos. xi. 1. Numb. xxiv. 8. "Nemo negat," says Schöttgen, "hæc verba propriè de populo Israelitico intelligi debere."

was therefore "necessary,"[20] according to Jewish ideas of the necessary reproduction of the past in the future[21], and of the typical character of the events in their early history[22], that the acts of Moses should be reiterated in the Messiah. Hence the accounts of the infancy of Moses as filled up by Rabbinical tradition[23] become curiously illustrative of the mythical circumstances of the early years of Jesus. Jesus could not indeed be born in Egypt, but he was made like his prototype to go thither against all historical probability, in order to fulfil the indispensable condition of being recalled[24]. The otherwise unaccountable and unnecessary severity imputed to Herod of putting to death all the children of Bethlehem under two years old is partly explained by discovering that according to Jewish authorities the ancient persecution of Pharaoh lasted two years. The narrative of the recall out of Egypt, *mutatis mutandis*, is like a verbal transcript from the Pentateuch[25]. Christ, like Moses, exercised dominion over the elements[26], and passed miraculously through the sea[27], a precedent which, repeated in the stories of Joshua and Elijah, became with many others a standing accessory or "sign"[28] which subsequent pretenders to the Messianic character considered themselves bound to repeat[29]. The triumphant hymn of Moses was reproduced in the "New Song" of the heirs of salvation[30]. Moses gave bread from heaven and water from the rock; Christ was himself the living water, the

[20] Comp. Luke xxii. 37; xxiv. 44. 46.

[21] Eccles. i. 9. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 321.

[22] 1 Cor. x. 6. "Ταυτα τυποι ἡμων ἐγενηθησαν." Zwingli to Matt. ii. 18, says, "Evangelista detorquet hæc verba ad Christum, omnia enim quæ in Vet. Test. etiam verè sunt gesta, in figurâ tamen contigerunt et figuræ fuerunt, in Christo omnia consummantur et verè implentur."

[23] Gfrörer, ib. ii. 356.

[24] According to Hos. xi. 1.

[25] Exod. iv. 19, compared with Matt. ii. 20.

[26] Euseb. Præp. Ev. 3.

[27] John vi. 19. 21.

[28] Comp. Isa. xliii. 2. 16; li. 10.

[29] Joseph. Ant. xx. 5. 1; comp. xx. 8. 6, with Zech. xiv. 4.

[30] Comp. Rev. v. 9; xiv. 3; xv. 3.

true bread from heaven[31]. It is related[32] that a great multitude, attracted by the miracles of Jesus, followed him into the wilderness and were there fed by him on five barley loaves and two small fishes; yet on the very next day in utter apparent unconsciousness of the miracle they required of him a conclusive sign as evidence of his mission, and the sign which they demanded was the miracle supposed to have been already enacted, a repetition of the Mosaic gift of the heavenly Manna. Under an impression that the true Christ would enact precisely the part of Moses, it was natural that the Apostles should derive confirmations of their faith not only from the words of their master, but from the curious similarity of his acts to those of the legislator[33]. Christ, like other great prophets, promulgated his revelations from a mountain[34]; he retired to the desert, and was concealed there as Moses on Sinai during forty days, with no nourishment but the word of God[35]. He went with three confidential friends[36] to a solitary mountain, and there under the influence of a bright cloud concealing or revealing the divine presence was "transfigured," according to the Rabbinical conception of the glorified appearance of the just[37], and the idea that a faithful study of the law literally "makes the face to shine."[38] Those needing no supernatural stimulant for their faith will easily conceive that in this, as in other instances, the resemblance was a consequence rather than a cause of the disciples' reliance on the infallibility of

[31] John iv. 14; vi. 48. Joel iii. 23. 1 Cor. x. 4. Rev. xxii. 1.

[32] John vi. 31.

[33] Firmitatem fidei nostræ non solum ex verbis ejus sed ex operibus adsumimus, quià et dicta legis quæ antè multas generationes de præsentiâ ejus exposuerant in ipso consignabantur, et imagines gestorum Mosis et ante ipsum patriarchæ Jacob ipsius per omnia typum ferebant. (Recognitiones, v. 10. 1. 549, Cot.)

[34] Matt. v. 1. 2 Kings i. 9.

[35] Exod. iii. 1. 12; xxxiv. 28. Deut. viii. 3; ix. 9. 18. Gfrörer, ii. 385.

[36] Exod. xxiv. 1. 9, 10, &c.

[37] Targum Jonathan in Gfrörer, ii. 290.

[38] Eccles. viii. 1. Dan. xii. 3. Matt. xiii. 43. Acts vi. 15. For as "in the future time the face of the just was to be as the sun and moon," (Jalkut Simeoni, in Wettstein to Matt. xvii. 2. Acts vi. 15) *à fortiori* that of their chief, the Messiah.

Scripture, a retrospective reflection of their own prepossessions; and since our assurance of truth is in every case but an inference of the mind drawn with more or less certainty from its own impressions, it must be admitted that the inference is often made where the data are wholly imaginary, the mere impression being mistaken for fact. Many obscure legends hence obtain their most probable explanation, and perhaps some light may be thrown from the same source on the obscure genealogy of 42 ancestors from Abraham to Joseph in Matthew. It is plain that besides the fact of the existence of the number 14 in the first of the three periods into which the genealogy is divided, the maker of it must have had in view some mystical "necessity," for such alone could have induced him to count the last 14 incorrectly, to suppress several historical members in the second division, or have reconciled him to the great improbability that three periods of very unequal duration should each have furnished exactly fourteen generations. Origen alone[39] gives a possible solution of the mystery. He says that by diligent inquiry a reason may be found in the fact that the journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Palestine, one of which places was considered by the Essenes and Therapeutæ to represent the flesh or the evil principle, the other the heavenly country of the soul, consisted of 42 stages or encampments; and as the conclusion of this sabbatical period[40] coincided with the entry into the "Lord's rest," so the coming of the Saviour is determined by a sabbatical week at the close of 6×7 generations. Again, since Jewish tradition claimed for great men generally, for Moses, as well as for Enoch and Elijah, the privilege of bodily translation[41], two of the Evangelists ascribe to Jesus a visibly supernatural ascent. But the character in which Jesus really and most evidently resembled

[39] Hom. in Numb. iii. Opp. ii. p. 375 b.

[40] Comp. the 42 Books of Hermes. Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. 633. Creuz. ii. 7. Isis and Osiris, ch. 42.

[41] Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 23; vi. 15. Joseph. Ant. iv. 8. Philo de Vit. Mosis, 3 Mang. ii. 179.

Moses was that of an original legislator and founder of a religion. The Rabbins had long before inferred from Jeremiah[42] that Messiah would introduce a new covenant which would supersede the old. They admitted, notwithstanding their superstitious measurements of words and syllables, that their actual law was idle and vain in comparison with that to be introduced by Messiah, when ceremonial would be abolished, the unclean become clean, and regenerated if not fresh institutions accompany a new spirit in observing them. There was a saying that before the people sinned in the affair of the calf, all of them were holy and equal in dignity to priests. Six hundred thousand angels of the presence instantaneously crowned the Israelitish congregation with heavenly garlands when they unanimously cried—"All that the Lord hath said will we observe and do."[43] But when they sinfully worshipped the calf, twelve hundred thousand devils tore off the crowns, according to the text—"The Israelites put off their ornaments by the mount Horeb."[44] The Messiah would restore the former state of priestly dignity and innocence; the crowns would be replaced according to the prediction of Isaiah[45] as Rabbinically construed, and all would be taught of God.

§ 6.

THE FIERY TONGUES OF THE DAY OF PENTECOST.

The second chapter of Acts contains a curious illustration of the manner in which a strong and sharply-defined preconception may be converted into an imaginary fact. It was and still

[42] Jer. xxxi. 31, 32. Comp. the paraphrase of Isa. xii. 3, in Jonathan Ben Uzziel, "Ye shall receive with joy a new doctrine from the Elected of the Just." Gfrörer, ii. 342 sq. and 291.

[43] Exod. xxiv. 7.

[44] Exod. xxxiii. 6.

[45] Isa. xxxv. 10.

continues to be believed by the Jews that the promulgation of the law on Sinai took place on the day of Pentecost, the same day assigned by the Christian church to the miraculous fulfilment of the promise[1] of an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. It was also believed that at the final judgment of all nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat prophesied by Joel[2], the law of adjudication to be adopted would be that of the Pentateuch[3], and it therefore became necessary to show that foreign nations had had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with this law, since, as Paul justly says[4], without knowledge of the law there could be no sin or responsibility. Hence it was presumed that when God gave the law, the manifestation was general; "the law was offered to all nations, but Israel alone accepted it."[5] In order to explain this, it was said by Rabbi Eliezer that the voice on Sinai was so loud as to be heard to the world's end, and that terror seized all its inhabitants. Now there were in all 70 nations[6], each with a separate language. "How," it might be asked, "could all of them understand the law delivered in one language only?" The answer was as follows. The voice became *divided* into 70 sounds or languages corresponding with the 70 nations, so that each nation heard the announcement in its own tongue. The whole of the ten commandments, according to Jewish belief, were simultaneously pronounced. Why then, it was asked, is it said[7], "All the people heard the voices," in the plural? It is because the first uttered voice became seven voices, and each of the seven was subdivided into ten tongues corresponding with the number of nations. The Scripture declares[8], "The Lord gave the word

[1] By Joel, Isaiah, &c.

[2] Joel iii. 12.

[3] Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 288. 391.

[4] Rom. ii. 12; vii. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 56. Comp. John ix. 41.

[5] The book Siphri to Deut. xxxiii. 2. Gfrörer, ib. p. 392. Comp. Rom. x. 18.

[6] Deut. xxxii. 8. Wettstein to Acts ii. 8. The angel Gabriel taught the patriarch Joseph the 70 tongues.

[7] Exod. xx. 18. Midrasch Tanchumah. 26 *.

[8] Psal. lxviii. 11, according to Midrasch Tillin.

—great was the company of those that published it."[9] "When the word went out from Sinai, it was parted into seven voices, and from seven voices into seventy tongues. Just as from a glowing piece of metal when struck on the anvil with a hammer many sparks issue from one blow, so from the one voice of God proceeded a great multitude of voices." Again[10], R. Jochanan says, What mean the words of the 68th Psalm (as above)? Answer—Each word proceeding from the mouth of the Highest is divided into 70 tongues. R. Ismael quotes the words of Jeremiah, "Is not my word as a hammer that breaketh in pieces the rocks?"[11] Therefore, as the hammer beats the metallic mass into many parts, so the word proceeding from the Lord's mouth was divided into 70 tongues. Great weight was attached by the Jews to the expression "Saw the voices;"[12] it was inferred that the voices were not only audible, but literally visible; the *tongues* into which they were divided must have presented an appearance to the eye as well as a sound to the ear, an appearance whose character was of course to be determined by the train of associated ideas. Great too was the mysterious import of the privilege accorded to the ancient Israelites of standing around Mount Sinai enveloped in the supernatural cloud in which God was. It amounted to a baptism of the Holy Ghost, a baptism of that fiery cloud[13] which not only led them in the way through the desert, but instructed them in the path of right and cleansed them from aboriginal sin[14]. By the one revelation on Sinai the gift of the Spirit was extended through all time as well as space, and the power of prophecy was conferred through the whole extent of the old covenant. A forced explanation of

[9] Dixit R. Jochanan exibat vox et dividebatur in voces LXX, in linguas LXX, et omnes gentes audierunt vocem linguâ gentis, &c. Schemoth Rabba in Wettstein to Acts, p. 463.

[10] Schabbath Bab. p. 88 b.

[11] Jer. xxiii. 29.

[12] See Philo, Mangey. ii. 188.

[13] Comp. Exod. xl. 34. Numb. ix. 15. 2 Chron. vii. 1. Psal. lxvi. 12; cv. 39. Isa. xliii. 2. Neh. ix. 19, 20. 1 Cor. x. 2.

[14] See Gfrörer, ib. i. 230.

certain Scripture texts was employed to prove that the gift of prophecy had been then granted to the pre-existent spirits of those who at a later day were to effectuate the mission, but who were not present or living as men at the date of its communication[15]. That communication, both in earlier and later times[16], as well as the most usual manifestations of God in the Old Testament, had been under the symbolic form of wind or fire. The "Spirit of the Lord" was the air or moving wind which brooded over the formless void, which agitated the tops of the mulberry trees, and which with a "mighty rushing noise" gave life to the dry bones of Ezekiel[17]. The Lord was also a "consuming fire;" he appeared so in the burning bush, in the Schekinah, in Elijah's sacrifice, and in the visionary furnace of Abraham. "The light of Israel," it was said, "shall be for a fire, and his holy one for a flame;"[18] "The Lord, whose fire is in Zion," &c.[19] The appearance accompanying the giving of the law was as "devouring fire"[20] in the eyes of the Israelites[21]; and being coupled with the audible sound of the divine voice, the two ideas, the ear symbol and the eye symbol, easily became united. Philo of Alexandria explains how "a sound forming and fashioning itself in the air, changed into blazing fire, and like a trumpet's voice reached to the extremities of the earth."[22] He goes on to say that "From the midst of the stream of heaven-sent fire sounded forth a most penetrating voice, the fire becoming articulated in the dialect usual with the hearers."[23] This elaborate description seems to show that Philo was already busy with the legend of the fiery tongues, or at least with the mysticism on which it was grounded. The elements of a verbal mythus are clearly evi-

[15] Comp. Isa. xlviii. 16. Deut. xxix. 14, 15. Gfrörer, Urchrist. i. 231. Wettstein to Acts ii. 4.

[16] Comp. Isa. vi. 6, 7.

[17] Ezek. iii. 12, and xxxvii. 7. 9.

[18] Isa. xxxi. 9.

[19] Comp. Psal. xcvii. 3. Ezek. i. 27; viii. 2. Amos v. 6.

[20] Exod. xix. 18; xxiv. 17.

[21] Deut. xxxiii. 2.

[22] De Decalogo, Mangey, ii. 185.

[23] Ibid. 188.

dent in Deuteronomy[24], where the law is symbolically styled "a fiery law." In proportion as oral instruction came more into vogue, the Lord's "voice" or "word" would tend to replace the physical symbol[25], yet both continued to be united in common language. Hence the expressions, "The voice of the Lord divideth the flames of fire;"[26] "A flame goeth out of his mouth;"[27] "The word of the Lord is a burning fire;"[28] "The word of Elias the prophet burned like a lamp."[29]

It naturally followed that when according to Joel's prophecy[30] the Spirit was to be poured out on all flesh, the form of its appearance "in the latter days" as in the days of old should be that of fire. Fire and water were the established symbols of purification and initiation[31], as well in Pagan mysteries as in the probationary trial of the Messianic future of the Hebrews[32], and it followed that initiation into the Christian mysteries, or the baptismal ordeal of the Spirit, should like the corresponding forms of the Mosaic dispensation be accompanied by both[33]. For as the ancient Hebrews received baptismal influence from the fiery cloud which spoke to them on Sinai, accompanied them through the wilderness, and finally settled in their country[34] as the "Schekinah," so out of a bright cloud[35] proceeded the divine voice inaugurating and

[24] Deut. xxxiii. 2.

[25] 1 Sam. iii. 21. 1 Kings xix. 12.

[26] Psal. xxix. 7. [27] Job xli. 21.

[28] Jer. v. 14; xx. 9; xxiii. 29.

[29] Ecclûs. xlviii. 1. Psal. cxix. 105. According to the Rabbins a superior knowledge of the law was signified by the manifestation of a supernatural fire around the students like that which appeared at the promulgation at Sinai. De Wette to Acts ii. p. 18. The face of the great Rabbi Eliezer shone so brightly that day and night were undistinguishable in his presence. Wettstein to Matt. xvii. 2.

[30] Joel ii. 28. Comp. Isa. xliv. 3.

[31] See Wettstein to Matt. iii. 11. Luke iii. 16. 2 Kings xvi. 3. Isa. iv. 4; vi. 6. Dan. iii. 27.

[32] Zech. xiii. 9. Mal. iii. 2, 3. Dan. xii. 10. 2 Mac. i. 33. Gesenius' Isaiah, 262. 775. Porphyr. Abst. iv. 10.

[33] Comp. Psal. lxvi. 10. 12; and 1 Cor. x. 1.

[34] Psal. lxxxv. 9. [35] Matt. xvii. 5.

confirming the mission of Christ. It was equally necessary, from the above-mentioned data, that the spiritual or baptismal fire should assume the similitude of "tongues." "There appeared to them," says the account in the Acts, "tongues as it were of fire *distributed* among them;" parting and distribution being the terms habitually used to express the pantheistic diffusion, the diversified gifts of the one Spirit[36]. God so "parted" and "distributed" the divine spirit of Moses among the seventy elders[37], and hence the phrase "apportionments of the Holy Spirit" in the Epistle to the Hebrews[38], where the benefits of the new covenant are antithetically compared with the "angel" gifts of the old[39]. Henceforth the power of speaking an unknown tongue was accounted one of the signs indicating possession of the divine Spirit[40]; but St. Paul justly holds the "gift of tongues," as exemplified in the pretensions of cotemporary enthusiasts, to be of very questionable value[41]; he describes the exhibition as childish, mystical, and rather resembling the ravings of insanity than an exercise calculated to impress the scoffer or edify the devout. The legend in Acts naturally adopts the opposite view of the matter; admitting, however, incidentally the justice of the observation of St. Paul[42] as to the practical tendency of such demonstrations to excite the derision of the profane. Those who partook the gift of inspiration were naturally more credulous[43]; and the apostles are represented as actually speaking under the influence of the fiery tongues so as to be understood by a miscellaneous concourse of "devout" Jews, assembled, as the writer says, from "every nation under heaven."[44] The number of languages presumed to be different is with apparent difficulty made up to 16, many of those enumerated being in reality either identical repetitions or only

[36] 1 Cor. xii. 4.
[37] Numb. xi. 25.
[38] Heb. ii. 4.
[39] Comp. Acts vii. 53.
[40] Mark xvi. 17. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts i. 8; x. 46.
[41] 1 Cor. xiv. 9-23.
[42] Acts ii. 13.
[43] Acts x. 44. 46; xix. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 28. 30.
[44] Acts v. 5.

slightly differing from each other[45]. On the whole it is impossible not to see that the account of the miracle of Pentecost is a legend founded like other legends on a deep notional impression derived from technical data. The first law was a fiery meteor, consequently the second covenant must be so likewise; the first was divided into tongues in order to become intelligible; tongues were therefore the symbol and the evidence of the new gifts of the Spirit. The divine manifestations had taken the symbolism of fire and wind, and hence the effusion of the Spirit was accompanied by the sound of a mighty rushing wind, and the appearance of tongues of fire. With these traditional notions as to the forms of spiritual manifestations were mingled cotemporary impressions as to the inspiration of enthusiasts who were seen to give vent to the vivacity of their feelings in inarticulate tones and wild gesticulations. The implied opinion of St. Paul as to the real character of these demonstrations is unanswerable. He evidently considered the gift of tongues as contrasted not with speaking vernacularly but with speaking intelligibly[46]. Though in accordance with usage allowing it to be called a "gift," he clearly perceives it to be inferior in practical value to prophecy, and to be akin to some of the most exceptionable aberrations of the seers of old. In spite of habitual prepossession he was disposed to consider "the tongues" as an unmeaning jargon which however in an imperfect knowledge of the languages of the world and of the possible combinations of significant sounds, it would be difficult to deny to have in some unknown land a real meaning[47]. Paul himself professed to speak with tongues; but with him it was a private spiritual exercise[48], not the indecorous public exhibition which was the scandal of the

[45] Thus "dwellers in Judea" are mentioned as well as "Jews," also "Proselytes," and "Galilæans." The Aramaic was common to the dwellers in Mesopotamia and Judæa, the Greek was the usual language of the cities of Lesser Asia, of Egypt, Cyrene, and Crete.

[46] 1 Cor. xiv. 14.

[47] 1 Cor. xiv. 7. 10.

[48] 1 Cor. xiv. 18.

Corinthian church. Yet even Paul, notwithstanding his more abundant possession of the gift, was unable to speak Lycaonian[49], and the greatest of the apostles appears to have employed an interpreter[50], as not wishing to astound so much as to edify and to be understood. In the case of "the tongues," no interpretation except by the voluntary liberality of the utterer was possible[51], and this for the plain reason[52] that in themselves they were wholly unintelligible, or, what amounts to the same thing, a language of the feelings intelligible only to God.

§ 7.

THE MYSTIC OR PREADAMITE MESSIAH.

One element of the Messianic idea as conceived by the prophets was the restoration of Paradisiacal innocence and happiness, or of the golden age. This phase of theory, which became one of the most fertile sources of Jewish mysticism, exercised an important influence over Christian theology, especially that of St. Paul. The great revolution, supposed to have been predicted from the beginning[1], was called the regeneration or restoration of all things[2]. It was said in reference to the six letters of the word Toldot (so spelled only in Ruth iv. 18), that in the days of Messiah, "son of Pherez," the six lost Paradisiacal privileges would be restored; the glory or halo of the countenance, the primæval length of life, the original stature, the abundant fruits of the earth, the fruits of trees every day renewed, and the brilliancy of the lights of heaven. At the fall the heavenly bodies were obscured in sympathy with the moral disaster; when Adam fell, earth fell also, becoming

[49] Acts xiv. 11. 14.
[50] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. iii. 39.
[51] 1 Cor. xiv. 5. 15. 27.
[52] Ib. verses 2. 9.

[1] Acts iii. 21. Comp. Gen. iii. 15, and the concluding chapters of Isaiah.

[2] "Παλιγγενεσια," or "αποκαταστασις παντων." Matt. xix. 28.

accursed on his account, and its produce stinted or withdrawn[3]. But the eclipse would cease, the obstruction would be removed, and in a renewal of heaven and earth consequent on a regeneration of its inhabitants, would be gratified the protracted and intense longing of irrational nature for the "manifestation of the sons of God."[4] There would be a complete moral and physical revolution. God would "do a new thing,"[5] he would purify the world by fire, flood, pestilence, and war[6]. Hence the importance which the Essenes, who sent no offerings to the temple[7], attached to their baptismal purifications; hence too the baptismal ceremonies of the Christians; which in the aim of effecting the spiritual regeneration of man were imagined to have been instituted by the Holy Spirit at the creation[8]. Sin being abolished, the reign of death and of Satan would be at an end. The latter would either be cast into hell or killed[9], the wicked serpent "from the sea" would be destroyed, and the holy serpent reign in his place[10]. Messiah would then reopen the gate of Paradise, stop the brandishing of the threatening sword of flame, and give to the holy to eat of the tree of life[11]. God had promised the Israelites that he would "walk in the midst of them."[12] This would occur in the new Eden. "For to what," said the Jews[13], "can we compare this represen-

[3] Gfrörer, Urchrist. vol. ii. 130. 413 sq.

[4] Rom. viii. 19. 22. Irenæ. Hær. v. 33. In the book called Jalkut Simeoni it is related how Satan, or Sammael, was seized with consternation on descrying the glory of Messias gleaming from underneath the throne of God.

[5] Isa. xliii. 19. Rev. xxi. 5.

[6] Hermes in Lactant. Instit. vii. 18.

[7] Joseph. Ant. xviii. 1. 5. War, ii. 8. 5 and 9.

[8] Clem. Alex. Eclog. xvii. p. 991, Pott. "Δι' ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἡ ἀναγέννησις, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ πασα γενεσις," quoting Gen. i. 2. Theodoret, 8th Quest. on Gen. Opp. ed. Sirmond. i. p. 13. Recognitiones, vi. 7. Comp. 1 Pet. iii. 21. Clementina, xi. 24. "Water makes all things—water arises from the moving of the Spirit, the Spirit from God."

[9] Gfrörer, ib. p. 436. Rev. xx. 10.

[10] Gfrörer, ii. 430.

[11] Testament of the twelve Patriarchs in Fabricius' Cod. V. T. i. p. 586.

[12] Lev. xxvi. 12. [13] Gfrörer, ib. ii. 413.

tation? To what but to a king who goes to walk in his garden with the gardener. The gardener would fain hide himself from the face of the king. But the king says, why hidest thou thyself? Behold I am one like unto thee! Even so will the blessed God walk with the just in the garden of Eden. They indeed on seeing Him will be afraid; but he will say to them, Why fear ye? Behold I am as one of yourselves." Adam was at first innocent; he was first and greatest of the prophets[14], God disclosed to him the whole series of future persons and events[15]; all things were put in subjection to him[16]; all creation bowed down before the majestic form made in God's image, wishing him to be its king; but Adam, as afterwards his exalted counterpart, declined the proffered dignity, and gave the glory to God. The restoration of Paradise would accompany the returning innocence and majesty of its possessor; the second Adam would be a dignified repetition of the first, or rather in the opinion of the mystics, he was one and the same supernatural Being, the "Son of God,"[17] "the Lord from heaven,"[18] who under various forms had from time to time descended to earth, visited the Patriarchs, and at last put on the shape of Jesus[19]. Adam was created Hermaphrodite, an enormous giant; he was made of dust collected from the whole world, and his stature, according to an interpretation of Deut. iv. 32, reached from one end of heaven to the other[20]. He had

[14] The universal gift of prophecy and of tongues which the Spirit was to confer in the "latter days" was in fact only a return to the primitive state of divine "union" and intuition through which of old men and beasts understood each other's language (Gen. xi. 1. Philo de Confus. Linguar. p. 316, Pfeif. Bochart, Geogr. Sacr. p. 50 sq. Creuz. Symb. i. p. 319 [n].), a privilege which, except in the singular instance of Solomon (Eisenmenger, Ent. Jud. ii. 441), had been lost. "In hoc seculo singuli tantùm prophetæ vaticinantur; at tempore futuro Israelitæ omnes fient prophetæ." Bamidbar Rabba, 15. It was, however, said that certain great men, such as the Patriarch Joseph, Mardochæus, and R. Chanina, knew all the 70 languages of the earth.

[15] Gfrörer, ii. 128. 134.

[16] Heb. ii. 8. Psal. viii. 6.

[17] Luke iii. 38.

[18] 1 Cor. xv. 47.

[19] Epiphan. Hær. 30. Clementine, Hom. iii. 20.

[20] Gfrörer, ib. p. 126.

two faces, and was afterwards sawn asunder, so that each half had its own vertebrated spine. This curious idea was taken from Gen. i. 27, where it is said, "God made them male and female;" and the two faces were justified from Psalm cxxxix. 5, by the words, "Before and behind hast thou formed me." The apparent inconsistency of supposing Eve to have been created afterwards, and to have been made out of Adam's side, was easily to be explained on the hermaphroditic hypothesis, but on no other. Adam was the macrocosmic giant whose form reached to heaven; but when he sinned God laid his hand upon him and made him diminutive; as it is written[21], "Thou hast formed me before and behind, and hast *laid thy hand upon me.*" Previous to the Fall, Adam's aspect had been as the sun; but this irradiation of the countenance had according to Job xiv. 20[22] been changed, and would not reappear until the revelation of the second or spiritual Adam[23], or (to use the more correct phrase) until the return of the antetypal luminous son of God clothed in his pristine garb of light[24], and restored to the long or rather eternal life forfeited at the

[21] Psal. cxxxix. 5.

[22] "Thou changest his countenance and sendest him away from thee."

[23] 1 Cor. xv. 45 sq. The Jews distinguished three sorts of soul; the "Nephesch" or animal (from Gen. ix. 4. Lev. xvii. 11), the "Ruäh" or Spirit, and the "Neschamah," rational or divine spirit, the afflation mentioned Gen. ii. 7. (Gfrörer, ib. p. 55.) The three were dependent according to rank, superadded, it was said, to one another as a candle to its stand. The latter alone made men immortal and "sons of God;" the Nephesch, sometimes even the Ruäh, belonged to the grave, continuing according to the ancient idea immured in Scheol. Philo, beside the threefold Platonistic subdivision into νους or λογος, θυμος, and επιθυμια, makes another evidently derived from the similar opposition of a material soul to an emanated spirit taught in Jewish Scripture; the divine soul (πνευμα or νους, λογικη ψυχη, λογος, το ηγεμονικον or λογικον); and, 2ndly, the animal soul or life residing in the blood, ψυχη generally, or ψυχη σαρκικη or αισθητικη. St. Paul uses nearly the same phraseology, opposing the "σωμα ψυχικον" to the "σωμα πνευματικον." (1 Cor. ii. 14, and xv. 44. Comp. Ep. James iii. 15. Jude 19.)

[24] Gfrörer, ib. 131, 132. 419. "Cum ejiceretur Adamus è Paradiso, et applicandus esset ad statum hujus mundi, de eo scriptum est Gen. iii. 21; et fecit Dominus Deus Adamo et uxori ejus tunicas pelliceas; prius enim habebant tunicas lucis." So Matt. xvii. 2. Acts vi. 15. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. iii. 7 sq.

Fall[25]. For the Jews distinguished two Adams; the mortal imperfect being who fell, and the immortal, without defect or sex, who existed before the worlds, and who would return in the end of time as Messiah. The Lord when asked what were the tokens of the advent of his kingdom, is said to have replied[26], "When ye shall put off the garb of shame, when the two shall be one, the outside as the inside, and the male with the female be neither male nor female." That is, when the original fusion of the two sexes would put an end to passion sin and shame, when the consequences of sin would cease with its cause, when the outer man would as it were be absorbed in the inner, and all physical imperfection disappear. In other words, it would be that happy period when there would be no more "marrying nor giving in marriage," when man and wife would literally be "one flesh,"[27] when the Lamb would consummate his mystic nuptials[28] with his bride the Church, *i. e.* the general congregation of saints arrayed in clean garments of righteousness, all of whom being spiritually members of him[29] would no longer be male and female, but would all become "one in Christ."[30]

§ 8.

JESUS THE "SON OF MAN."

Jesus seems at first to have announced himself as an ordinary prophet following in the steps of John the Baptist, and

[25] Wisd. ii. 24. Bereshit Rabba in Gfrörer, ii. 129. Rom. v. 12 sq.

[26] Clem. Rom. Corinth. 2. Coter. i. 189. Clem. Alex. Str. iii. 553.

[27] Eph. v. 24. 32.

[28] This idea, taken from the Song of Solomon and other parts of Scripture (as Hos. ii. 19 sq.), reappears in the parable of the bridegroom, and the title "dilectus" (the beloved), given to Messiah in the "Ascensio Esaiæ."

[29] Eph. v. 30. 1 Cor. xii. 12.

[30] Or in God. 1 Cor. xv. 28. Gal. iii. 20. 28. Rev. xix. 7 sq.; xxi. 2.

teaching the same doctrine of repentance and preparation[1]. By degrees his mission assumed a higher character, as profound meditation on the meaning of the older prophets convinced him of the possibility of an adequate fulfilment of Messianic expectation in his own person. For while inwardly conscious of that spiritual superiority anticipated for the Saviour, he at the same time perceived that a spiritual fulfilment of the promise was all that was for the present desirable or possible. In general opinion the career of prophecy was to terminate on Messiah's appearance[2]; Jesus therefore now pronounced John to have been last and greatest of the prophets, in fact the Elias or Elijah whose coming was immediately to precede the Saviour's[3]. The kind of Messiahship which he professed was one accredited by prediction[4] as well as suited to his humble fortunes and to a rational calculation of probabilities; at least there seems no valid reason for supposing that Jesus himself entertained any prospect of worldly aggrandisement, or that he countenanced such expectations among his followers except so far as they were inseparably interwoven with an assumption of the Messianic character. At the outset he virtually renounced the part of political deliverer by singling out among the candidates or "waiters for redemption"[5] the poor and meek in spirit, those who thirsted for spiritual refreshment and righteousness. It is to later compilers of the traditions about him, and to their wish to incorporate with his history all the imagery of the prophets, that we owe the genealogy laboriously deduced from David, the star indicating the birth at Bethlehem, and other minute points of coincidence. Under the general name Messiah were included many varieties of idea, and the resulting effect in the gospels is a compound of

[1] Matt. iv. 17; xxi. 11; especially xvi. 14. 17. Mark i. 15. Luke iv. 24. Comp. Strauss, Leben Jesu, ii. 4. 62.

[2] Wettstein to Matt. xi. 13.

[3] By his own disciples, called Sabæi or Johannis Christæ, John himself was thought to be the Messiah. Norberg de Relig. Sabæorum, Götting. Trans. vol. iii.

[4] Luke iv. 18.

[5] Luke ii. 25. 38.

complicated or even contradictory materials, each of which has to be traced to its source and considered in its literal or merely illustrative application before we can judge of its value in evidence of the peculiar Messianic plan of Jesus. The Jews were sorry reasoners, and their notions based upon fanciful typology had no logical sequence. The worlds present and to come, the judgment of the heathen and the judgment of the departed spirit, the political restoration of the kingdom of the living and the resurrection of the dead, were confusedly mingled in various hypotheses. Traces even in Jewish record may be found of an apparent consciousness of these inconsistencies and of an attempt to escape from or account for them. Two Rabbis are supposed to moot the question how in Daniel Messiah could appear in the clouds, yet in Zechariah be represented as "poor, riding on an ass;"[6] the incongruity is explained by an alternative contingency in the moral state of the people; righteousness earning the triumphant advent, laxity the lowly appearance. Most authorities give an arbitrary preference to one branch of theory, either excluding the others, or employing them only incidentally or as illustrations. The synoptical Evangelists take the widest range, endeavouring in one way or other to include all the Messianic traits. Jesus appears as a teacher of righteousness, enduring privation after the type of the "good man," but rich in spiritual gifts, and beneath his human disguise giving clear proofs of divinity. He spreads tables in the wilderness and passes over the waters as Moses, vanquishes the Devil as a second or greater Adam; the dead rise with him as in Daniel, he is still to come in the "clouds of heaven," and even the hope of political restoration is rather deferred than excluded. Yet subtracting the accounts of the infancy, and making some other allowances, it is to these writers that we must look for the most probable view of the real claim of Jesus[7]. Among many pretenders to Messiahship Jesus alone seems to have understood the character in which

[6] Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 438.

[7] Strauss, Leben. Jesu, ii. 3. 62.

the office had any chance of being advantageously administered. He knew himself as he was known by his cotemporaries[8], as "a man the son of a man." But he also fervently believed the reality of his mission, and the inevitable accomplishment of all those predictions not one tittle of which could fail. He disposed of inapplicable Messianic imagery partly by figurative construction, partly by referring it to the mysterious future. Yet he shrank from a public avowal, not from any lingering hesitation in his own convictions, but from motives of policy, knowing that the real nature of his claim was sure to be mistaken, and that he would incur the hatred both of Romans and Jews, to one of whom he would appear as a fomenter of insurrection, to the other a betrayer of their dearest hopes. His most frequent title "Son of man," was well suited to this condition of his prospects. It was a name which had been applied to some of the later prophets by the divine beings who addressed them, as also by way of similitude to the supernatural Messiah in Daniel. It seems to have been preferred not merely as a more modest term by one who always admitted his subordination to his Father[9], but because with other scriptural allusions it might include the visionary prospect disclosed in Daniel[10]. The phrase in Daniel however is not "Son of man," but one having the "appearance of a son of man," that is, a supernatural being in human form; and there are some passages making it probable[11] that the term as used by Jesus was not in his own day, as it afterwards became, an established name for the Messiah, but only indirectly or partially so, and therefore in a degree equivocal, implying more to himself than

[8] Matt. ix. 8; xiii. 55. Luke ii. 41. 48; iii. 23; iv. 22.

[9] Matt. xix. 17; xxiv. 36.

[10] The phrase sometimes seems purposely used to contrast high real dignity with lowly circumstances, as in Matt. viii. 20; xvii. 22. On the influence exercised by Daniel over the pretensions of Jesus comp. Matt. xiii. 43 with Dan. xii. 3. Matt. xvi. 28; xxvi. 64 with Dan. vii. 13. Matt. xxvii. 52 with Dan. xii. 2. Matt. xxiv. 15, &c.; also Enoch, ch. xlvi. and xlviii.

[11] Matt. ix. 6; xvi. 13.

to others, and to his auditors rather the human or prophetic character than the Messianic[12]. It is impossible to speak with certainty respecting the notion of Jesus as to the mode in which the supernatural part of his office was to be accomplished. Supposing the prediction of his second coming[13] to contain, though not actually uttered by himself, an approximation to his own views, he must either have imagined a living removal to heaven like Enoch or Elijah[14] speedily to be followed by the supernatural incidents as yet unfulfilled, or must have anticipated such fulfilment after the death whose approach he must then have foreseen. Yet whether so foreseen and planned by himself or not, to his disciples after his decease the Messianic drama appeared distinctly divided into two separate acts; one containing his human or preparatory career down to its tragic termination; the other momentarily expected in his triumphant return. As time passed on without answering their expectation, they were tempted in their impatience to invest their master's earthly career with more and more of the ideal glories of the future; and when the generation of his cotemporaries was extinct, and it had become desirable to consign to writing the traditions of his life, every incident received, if possible, a supernatural colouring, the amplitude of his mental endowment became a miraculous parentage, and the majestic scene of his future coming was in part anticipated by glimpses of a higher character already disclosed in the transfiguration and ascension.

[12] Comp. De Wette to Matt. viii. 20, and John v. 27. "Hæc appellatio indicat et humilitatem qualis fuerit inter homines, et majestatem quæ ipsi à Deo erat destinata et prædicta." Wettstein to Matt. ib.

[13] Matt. xxiv. and xxv.

[14] Comp. 1 Thess. iv. 17. 2 Thess. i. 7.

§ 9.

JESUS THE "SON OF GOD."

The religion of all times has ever looked to the Deity as a parent, the author and bestower of all things[1]. The Egyptian employed this symbol as did the Greek[2], to whom the greatest of the Apostles appealed in his celebrated address to the Athenians. Parents after God are the natural objects of reverence; hence the position of the fifth command in the Decalogue, and the ready transference of the parental symbol to its highest antetype. Sonship to God is a phrase used in many meanings; it may mean external resemblance of function or form, or inner analogy of nature; kings were styled "Διογενεις" as resembling God in respect of authority, or as the inventor or great teacher of an art is father of all succeeding artists[3]; and while the demigods of Egypt and "Beni Elohim" of the Bible were beings akin to him metaphysically, the meek and peacemakers had a moral likeness which made them "children of God,"[4] and if children then of course heirs, inheritors in right of filial allegiance of "the earth" or promised land under the old covenant[5], as afterwards, on similar grounds, of salvation under the new[6]. Out of a general metaphor arose its special applications; the theocratic sonship of the Hebrew nation, and the mythical affiliations suggested by the emanation theory, including the low physical nativities arising from dulness

[1] "Των ὁλων πατηρ." Max. Tyr. viii. 10; xvii. 5. Plat. Timæ. 28°. "Omnibus ille quidem pater est." Lucret. ii. 990.

[2] Diod. S. i. 12. Aristot. de Mund. 6. Arat. Phæn. 5. Hymn Cleanth. in Stobæ. Ecl. Heer. Acts xvii. 28.

[3] Comp. Gen. iv. 21. 1 Sam. x. 12. 2 Kings ii. 3; iv. 38. Hence the expression "sons of the prophets," as Orpheus and others were sons of Apollo.

[4] Matt. v. 5; ix. 45. Luke vi. 35.

[5] Comp. Exod. xx. 12. Jer. vii. 3. 7; xxxv. 7.

[6] Rom. viii. 17. Matt. iii. 9; xv. 26.

or artifice which travestied rather than enhanced the attributive divinity of great men[7].

The Jews, as being God's chosen people, claimed to have a peculiar right to address Him as their father. Israel was God's "first-born" whom He brought out of Egypt[8], his "sons and daughters" collectively, sure under every calamity to be eventually remembered and protected. Hence the theocratic application of the phrase "Son of God." The title applied to all the successive mediators or ministers of the theocracy, to judges, magistrates, and especially to kings[9]. The celebrated oracle above alluded to in which God promised to be a father to Solomon, and which almost superseded the old theocratic charter in a more specific or royal covenant[10], was originally only the language of religious feeling and courtly flattery common in the East[11]. But such language when literally and coarsely understood became the source of many a Puranic or heroic legend. The titles of "the Lord's Messiah" and "the Lord's son," given to the Hebrew monarch, were taken in a higher sense as applied to the future ideal king who was to restore the "first dominion." The metaphysical and moral meanings combined with the theocratic to heighten the attributes of that "wonderful" Vicegerent of the Highest[12]. The term as applied in the gospels to Jesus is a Messianic title[13], equivalent either to the supernatural "son of man,"[14] or to the Davidical king[15], its import fluctuating with the predominant

[7] Livy, Pref. Dion. Hal. Herod. i. 181. Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3, 4.

[8] Exod. iv. 22. Hos. i. 10; xi. 1.

[9] Psal. lxxxii. Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8, with Comment. Illgen in Paulus's Memorabilia, vii. 119. Behnsch, ueber den Ausdruck "Sohn Gottes," Leipsig, 1846.

[10] 1 Chron. xvii. 13; xxii. 10.

[11] Creuz. Symb. ii. 257. Ammian. Marcell. xvii. 4. Diod. iii. 3. 5. Athenæ. xiii. 566. Plutarch, Isis, xii. 51, 52. The great Persian king was the god born at Susa, Æschyl. Pers. 134. 155; comp. Judith iii. 8. "Αντας εγω γενεην μεγαλου Διος ευχομαι ειναι," said Achilles, Il. xxi. 187.

[12] Clericus says, "Solebant Judæi pleraque magnificentiora promissa in V. T. de Christo interpretari, sensumque mysticum in iis quærere."

[13] Matt. xvi. 16. 20; xxvi. 63, 64; xxvii. 40. 54.

[14] Luke xxii. 69, 70.

[15] Luke xxiii. 2. John i. 49.

type of theory. The argument in the fourth gospel[16] where Jesus lays claim to divine equality, adduces the theocratic employment of the phrase to justify its metaphysical use in the Christology of the emanationists or Gnostics. Jesus though well knowing he had as yet no claim to the nature of Beni-Elohim, for "a spirit had not flesh and bones as he had,"[17] considered himself entitled to be called Son of God both in a Messianic and spiritual sense, as one whose will and thought were thoroughly identified with that of the Father[18], and who was chief of that community of peacemakers and united brethren[19] which he came to establish on earth. He possessed in this, the old prophetic sense of the words, that elevated humanity consisting in intuitional oneness with God giving the best right both technical and practical to institute the predicted fellowship of God's children[20]. The contracted Hebrew claim of divine affiliation contained the germ of the more enlarged conception of Christianity. The image of parentage, like the corresponding one of sovereignty, had been exalted by the prophets into the idea of a universal family, as the other into a universal kingdom. When Jehovah spoke of Israel as his "first-born," the expression supposed other nations to whom he stood in the relation of parent. And when his mercy as universal Creator and Father as well as King[21] was promised to all worshipping him in sincerity[22], a basis was laid for the higher liberalism which proclaimed exclusive privilege to be at an end[23], and that he who made of one blood all the dwellers of the earth[24] was willing on easy conditions[25] to accept all as his children.

[16] John v. 18; x. 30.
[17] Luke xxiv. 39.
[18] Matt. xi. 27. Comp. John x. 15, &c.
[19] Matt. v. 9. 45. Luke vi. 35.
[20] Hos. i. 10. John i. 12.
[21] Psal. xxii. 27, 28; lxxxvi. 9. Mal. ii. 10.
[22] Psal. ciii. 13. Isa. ii. 2; xxv. 7; lvi. 6, 7, See Hitzig on Jer. iii. 19. Zech. viii. 23.
[23] Matt. iii. 9; xi. 12. John xi. 52. Rev. xv. 4.
[24] Acts xvii. 26.
[25] 1 Cor. vi. 18. Gal. iii. 26.

§ 10.

THE MIRACULOUS CONCEPTION.

The synoptical Evangelists represent Jesus a Galilæan prophet[1] the son of Joseph and Mary. They deduce his Messianic mission from his baptism, when the gift of the Spirit was poured forth on Him according to Isaiah's prophecy. Both genealogies trace his Davidical descent through Joseph, a process utterly unmeaning if Joseph was only his foster father. But when to the disappointment of many disciples his earthly career had terminated without realizing the more striking circumstances they were led to expect, tradition naturally strove to magnify the events of his life, and to introduce among them such adornments as appeared to be demanded by the dignity of his imputed character. One of the characteristics of Messiahship was sonship to David; another, sonship to God. The two Evangelists who narrate the infancy of Jesus endeavour without regard to consistency to answer both requisitions. They trace the lineage of Jesus to David through his reputed father Joseph[2]; and afterwards, not content with understanding, as Jesus himself did, the "sonship to God" in a spiritual sense[3], they travesty a really sublime idea by attempting to explain it physically, and by stating in opposition to the genealogies that Jesus was not the son of any man, but miraculously born of the Holy Spirit. Similar legends have in all nations been created by the rude and sensual out of similar notional impressions. For if the just or distinguished man be really a "son of God,"[4] they expect that God will miraculously

[1] Matt. xxi. 11.

[2] It is inconceivable that Luke can have supposed Mary to have been of Davidical descent as well as Joseph, for why should he not have said so in a passage (ch. ii. 4) requiring the statement, where the addition of one letter (*αὐτους* for *αὐτον*) would have made his meaning clear.

[3] Not "*κατα σαρκα*" but "*κατα πνευμα ἁγιοσυνης*." Rom. i. 3, 4.

[4] Wisd. ii. 18.

interfere to protect him, and that proofs of his divine origin will be found in the circumstances of his birth. The Egyptians ascribed their God Apis to the genial influence of the moon[5]; Roostem was cut from the side of his mother[6], Buddha born of a virgin. "Nor is it extraordinary," says Jerome[7], "that such stories should pass current among barbarians, since we owe the accounts of the birth of Minerva from the head of Jove and of Bacchus from his thigh to the intelligence of Greece." In the centre of Greek philosophic culture arose the legend of Perictione becoming mother of Plato by Apollo; for "sapientiæ principem non aliter arbitrantur nisi de partu virginis editum." "Let not Roman arrogance," he says, "taunt us with the miraculous birth of our Lord and Saviour, while Rome itself boasts a similar legend, that of Mars and Ilia, respecting the origin of its founder[8].

Stories of this kind are everywhere met with; and so much do they resemble each other, that one might easily be led to fancy them derived or connected. The prophet Fo, called by his Chinese followers "Saviour of the world," was like Horus, Bacchus, &c., delivered through his virgin mother's side, and his birth was announced in a miraculous dream to the Emperor Ming-ti[9]. The history of the Mantchoo Tartars, like that of the Scythians[10], begins with the story of a young virgin bearing their progenitor. "Nothing," says Barrow[11], "so much shocked the first Chinese missionaries, as to find everywhere a female deity called the "Holy Mother," or "Shing-Moo,"[12]

[5] "Raro nascitur, nec coitu pecoris, ut aiunt, sed divinitus et cœlesti igne conceptus." P. Mela. i. 9. 7. Herod. iii. 28. Ælian H. A. xi. 10.

[6] Malcolm's Persia, i. 27.

[7] Adv. Jov, i. 26.

[8] Jerome, ib. Origen against Cels. i. ch. 37. Plutarch, Symp. viii. 1. Origen (l. c.) goes so far as to adduce an instance from natural history; and pleads the half-natural character of the birth of Jesus as at least more plausible than the wholly supernatural case of the Greek "earth-born."

[9] Du Halde, Transl. i. 650.

[10] Diod. S. ii. 43. Comp. Herod. iv.

[11] Travels in China, 472.

[12] Really, a "Goddess mother," like Ceres, Isis, or Gunga.

in whom they thought they discovered a striking resemblance to the Virgin Mary. They found her generally shut up with great care in a recess behind the altar, veiled with a silken screen, sometimes with a child in her arms or on her knees, and her head encircled with a glory. The story of the Shing-Moo confirmed them in their opinion[13]. They were told that she conceived and bore a son while yet a virgin by eating the flower of the Lienwha, or Nelumbium. The infant, exposed in its infancy, was found and educated by a poor fisherman; and in process of time became a great man performing miracles. The miraculous virgin of Fokien, like the virgin Mary of the Neapolitan, afterwards became the tutelary God of the Mariner, a repetition of the Phœnician Astarte or "Diva potens Cypri:"

> Henceforth she is the Genius of the shore
> ——— and shall be good
> To all that wander on that perilous flood.

It followed from these prepossessions, that the great prophets Confucius and Mencius must both have been miraculously born of virgins[14]; it was even laid down that all saints and sages, called Tien-tsé, or "sons of heaven," are without mortal fathers, and are so called because their mothers conceived them by the operation of Tien (Heaven). There is a whole volume in the Chinese annals, called "Births of the Saints," filled with accounts of great men and kings born miraculously. The virgin mothers of antiquity bear appropriately significant names, as "Expected Beauty," "Pure Virgin," "Universal Felicity," "Great Fidelity." Asiatic legend teems with this sort of extravagance; the same pretensions were said to have been

[13] Gutslaff adopts this idea, considering the story to have been engrafted on Buddhism by the Nestorian Christians. But there is no evidence that the Nestorians themselves ever worshipped the Virgin, and the simplicity of their rites is adverse to the supposition; 2ndly, all the religions of the East have recognised a male and female principle, *e. g.*, the "yang and yin" of China corresponding to similar agencies, Brahmâ and Saraswati, Parasacti, &c. in other countries.

[14] See the Memoirs entitled, "Recherches sur les Chinois," vols. 9 and 12.

made by Simon Magus[15] and by Zenghis Khan[16]. Zoroaster was brought into the world without sin or pain, and a youthful angel addressed his mother during pregnancy with the words "Fear not; the king of heaven protects the child; the world is full of expectation of his birth, he will be God's prophet to his people; through him shall the lion and the lamb drink together,"[17] &c. The mother of Hercules was addressed in a similar strain by the seer Tiresias: "Be of good cheer, thou mother of a glorious offspring; blessed art thou among Argive women."[18] The queen-mother of Confucius received during her pregnancy the following miraculous communication: "A child pure as crystal shall be born when the princes of Tcheou shall decline; he shall be king, but without a territory; his kingdom shall be different from ordinary kingdoms, but shall not be the less a real one."[19] Accordingly, at the moment of the infant's birth, celestial music was heard in the air, and melodious voices mingled with instrumental sounds made the place resound with "All the earth leaps for joy at the deliverance of the holy babe."

From the sphere of thought exemplified in these extracts, the minds of Jewish writers were not qualified to escape; and when the idea of a supernatural character and divine affiliation had once been suggested, they as usual discovered traditions of the fact, accompanied by confirmations of it in ancient prophecy. "All this was done," says the narrator, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord of the pro-

[15] Recognitiones Clem. ii. 7 and 14. "Antequam mater mea conveniret cum eo (his father Antonius) adhuc virgo concepit me."

[16] Gibbon, ch. xxxiv. vol. 6, p. 42.

[17] The miraculous birth of Zoroaster, like that of Christ, was partly founded on the dogmatical necessity of a sinless origin for a sinless person. Malcolm's Hist. Persia, i. 192. Kleuker's Zendavesta, iii. 5. 9.

[18] Theocrit. Idyll. xxiv. 76.

[19] This inscription is said to have been found on the stone called Yu, and Yu is the name given to the religious doctrine of Confucius. Recherches sur les Chinois, vol. 12.

phet;"[20] thus making a seeming and fallacious coincidence take the form of a premeditated providential design, although from the language used it would appear as if the event had rather been contrived for the sake of fulfilling the prophecy, than the prophecy preconcerted in reference to the event[21]. In this instance, as in many others, the coincidence is only imaginary, and the words of ancient scripture are applied in a sense altogether different from that which they originally bore[22]. The prophet Isaiah[23] was sent to allay the apprehension of Ahaz on account of the threatening confederacy of the kings of Israel and Syria. In proof of his assurance of the impending discomfiture of the enemy, he desires Ahaz to require a "sign,"[24] and on refusal, the prophet himself proceeds to give one in the following terms: "Behold, a young woman is with child, and shall bring forth a son," whom (after the common custom of giving significant names[25]) "she shall call Emmanuel[26], or "God with us;" that is, already by the time of the child's birth the aspect of affairs shall be so much improved, that his name will be aptly significant of God's interposition for the deliverance of Jerusalem; for some time, however, in consequence of invasion, the land will continue uncultivated, and the food of "Emmanuel," until he arrives at

[20] Matt. i. 22.

[21] The unfounded charge of adultery against Mary invented by certain Jews according to the saying "Multi nomine Divorum thalamos iniere pudicos," may be regarded a just retribution for the story of the supernatural conception.

[22] Origen, Cels. i. 34. 49 sq.; ii. 28. [23] Isa. vii. 11.

[24] A "sign" might be either something supernatural in itself, or a natural event astonishing only because foreseen, as the death of the two sons of Eli in one day. A curious instance is given in the gospel of Mary (ch. ii. 13) when Joachim, the father of Mary, is told by an angel that his wife should bring forth a daughter; "and this," adds the angel, "shall be a sign unto thee; namely, when thou comest to the golden gate of Jerusalem thou shalt then meet with thy wife Anna, who being very much troubled that thou returnedst no sooner, shall there rejoice to see thee."

[25] Comp. Iliad vi. 401. Guigniaut's Creuzer, i. 58[n].

[26] Comp. Psal. xlvi. 7, 11.

the dawn of reason will be the pastoral products of milk and honey[27]; but by the time he arrives at moral consciousness, *i.e.* in about three years, all danger will be over, and the power of the two kings will be completely destroyed. The prediction embraces two successive periods: first, the liberation of the land of Judah in a few months; secondly, the final destruction of the invading monarchs in about three years; these public events are connected by way of sign with the birth of a certain child, perhaps the child of the prophet himself, who elsewhere says, "I and the children whom the Lord hath given me are for signs and wonders in Israel."[28] Here there is no reference to a distant event; the word Almah does not mean "Virgin," nor does the name Emmanuel imply divinity or even superiority in the child, but only the circumstances accidentally accompanying his birth. The essential conditions of the sign require that it should be limited to the immediate future; in any other sense it could have no meaning. Ahaz could have derived little consolation or hope of deliverance from an invading army, from the expectation of an event which was to occur eight centuries afterwards. The object of the sign is to remove the distrust of Ahaz in regard to his present danger; and if it be said that the prophecy had a double meaning and was a "double entendre," bearing one meaning to Ahaz and another which could not be appreciated before the Christian æra[29], we may surely reply that it would be altogether unworthy of the writer, not to say of God, to suppose him to veer in this quibbling way from Christ to his servant, or

[27] Comp. verse 22.

[28] Psal. viii. 18. If the "young woman" be understood as already pregnant the sign will then resemble that in Gen. xvi. 11. Judg. xiii. 5. Knobel, Is. p. 50.

[29] As, for instance, Bengel lays it down, "Sæpe in N. T. allegantur vaticinia quorum contextum prophetarum tempore non dubium est quin auditores ex intentione divinâ interpretari debuerint de rebus jam præsentibus. Eadem vero intentio divina longius prospiciens sic formavit orationem, ut magis proprie deinceps ea conveniret in tempora Messiæ, et hanc intentionem divinam apostoli nos docent."

from Shimei to Iscariot[30]. The perversion of this passage into a Messianic prophecy by the Christians[31] was probably suggested by the Septuagint translation of the word "Almah" by παρθενος, thus giving inspired authority for the immaculate conception. A miraculous event is devised in order to embody a given nationality; and next an Old Testament "sign" is forcibly wrested from its meaning, in order to become a prediction of the aforesaid imaginary miracle.

§ 11.

THE DOUBLE RESURRECTION.

Christ's second coming[1] was to the Christian what Messiah's advent had been to the Jew. It was an event eagerly and constantly expected, which was to close with the present age of the world the reign of Mosaism[2]; a time of war and woe heralding the resurrection, judgment, and universal restoration. But these accompaniments, borrowed from the Old Testament typology, could not by mere postponement or transference be made to fit exactly into the new system. Hence the theory (implied indeed rather than propounded in parts of the New Testament), of a first resurrection of the just[3], to be followed by a second or general one. The first resurrection of the elect only, adopted in the Milennium doctrine[4], answers to the earthly or Messianic resurrection of pious Hebrews, which was all that was originally contemplated in prediction; the same precedent probably suggesting the Pharisaic ρασταωνη του αναβιουν —a dispensation of easy revival to the good, while to the bad

[30] *e. g.*, in Psal. cix.

[31] Wettstein to Matt. iii. 11. Justin's M. Dial. Tryph. p. 262, or 130 ^{c}.

[1] "Παρουσια," "επιφανια," "αποκαλυψις Κυριου."

[2] Matt. v. 18.

[3] "Αναστασις ἡ πρωτη," or "των δικαιων."

[4] Rev. xx. Justin. M. Tryph. ch. lxxxi. p. 308. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 309.

Scheol was to be a prison from which there was no escape[5]. St. Paul connects with the impressive "second coming," a first resurrection of the "dead in Christ[6]; and the resurrection maintained by Jesus in the gospels against the Sadducees, is emphatically restricted to those deemed capable of becoming angelic[7]. On the other hand, St. Paul is made to appeal to the Pharisees as agreeing with him in regard to a general resurrection of just and unjust[8]; and it is not improbable that the Christian perplexity had already been felt by the Jews, as the contradictions of the Talmud prove that it was afterwards. At first the refinement of two wars of Antichrist and two resurrections had no existence, the divergence existing only in the nascent undeveloped state of a mystery or contradiction; just as the complex theoretic elements as to Messiah's person were at first blended in a sensuous notion which made the Jews incapable of acknowledging the separate impersonation of the lowly character by Jesus[9]. Yet it was obviously more difficult to reconcile, or to contemplate in one, a partial and a general resurrection; so that on this point the synagogue appears to have been divided, some maintaining that only the just, others that all would rise, though the revival of the wicked would be only for a short time[10]. Those who were of the former opinion must have made adjudication follow at or soon after death, and have left the wicked, according to the Pharisaic theory in Josephus, to the perpetual sleep mentioned by Isaiah and Jeremiah[11]. "There are," said the Jews[12], "three dooms; 1st, of the good,

[5] "Ἐγρηγορὸς ἀΐδιος." Joseph. Ant. xviii. 1. 3. Comp. 2 Mac. vii. 14.

[6] 1 Cor. xv. 22, 23. 1 Thess. iv. 16. Rom. v. 17; vi. 8; viii. 11.

[7] Matt. xxii. 30; comp. xiii. 43. Luke xx. 35, 36; comp. xiv. 14. The description in Matt. xxiv. and xxv. neither mentions nor implies a resurrection. In the Gospel of St. John, the formal "παρουσια" resurrection and judgment, are nearly, though not altogether, merged in the spiritual unseen return revivification and inner judgment silently effected by the "Word."

[8] Acts xxiv. 15. Comp. 2 Cor. v. 10. Rom. xiv. 10.

[9] Justin. M. Tryph. ch. lxviii. p. 294.

[10] Gfrörer, ii. 277 sq.

[11] Isa. xxvi. 14. Jer. li. 57.

[12] Gfrörer, ii. 76.

who immediately after death are sealed to eternal life; 2nd, the hopelessly wicked, who, according to Isaiah lxvi. 24, are cast into hell; and 3rdly, the intermediate, dismissed for a time to Hades, where they cry "woe and alas!" being there for the moment consumed, but afterwards, in pursuance of a passage quoted by the Romish Church in support of purgatory[13], rescued by intercession of the "saints." Such a theory of retribution independent of resurrection is alluded to in St. Luke[14]; yet it could not have been generally prevalent at a time when every view of futurity was Messianic. To St. Paul there was no hope in death except from a resurrection[15]. This amounted to a general extension to Christians of the privilege of heavenly translation in spiritual bodies[16]. St. Paul does not absolutely deny the state of Scheol or Hades, but he regards the interval between the human and glorified bodies as insignificantly short[17], the Lord's coming being momentarily expected. His eschatology consists of two acts; the second advent, with its resurrection of saints, commencing a Messianic contest of uncertain length, equivalent to the closing war of the Apocalyptic millennium, and the "end,"[18] the concluding scene when having subdued all things even to the last enemy Death, Christ would deliver up the kingdom to God. The obscurity in St. Paul arises chiefly from this, that while teaching a general retribution[19], he gives to the implied accompany-

[13] Zech. xiii. 9.

[14] Luke xvi. 23; xxiii. 43.

[15] There seems to have been an impression that the quick, or those alive at the Lord's coming, might be better off than the dead (comp. 4 Esd. xiii. 24); this idea, which St. Paul combats in 2 Thess. iv. 15, may have been connected with that of an earthly Messianic reign from which the dead might possibly be excluded.

[16] The renewed body would be the mortal form glorified and changed. According to the Rabbis it would be revived out of a part of the spine called Luz, which they considered indestructible. When resuscitated like the seed from death (1 Cor. xv. 36, Wettstein. Jerome, Opp. i. 36 b) it would be clothed in a garment; for as they said, if the seed sown naked rises clothed in verdure and glory, much more shall the corpse which is buried in a vestment rise provided with suitable raiment.

[17] 2 Cor. v. 2. 8. 1 Thess. iv. 17.

[18] 1 Cor. xv. 25.

[19] Rom. ii. 6; xiv. 10. 2 Cor. v. 10.

ing circumstances no distinct place in the drama. The general judgment must either fall to "the end," the already risen saints of course assisting in it[20] like the "ἐκλεκτοι" of the gospels, or it may be a continuing act, extending through the whole period of progressive conquest up to the "τελος," when it would be consummated by the extinction of death. But a general judgment would require a general resurrection, involving a second death of the wicked. This, which in St. Paul is only implied, and which does not expressly occur in the earlier gospels (for the description in Matt. xxiv. 31; xxv. 31, concerns only the living), is found in St. John[21], in Targums Onkelos and Jonathan, the New Testament Apocrypha, and Revelations. "Earth," says pseudo-Esdras[22], "shall give up those asleep within her, the dust those that dwell in silence, the secret places (*i.e.* Hades) shall deliver up their souls[23]. All men, with certain distinguished exceptions, as Enoch, Elijah, and perhaps a few others[24], were originally doomed to Scheol, the house appointed for all living." To complete Messianic theory, it was found necessary to presume a partial resurrection of Jews, or such of them as were worthy to be inscribed in the book of life. Hence the maxim, "Virtutes pluviarum sunt pro justis atque impiis, sed resurrectio mortuorum pro justis tantum." To the heathen, the wicked, or to the ignorant laity[25], was applied the text[26], "The dead shall not live." Hence the resurrection in Daniel[27], and the corresponding passage in Matthew[28], concern only the saints[29]. A more developed retributory theory assisted by the notion of purgatory[30] extended the hope to all Jews; but it was necessary that the Jews' enemies should be punished as well as themselves

[20] 1 Cor. vi. 2. Matt. xix. 28.
[21] John v. 28, 29.
[22] 4 Esd. vii. 32.
[23] Comp. Enoch, ch. l. liii. liv. lx. xcii. Rev. xx. 13.
[24] Wettstein to Luke, p. 819.
[25] Comp. John vii. 49.
[26] Isa. xxvi. 14.
[27] Dan. xii. 2.
[28] Matt. xxvii. 52.
[29] Hence probably the disciples' question, "Are there few that be saved?"
[30] Perhaps alluded to by St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 13.

rewarded; and when the great war of Gog had become confounded with a universal judgment, it was no longer enough that the wicked should be left in Scheol, they must be recalled to life if only to receive sentence[31]: The words of Isaiah above quoted were therefore pointed at the heathen, who at the last day would indeed rise, but only to undergo a deeper fall. Upon the character of the eschatology depended who should be its agent. Those who believed a preparatory Messianic reign ending with the world's destruction, must, like pseudo-Esdras[32], have referred the office to God, Messiah himself, in this theory, being consumed with every other living being; yet the same conclusion was not forced upon Christians, to whom the second advent might include the whole drama of destruction and renewal. According to Targum Jonathan[33], Jehovah himself with his "dew of life" or "word" would recall the dead to life. Three keys, it was said, had not been entrusted to any deputy; the key of life, of rain, and of the resurrection[34]. Other authorities[35] made Elias the agent; and a forced interpretation of Zech. viii. 4, compared with 2 Kings iv. 29, confirmed the impression that the office was not too high to be performed by a mere mortal. Others attributed the resurrection to Messiah[36], either placing his advent altogether in the future world, or presuming some exceptions to the general doom awaiting the inhabitants of this. Supposing Messiah's advent to be a future event through which all eschatology would be suddenly accomplished, the resurrection would be included among other Messianic acts; but if the kingdom of Messiah were a protracted term anterior to the termination of all things, then, as in the Apocalypse, the resurrection as well as judgment would fall to Jehovah, although Messiah might previously (as in the gospels) have himself recalled to life some of his own elect. The

[31] Hence the ἀναστασις κρισιως opposed to ἀναστασις ζωης.

[32] 4 Esd. vii. 29. Comp. Eisenmenger ii. p. 896.

[33] To Isa. xxvi. 19.

[34] Gfrörer, ii. 281.

[35] As Mishna-Sotah. Comp. Ecclûs. xlviii. 10, 11.

[36] Eisenmenger, ii. 898.

final judgment of the New Testament is but an adaptation of the "terrible day of the Lord" in the Old. The punishment of the enemies of the Jews becomes the punishment of the enemies of Christianity. The elect, the "Lord's brethren," are mere spectators[37]; over them the second death is powerless[38]. As in the dreadful day announced by Joel, nature sympathizes with man, the sun and moon turn to blood, the powers of heaven are shaken[39]. It was usual to blow with trumpets on solemn occasions, and the last day is signalled by the same alarum which betokened the voice of God on Sinai[40]. Then the Most High appears on the judgment-seat, bringing every secret to light[41]. Hell flames up from the abyss before the gate of Paradise[42], the wicked die the second death, the fire and the worm, the imagery of grave and pyre eternalized[43]. The scene is described in Enoch[44] much as in Revelations; it is conducted either by Jehovah or by Messiah, called "Son of Man," or "Lord of Spirits" as his deputy. The dominion of Daniel's Messiah was to be endless; but Jehovah and his Messianic representative are interchanged like Jehovah and Jehovah's angel, and it was scarcely a contradiction to make Messiah's kingdom merge in that of God. A Jewish work of the seventh century enumerates ten universal empires. The first king, the founder of all other kingdoms, was God. Afterwards followed the reigns of Nimrod, Joseph, Solomon, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander the Great; the reign of each being ascertained not from history so much as from scripture

[37] Matt. xxv. 40. 45.

[38] Rev. xx. 6.

[39] Joel iii. 15. Isa. xxiv. 21. Hag. ii. 6.

[40] 4 Esd. vi. 23. 25. Joel ii. 1. Psal. xlvii. 5. Isa. xxvii. 13. Targ. Jerus. to Exod. xx. 18. 1 Thess. iv. 16. Rev. i. 10; iv. 1. Heb. xii. 9. God was to sound a trumpet 1000 cubits long seven times. At the first earth would shake; at the second the dust would be separated; at the third the bones collected; at the fourth the limbs would warm; at the fifth the skin cover them; at the sixth the spirit re-enter them; at the seventh they would stand up alive in their garments.

[41] 4 Esd. vii. 33. Fabricius, p. 235.

[42] Ib. and Wettstein to Luke xvi. 23.

[43] Judith xvi. 17. Isa. lxvi. 24.

[44] Enoch, chs. l., liv. 5, lx., lxi., and lxviii.

texts. The ninth reign is that of Messiah, or the "stone cut out without hands;" the tenth reverts to God, the source of all authority, the Alpha and Omega[45]. Christ's kingdom would merge in that of Jehovah; "the Lord alone would be exalted in that day;" a notion not inconsistent with Daniel, because, mystically speaking[46], "the name of Messiah is Jehovah," his kingdom is God's kingdom. St. Paul only repeats the gospel view already prevalent in the days of Jesus, when seemingly infringing the separate personality of Christ, he anticipates a time when God would be all in all, and when the mediation of lawgiver and prophet having fulfilled its object, would cease for ever[47].

§ 12.

UNION OF THE HUMAN AND DIVINE IN JESUS.

The religious mind is ever striving to unite itself with God. The assumption of this union in Christianity taxed imagination to devise a plausible theory for explaining the mode of its actual accomplishment in the person of Jesus. One such theory is expressed in the genealogies; a coarser expedient, literally adapting the divine sonship to the Emmanuel prophecy, was the supernatural conception. The early converts conformed to the contemporaries of Jesus who knew him in his historic character as son of Joseph. But while believing him to be human they also believed him endowed with extraordinary spiritual gifts[1]; these in time assumed the legendary form, the descending Spirit took the "bodily shape" of the dove, and the man Jesus became distinguished from the "power" or Christ united with him at baptism. The majority of Jewish converts adhered to the original theory of a human Christ, after the orthodox church, including the later "Naza-

[45] Zech. xiv. 9. Isa. xliv. 6.
[46] Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 316.
[47] 1 Cor. xv. 24. 27. Gal. iii. 20.
[1] Acts x. 38.

renes," in shifting its ground to a supernatural conception misrepresented its own attempt to advance the glory of Jesus into an heretical deviation on the part of its opponents. However the Jew Christians or Ebionites[2] were not all of one kind. There were modifications of theory varying from that making Jesus a mere man though a pre-eminently gifted one[3], to the opposite extreme suggested by the emanation theory which lay at the root of Hellenism and Paulinism. Change in the law would involve the assumption of higher dignity in the mediator; yet though retention of the law by Christians must generally be supposed to imply the merely human or prophetic character of him who came to fulfil what he had no authority to alter, a more elevated notion of law as the true divine rule distinguished and apart from human corruptions would reclaim loftier attributes and character for the whole series of its real organs, especially the last and most efficient of them. In the scene of the transfiguration it was natural that conversation should turn upon the decease of Jesus[4], through which the glorification then transiently displayed became permanently established in men's minds. The disciples probably could not help obeying the injunction presumed to have been given to "tell the vision to no one until the 'Son of man' should be risen from the dead."[5] For it was only when this event had taken place, and men had become familiar with the idea of his ascent to God's right hand according to the Scripture, that he seemed to become more and more not only a divinely gifted

[2] A name vaguely used in reference to early converts, but properly belonging to the regressive Judaising party when in the second century it became more fixedly and decidedly opposed to the Paulinism of the orthodox church. As there were different sects of Jews, so there were different forms of Ebionitism. Schliemann, Die Clementinen, 408. 435. 464. 493. 524, &c.

[3] "Κατ' ἐκλογὴν κεχρίσθαι." Justin. Tryph. 48. The Ebionitish gospel subjoined to Matt. iii. 17, the addition, "ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε." Schliemann, Clementinen, p. 484. Epiphan. Hær. 30.

[4] Luke ix. 31.

[5] Matt. xvii. 9. Mark. ix. 9. Luke ix. 36.

but divine being[6] coeternal if not coincident with the Supreme, and that it became important to find traces of this lofty character among the traditions of his earthly life. On the other hand, it was necessary to account for his descent from a higher sphere, not merely by that vulgar literal rendering of the attributive "υἱος Θεου,"[7] which differed little from the gross nativities of the Greek heroes, but by a theory better suited to gratify the speculative. The book called "Ascent of Isaiah," describes Christ's progressive descent through the seven heavenly spheres, gradually changing his form during the journey, until at last he assumed that of man[8]. The Gnosticising Ebionites, whether deriving the notion from the Essenes, or from oriental elements[9] long before incorporated with Judaism[10], attributed to the patriarchs as well as to Jesus a supernatural nature. The Being who from his invisible dwelling in heaven poured down spiritual gifts upon his followers, was recognised as having of old interfered to protect the chosen people, as having guided them through the wilderness[11], conferred with their first parents in Eden, and co-operated in the creation[12], before which he already existed in glorious association with God. His sonship was explained by another sort of supernatural conception. The virgin was a mere channel or conveyance for the celestial Æon. The Jewish mystics reasonably inferred from Genesis, that if man is the image of God, God must be in the image of man[13]. "Hence," says Irenæus[14], "some call the Universal Father ἀνθρωπος; hence, too, the

[6] Matt. xxviii. 18. Philip. ii. 6.

[7] Luke i. 35.

[8] Ch. x. 8 sq.

[9] Relating to metensomatosis, and the divine co-operation in the production of pneumatic or distinguished men. Bertholdt, Christologia, sec. 20.

[10] Schliemann, p. 530. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. p. 83. Schwegler, i. 186.

[11] 1 Cor. x. 4. 9. Jerome to Hab. iii. 3.

[12] 1 Cor. viii. 6. Col. i. 16. Heb. i. 2. 10; ii. 10. Rev. iii. 14.

[13] According to the mystics God made the world by becoming Androgynous. This is the "great mystery" of Ephes. v. 31, 32. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 5 sq.

[14] Irenæus, i. 12. 4.

Saviour styled himself the Son of man."[15] The god of the Ophitæ was the Adam-Cadmon of the Cabbalists: "God is not," said Marcion, "without form, for he is the prototype of all beauty; to say that he is formless is to nullify instead of honouring him; for how can men love that which they cannot conceive? how pray, when they have no idea of him whom they should address?" The Holy Spirit which breathed into the nostrils of the first man, made him the express image of his Creator, enabling him to know and foresee all things, passed through a series of emanations corresponding to the evolution of the world. For according to the Clementine Homilies, as the world was evolved by God in six dimensions of height and depth, right and left, before and behind, God himself being the seventh or central point of rest, as "beginning and end," so the spirit of Adam appeared successively in Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and lastly in Christ. Christ is Lord of all, existing before the worlds, and superior to the angels; his proper dwelling is above, but he comes down when he pleases. Manifested first in Adam, afterwards to the patriarchs, he appeared in the latter days under his original form of Adam to be crucified, and rose again, and ascended to heaven. Thus from the beginning of time changing his "names together with the forms of his appearance, he passed through the course of ages, until reaching his own times he was by God's grace 'anointed' in recompense for his toils, and blessed with eternal repose."[16]

Speculation was always tending to rise from the historical Christ to the transcendental idea which his history embodied. As death to the flesh and victory over the world were implied in the Christian profession of individuals, it was necessary that the idea should be reflected in him by whom the death had been effected and the victory secured. It was difficult to maintain the most elevated notion of Christ or to assume a

[15] Marcion distinguished a double Christ; the *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*" was with him the son of Demiurgus.

[16] Clementine Homilies, iii. 20. Epiphan. Hæres. xxx. p. 127.

negation of the fleshly in his person without falling into the heresy of Docetism. Docetism was an effort to reach the ideal without giving up the pragmatical, by which the Christian drama, though not abandoned, was transformed into an illustration or mythus of the spirit's emanation and return. It either separated the spirit Christ from the man Jesus, or made the human nature a mere phantom[17] or vision resembling those angelic apparitions who seemed to eat and drink by deluding the senses of the spectator[18]. Basilides, as also apparently St. John, admitted a real body and an ordinary birth; Valentinus a psychic body provided for by a peculiar "economy;" Marcion dropped the nativity altogether, although inverting in this respect the Greek estimate of superior natures[19], he allowed his visionary Christ to suffer death[20]. The first kind of Docetism risks the unity of Christ by reserving his humanity; the last, in striving to elevate him above the material, reduces him almost to the non-existent. Both theories are in different ways fantastic; yet the Docetism of St. John[21] does not reject, but subjects the material as the transparent vehicle or investiture of that which alone is the living and true; theory could not yet wholly throw aside its favourite symbol, but Marcion still further reduces the human form to the mere point of space and time occupied by the redeeming agency, advancing Christianity towards the point where, separated from the external personality of its founder, it is transferred to the region of the purely ideal.

[17] "Corpulentia putativa." Comp. Heb. ii. 16. Tertull. against Marcion, iii. 8. 1 John iv. 23. 2 John vii.

[18] Tobit xii. 19. So Philo explains the apparent eating of the three *men* who visited Abraham. Gen. xviii. 2.

[19] Above, p. 50.

[20] Of course in order to retain the most expressive symbol of renunciation of the flesh and of the empire of Demiurgus.

[21] It is not clear in St. John whether the Messianic or redeeming agency commences with the connate Logos or the superinduced πνευμα; and indeed the obscurity, according to the principle stated ch. iii. 8, is an essential part of the system.

CHRISTIAN FORMS AND REFORMS;

THE LATTER CONSIDERED AS A

REVIVAL OF THE PROPHETIC SPIRIT;

THE OTHER OF

ANCIENT JEWISH SYMBOLISM.

"Sæpiùs olim
Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta;
Aulide quo pacto Triviai virginis aram
Iphianassaï turparunt sanguine fœdè
Ductores Danaûm;——
Exitus ut classi felix faustusque daretur;
Tantùm religio potuit suadere malorum!"

LUCRETIUS, i. 85.

"Man muss fragen, ob diese abscheuliche Baalsreligion bei den Semitischen Völckern von jeher geherrscht habe."—K. O. MULLER, in Göttingen gel. Anzeig. for 1821.

CHRISTIAN FORMS AND REFORMS.

§ I.

MISSION OF THE TRUE PROPHET.

THE character of Jewish religion had greatly declined in the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Jesus. The adoption of a written standard of doctrine lowered its feeling to an apathetic routine, and the cessation of prophecy consequent on political vassalage was replaced by no equivalent. Enthusiasm there was but not of the old kind. A pedantic study of Scripture was substituted for the energy which dictated its composition; and inferences obtained by subtle investigation into the letter were handed down as of almost equal authority with the text, under the name of "Traditions of the Elders." Priestly conventionalism overruled original genius, exacting an overstrained observance of outward ceremonies, especially of the Sabbath. If in some respects the prophetic spirit might be said to have attained its accomplishment in a more general diffusion[1], if, in other words, the mass of the people were less rude, and less prone to the grosser forms of idolatry, it would seem as if enlightenment had become vitiated by communication, and changed the noble roughness of nature into puerile scholasticism. The Hebrew God was no longer deserted for other gods, but he was more than ever the partial patron of his peculiar people. His person was no more confounded with

[1] Jer. xxxi. 34.

foreign superstitious symbols, but the demands of fanaticism were amply responded to by a multifarious angelology, while the moral conception of him was still nearly as childish as ever[2]. It was not till late in Hebrew history that an ecclesiastical establishment was created in correspondence with Mosaic forms. After the erection of a temple at Jerusalem, the religious offices rightfully exercised at first by chiefs or kings[3], became subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of an order of priests[4], who devoting their whole attention to ceremonial, psalmody, law, and ultimately a sacred literature, produced a local centralization of religious feeling eventually leading to an aphorism unknown to antiquity, that "in Jerusalem alone men ought to worship." As long as prophetic genius continued to pour forth its inspirations in harmony with a priesthood seconding and appreciating them, both institutions might exercise a healthful influence. The prophet was the legitimate perennial source[5] from which flowed the rich spiritual treasures which the priest had to preserve. But the character of prophecy changed with circumstances. The view of the seer was no longer directed to an immediate practical hope, but to a remote supernatural future. The office of the true prophet was more and more estranged from active life, until from occasional interposition[6] it became wholly speculative. The practice of committing oracles to writing, and the formation of a literature, cramped the free flow of thought, until at length the prophet's place was usurped by the writer of Apocalyptics, just as the poetry of nature was displaced by artificial affectations of description.

But the spirit of prophecy can never be irretrievably lost as long as a divine truth remains to be revealed. The celestial

[2] The Rabbinical writers describe God as the Supreme High Priest or Rabbi. Of the twelve hours of the day three are spent by him in reading the law, three in awarding judgment in mercy, three in giving a banquet to the world, and three in sporting with Leviathan. From Psal. civ. 26.

[3] Thenius to 1 Sam. viii. 18. 1 Kings ix. 25, et al.

[4] Comp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 18. Ewald, Geschichte, iii. 296.

[5] Deut. xviii. 15.

[6] Ezek. iii. 24.

spark within us is nourished and invigorated only by communication with its source. All its acquisitions result from the combined operation of an inward faculty and outward verity; a verity which forming part of an eternal order far above human caprice, is the realisation of the divine thought in nature, a revelation which the mind is irresistibly impelled by instinct as well as interest to endeavour to appreciate and comprehend. The faculties are by themselves as sterile as seed without soil; it is the unerring order of natural occurrences, or more properly the divine power producing the order, which awakens them to act for the weal of their possessor: in other words, a divine voice is ever calling upon man to learn the counsels and to follow the ways of the unseen God.

God and truth are inseparable; a knowledge of God is possession of the saving oracles of truth[7]. In proportion as the thought and purpose of the individual are trained to conformity with the rule of right prescribed by Supreme Intelligence, so far is his happiness promoted and the purpose of his existence fulfilled. In this way a new life arises in him; he is no longer isolated, but a part of the eternal harmonies around him. His erring will is directed by the influence of a higher will informing and moulding it in the path of his true happiness. But the will and power so to judge or act is very differently apportioned to different men. Hence the necessity for a mediator or instructor[8]. He who becomes vividly impressed with the conviction of a truth believed to be divine, is irresistibly impelled to communicate it[9]; to spread abroad its saving power with the same impressive force which penetrated or inspired himself. This is the feeling of the prophet. A prophet is not for himself, but for other men. His soul is conscious of something momentous to human interest, which he is powerfully

[7] Prov. xxix. 18. Psal. lxxiv. 9. Hos. iv. 1. 6. 12, &c.

[8] The "σοφὸς φυᾷ." Pind. Ol. ii. 154; ix. 42. Pyth. i. 81. Hesiod, Works and Days, 293.

[9] Jer. xx. 9. Acts iv. 20.

impelled to disclose by means of the "word;" that "lovely song as of one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well upon an instrument."[10] In presence of the vision floating before his spirit his individuality vanishes, and he becomes a passive instrument for conveying the higher being which overmasters his own. It is not man speaking, but God[11]. Ridicule and persecution are borne down by it[12], and reflected from the human soul its radiance becomes a shining light to guide men's steps[13].

Prophecy, in its common acceptation, is a characteristic of early ages. It is then only that truth forces itself on the mind as intuition, and that the impressive rapidity of its disclosure overawes the recipient into conviction of its divinity. But this intuitive character gave rise to mistake. Man's power of apprehending outward truth is a qualified privilege, the mental like the physical inspiration passing through a diluted medium; yet though the truth imparted might be specious or at least imperfect, the intoxication of sudden discovery claimed it as full, infallible, and divine. And while human weakness needed ever to recur to the pure and perfect source, the revelations once popularly accepted and valued assumed an independent substantiality, perpetuating not themselves only, but the whole mass of derivative forms accidentally connected with them and legalized in their name. The mists of error thickened under the shadow of prescription, until the free light again broke in upon the night of ages, redeeming the genuine treasure from the superstition which obstinately doated on its accessories.

[10] Ezek. xxxiii. 32.

[11] Philo. de Spec. Leg. 3. Mangey, ii. 343; comp. 125. 2 Kings iii. 12.

[12] Isa. xlii. 4.

[13] Quarterly Review, Dec. 1847, p. 128.

§ 2.

THE OLD AND NEW COVENANTS.

The ideas and forms of the old covenant were doubtless the work of a prophet or prophets[1], originating probably in times when priest and prophet were undistinguished. Its real aim, felt indeed rather than expressed, was not so much outward allegiance as inward conformity[2], a union of the divine in man with the divine in nature. At its origin it was necessarily clothed in symbols[3], such as rites of sacrifice and circumcision, the use of sacred vessels and other relics, which maintained their ground after their meaning had been lost. It was more easy to worship a form than to divine its purpose. When bare forms became paramount, the choice of them was matter of capricious fancy, and the constant recurrence of heresy or idolatry as one set of rites appeared more attractive than another was a necessary consequence of losing sight of the vital principle intended. It again became necessary for the prophet to interpose, in order to restore the law to its pristine energy. To save it from formalism or neglect he was summoned as by an irresistible voice out of obscurity, and his apparition, like the spirit he bore, might be compared to the inexplicable passage of the wind[4] or fortuitous development of the seed in its mysterious passage and effects. He expressed in the terms suited to the occasion, his conviction of the reality of his call, and of the intimate connection of all things with

[1] Hos. xii. 13.

[2] Exod. xix. 5. Numb. xi. 29. Isa. lix. 21. Jer. vii. 22.

[3] Some writers make religion and ritual distinct. Thus Lamartine, "Ce qu'on appelle culte n'existe pas dans la religion; Mahomet a prêché à des peuplades barbares chez qui les cultes cachaient le Dieu." But since religion can hardly be said to exist without verbal expressions (creed) and outward acts (rites), these may in another view be considered an essential though not an immutable part of it. K. O. Müller's Kleine Schriften, ii. p. 75 sq.

[4] 1 Kings xviii. 12.

Jehovah's will[5]. He stood as a shepherd as it were on the watch between God and the world[6], under fearful responsibility for the safe keeping of his charge, with eye and ear ever attentive to observe its relations and dangers, and by this continual contemplation was often enabled to see, as if visibly displayed, consequences as yet unseen by others, as the sage by watching the stars is enabled to predict their movements. But the power of prediction was always in genuine prophecy subservient to the inculcation of religious or theocratic truth, and of what may be called the conservatism of innovation. It was necessary for the prophet to be an adept in the accomplishments of his age, that he should be lawgiver, poet, statesman, and physician. But these acquirements were all subsidiary to the object of a moral reform, which by alarming the corrupt, spiritualising the sensual, and breaking through prejudice and formalism, might freely advance from point to point until the general measure of mental illumination should attain to that of the reformer, and the gift of prophecy in its ideal consummation become the property of all men[7]. The prophets themselves employed symbols in order vividly to express a meaning; but they treated obsolete symbolism with little respect, considering forms apart from the feeling they were meant to express as a virtual apostacy from God, and from that spiritual worship which alone can please him. He who is author of the spirit[8], they said, must be served with the spirit. He who is emphatically the "holy,"[9] and is too pure to look upon iniquity[10], whose eye surveys the heart[11], requires holiness and moral purity from his subjects, that "righteousness" which in regard to himself is piety, and which between man and man is

[5] Exod. iv. 11, 12. 15. Isa. vi. 1. 7. Jer. i. 5. 9. Ezek. i. 3.

[6] Hab. ii. 1. Isa. xxi. 6. 8. Ezek. iii. 17.

[7] Isa. xi. 29. Joel iii. 1. Hos. iv. 6. Jer. xxxi. 34. John vi. 45; xvi. 23. Acts xxvi. 29.

[8] Isa. xlii. 5; lvii. 16. Ezek. xviii. 4. Zech. xii. 1.

[9] Isa. v. 16; vi. 3; lvii. 15.

[10] Hab. i. 13.

[11] Jer. xi. 20; xvii. 10.

justice[12]. Religion was thus resolved into its fundamental principles. "What, O man," exclaimed the teacher, "doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"[13] "To what purpose, saith the Lord, is the multitude of your sacrifices? I delight not in the blood of bullocks or goats. Bring no more hollow oblations; incense is an abomination to me; your new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, my soul hateth; they are a trouble to me; I am weary to hear them. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."[14] "Woe to them who offend against the eternal laws of justice; who join house to house and field to field, who get riches without regard to right[15], who extortionately oppress the poor, the helpless, and the stranger. Woe to the prophets who make a trade of their calling, and the priests who teach for hire[16]; woe to those who amass wealth by usury and refuse bread to the hungry[17]. The just man is liberal and kind[18]; ever ready to relieve the distressed, to feed the poor, to clothe the naked; he is full of compassion and mercy[19], and lives in truth, peace, and charity with all men."[20]

Thus had the older prophets laid the foundations of Christianity. Adhering to the old covenant as a basis, they freely canvassed the assumptions or practices connected with it which seemed incompatible with truth and justice. They denied, for instance, that the attainder pronounced against crime could include the innocent[21], and even softened the harsh hypothesis

[12] Jer. xii. 1. Isa. xxviii. 17; lvi. 1; lxi. 8. Zech. viii. 17.
[13] Mic. vi. 6.
[14] Isa. i. 10 sq. Joel ii. 13. 1 Sam. xv. 22. Hos. vi. 6. Amos v. 21.
[15] Isa. v. 8. Jer. xvii. 11. Amos iii. 10.
[16] Mic. iii. 11.
[17] Ezek. xviii. 7.
[18] Isa. xxxii. 8; lviii. 7.
[19] Zech. vii. 9; viii. 16, 17.
[20] Zech. vii. 9; viii. 16, 17.
[21] Jer. xxxi. 29. Ezek. xviii.

in which God's parental care was made the exclusive inheritance of the Hebrews[22]. They also mitigated the severity of divine retribution. They taught that God would relent if man would repent; that he delights not in death, but is patient and forgiving[23], desiring rather that the sinner should reform and live[24], and inflicting chastisement only to produce amendment[25]. "Woe to those," said the prophets, "who disregard the sacred lessons of adversity, and who in careless sensuality live regardless of God's impressive admonitions."[26] They appealed to fear as well as hope; and the monitory voice silent in prosperity, eagerly seized each untoward event for the purpose of example or warning. But beyond all the sins and evils of the present they held out the prospect of a perfected covenant, when the better few or "remnant" would on repentance reap fulfilment of the old, or even receive a new one, the old having become void by infringement[27]; and it thus became part of general expectation, that the Messiah, who was to be a second Moses, would, if not abrogate the Mosaic law, at all events change and improve it[28]. Thus would arise an everlasting covenant of peace[29] never to be violated[30], and signalized externally by the old imagery of the fiery pillar and "glory" indicating on Mount Zion the presence of its king[31]. But its character would be changed; it would be a law written in the heart[32]; the stony heart would be replaced by a heart of

[22] *e. g.* Isa. lvi. 6. Jonah iii. 10; iv. 11. Jer. xviii. 7. 10.

[23] Isa. lv. 7. Mic. vii. 18. Jer. iii. 12.

[24] Ezek. xviii. 23. 32; xxxiii. 11.

[25] Hos. ii. 15-23. Isa. ix. 13. Amos iv. 6.

[26] Isa. v. 11, 12; xxii. 13. Hos. iv. 10. Amos vi. 11.

[27] Jer. xxxi. 31. 33.

[28] "Dixit R. Chijah, referendum est hoc ad dies Messiæ—res magna ventura est mundo; lex convertetur ad novitatem et renovabitur Israeli." Bertholdt, Christologia, xxxi. p. 164.

[29] Ezek. xvi. 20. 22; xxxxiv. 25; xxvii. 26.

[30] Jer. l. 5.

[31] Knobel, Prophets, i. 319.

[32] Jer. xxxi. 33; xxxii. 40. Isa. lxi. 8.

flesh[33]; and the universal gift of the Spirit would supersede the necessity of prophecy itself[34].

§ 8.

THE PRIMARY ELEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN REFORM.

The Jewish majority in the days of Jesus were Pharaisaic formalists, full of that devotion to the conventional exhibited for the first time in the last Old Testament prophets, whose writings make a link of transition from the spiritualism of Micah and Isaiah to the narrow-mindedness of the Rabbis. Allowing it to be true, as the prophets assert[1], that the Hebrew law was not a system of rite and sacrifice, but a living rule of practical efficiency, time had matured in it the vices of an establishment, and a prophet was more than ever required to renew its spirit. The real prophetical idea had been that the rule of life is not the law alone, but a continuing revelation from the law's author[2]; but for a long time the divine voice had been overpowered by bibliolatry and by the exegetical subtlety of lawyers and priests. Christ did not come to destroy the law, but, like the prophets, to enforce and fulfil it. He repeated the Rabbinical dictum[3], that until heaven and earth should pass away (that is, during the existing age of the world), no one iota of the law should fail. Like Socrates, he attended in every particular not only to the essentials, but as far as possible to the forms of the religion of his country. But he discountenanced the perversity which made the form supplant the spirit; which made giving of tithes, or sabbath observance, of more importance than benevolence and justice.

[33] Ezek. xi. 19; xxxvi. 26, 27.

[34] Jer. xxxi. 34. Hos. xviii. 19, 20. Isa. xxxii. 15.

[1] Jer. vii. 22; xi. 4.

[2] Isa. viii. 20; xxviii. 10. Jer. xxvi. 5. Psal. xix. 7. Deut. xviii. 18.

[3] Gfrörer, Urchrist. i. 235. Wettstein to Matt. v. 18.

He did not dispense with sacrifice[4], but he quoted authority to show how much more important were the practice of virtue, the proper training of the feelings[5], and the two great rules of moral perfection, love to God and to one's neighbour, under which he summed up the whole meaning of law and prophets[6]. He did not check observance of the sabbath, but he discouraged superstitious abuse of it, making it, as it was doubtless originally intended to be, subservient to human convenience. By enlarging the application of the law beyond the narrow Pharisaic reading[7], and regulating[8] the relative importance of its precepts, he seemed not merely to have reconstituted but almost to have created it afresh. Yet his task was rather to select and combine than to invent; to place the formal in due subordination to the essential. Reserving the more fundamental changes for his second coming, his immediate object was "perfect" law-fulfilment[9], not the adoption of a new rule, but observance of the old on a new scale. The "olden precepts" which he seemed to oppose[10] were not the Mosaic law, but the expository dogmas deduced from it by "the elders." It has often been observed[11] that the gospel morality is no absolute novelty, but that the same precepts had been already announced, if not among the Jews, at all events in other times and countries. The requital of good for evil, the virtue of loving an enemy instead of ill-treating him[12], had been appreciated by the philanthropy of Greeks and Hindoos[13]. Horace's

[4] Matt. v. 23.

[5] Matt. ix. 13; xv. 5. Mark vii. 11.

[6] Mark xii. 33. Matt. xxii. 36. 40. Comp. Hos. vi. 6.

[7] Matt. v. 20.

[8] Ib. xxiii. 23, and xii. 7.

[9] "Δικαιοσυνη." Matt. v. 17 sq. 48; xix. 17.

[10] Matt. v. 21.

[11] Milman's Christianity, vol. i. ch. iv. s. 3. Lactant. Instit. 77, admits that all the moral truths and mysteries of religion had been taught by Pagan philosophy. "Totam igitur veritatem et omne divinæ religionis arcanum philosophi attigerunt." Min. Felix says that either the old philosophers were Christians or that all Christians are philosophers.

[12] Plato, Crito, p. 49. De Rep. i. 335. 534.

[13] Wilson's Oxford Lecture, p. 60, and Wettstein's Note to Matt. v. 45. 1, p. 313. Comp. Prov. xx. 22; xxv. 21.

"nil conscire sibi," is the apostolic eulogium of a clear conscience[14]; the maxims "guard the thoughts of the heart," and "do to others as you wish them to do to you," are among the sayings of Confucius[15]. The same doctrines had long ago been announced in the Levitical law, and were equally prized in Jewish cotemporary theology. It is said in many parts of the written record of that theology, the Talmud, that the Levitical command[16] "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is the first of moral rules. A pagan having asked Rabbi Hillel, whose career immediately preceded that of Jesus, to explain the Jewish law in few words, was answered, "That which you would not that another should do to you, that do not you to him; this is the sum of the law; the rest is a mere commentary on it." The other great commandment, "to love God with all the heart and soul,"[17] was notoriously the property of the Jew before it passed into Christianity: "Thrice blessed is he," it was said, "who does good through love to God, over and above him who serves through fear."[18] God had been styled by prophets the husband and father of his people. Israel, the faithless wife, never ceased to be cherished by her divine protector, whose love, even though clouded by momentary displeasure, was her sure safeguard, a well-spring of eternal hope. Jesus did not announce his great moral rules as inventions of his own, but as the essence of what was already to be found within the Scriptures[19]; and hence parallelisms of gospel example or doctrine often take the form of prophetical fulfilment[20]. The great rule of imitating the divine example[21] was inherited from Judaism as laid down by Rabbinical authority under the expressions "walking in the ways of the

[14] 1 John iii. 21.

[15] Davis's China, ii. pp. 41. 50.

[16] Lev. xix. 18. 34. Comp. Exod. xxii. 21; xxiii. 9.

[17] Deut. vi. 5, and xi. 13.

[18] Book Siphri to Deut. vi. Berachot Jerus. p. 37 a. Comp. Mark xii. 33.

[19] Matt. vii. 12; xxii. 40. Mark xii. 33. Comp. John iii. 10.

[20] Matt. xiii. 14. Luke iv. 18. 21.

[21] Comp. Matt. v. 45.

Lord,"[22] "working God's works,"[23] or "imitating God's attributes." The ways of God are pointed out, it was said[24], in Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, where the divine attributes are enumerated, as mercy, grace, goodness, truth. The phrase "being named with the name of the Lord,"[25] means a successful imitation of these attributes, in being just and good even as he is[26]. "Be ye holy," says the Jerusalem Targum[27], "as the angels who serve before the Lord your God." "The Lord himself hath shown us the right way; he has taught us to clothe the naked, when he clothed Adam and Eve; to visit the sick, when he visited Abraham after circumcision; to console the afflicted, when he appeared to Jacob on his return from Padanaram; to feed the hungry, when he gave our fathers bread from heaven." Charity includes all other commandments[28]: "It is better," says the Book of Tobit, "to give charity than to heap up riches, for charity preserves from death, and cleanses from all sin."[29] The better informed Jews well knew that mere forms had no intrinsic value[30]; the ancient prophets had asserted this repeatedly[31], and even the Talmud intimates that the ceremonial law was intended only to prove the people's fidelity, and to unite them for the sake of something higher, the nature of which is implied in the summing up of the 613 Mosaic ordinances in a few simple moral rules, all finally converging in the simple precept[32], "the just shall live by faith."[33] The Mosaic law was admitted to be but a faint shadow of the anticipated "new covenant,"[34] under which all meats would be clean, all feasts, except one, abolished, and all offerings, ex-

[22] Deut. xi. 22.
[23] John vi. 28.
[24] Book Siphri to Deut. xi. 22.
[25] Joel ii. 32.
[26] Wettstein's note to Luke vi. 36.
[27] Targ. to Numb. xv. 40.
[28] Tosaphta Peah. ch. iv. s. 13 and 14.
[29] Ch. xii. 8. Max. Tyr. v. 86. Strabo, x. p. 467.
[30] Mark xii. 33.
[31] Comp. 1 Sam. xv. 22, and passages in Lengerke's Kenaan. 536[a].
[32] Hab. ii. 4.
[33] Comp. Gfrörer, Urchrist. i. 235; ii. 343, 344.
[34] T. Jonathan to Isa. xii. 3.

cept praise and thanksgiving, become obsolete. The resurrection connected with the Messiah by Daniel was a necessary part of the Messiahship of Jesus. The victory he could not expect here, he undertook to guarantee prospectively, and without absolutely excluding present recompense[35], since even the meek, the afflicted, the peacemakers, &c., all even here have a real though not a showy requital, he laid more stress on the everlasting rewards of the "world to come," the seeing God, and being "children of the resurrection." "There are three things necessary," says the Jerus. Gemara[36], "prayer, almsgiving, penitence." Prayer was accounted better than sacrifice, as being an inner sacrifice of the heart, the only service which Daniel[37] could possibly render when in Babylon. It healed sickness, and drove away evil spirits[38]. Belief in its efficacy had from of old prevailed among the Jews; and the story of the healing the son of R. Gamaliel by the prayer of R. Chanina, son of Dusa[39], curiously paralleled in St. John (iv. 53), conforms with the general opinion of the age. Jesus did not condemn the practice, or oppose the opinion on which it was founded; but, like the prophets, he rejected lip service, and made the form concise. Even in this he was not singular, for Rabbinical writers, too, advocate a pious frame of mind in the worshipper[40], as also compendious liturgical forms after the precedent of Moses' prayer for Miriam; and it is a curious fact that the Lord's Prayer may be reconstructed almost *verbatim* out of the Talmud[41], which also contains a prophetic

[35] Matt. v. 5; xix. 27. 29. Luke xviii. 20.

[36] Gfrörer, ii. 142.

[37] Dan. vi. 16.

[38] Nay more. Dixit R. Bechai: Magna est vis precum ad liberandum ex periculis, ad immutandam naturam, et ad *irritum reddendum consilium divinum*. On the recital of the Shema, see Allen's Judaism, p. 331.

[39] Gamaliel sent two of his disciples to Chanina, who ordered them to wait while he retired to the house-top. When he returned he assured them of the recovery of the sick person, which the messengers found to have actually occurred at the time when the word was spoken. Berachot Jerus, 24[b].

[40] Gfrörer, v. sup. p. 144.

[41] Wettstein says, "Tota hæc oratio ex formulis Hebræorum concinnata est."

intimation that all prayer will one day cease, except the prayer of thanksgiving[42]. For example, it is laid down that in every prayer the "kingdom of God" must be named. "Amen" must be repeated at its close with due deliberation and knowledge of its contents. A prayer may be formed either by enumerating the attributes of God, or his names, as El, Elohim, Tsabaoth, Adonai, &c., or the ten Sephiroth, as Malchuth (Kingdom), Jesud (Foundation), Hod (Glory), Geburah (Power), Chochmah (Wisdom), &c., a direction corresponding with the Christian doxology and the passage in Revelations[43]. "Nothing," says a Jewish book, "proves ardour in the worshipper more than the use of the words 'our Father.'"[44] It is further laid down, that we must name the object of petition in the middle of the prayer, according to the old rule of rhetorical expediency, reserving the commencement and conclusion for the praise of God; just as a servant approaches his master with salutation, and having made his request, retires with an expression of thanks for the gratification of his wish. But though fragments of the Lord's prayer occur separately in the Talmud, they are there generally involved in the verbiage which Jesus disapproved[45].

§ 4.

THE PAULINE DEVELOPMENT.

The Christian reform may therefore be called a revival, under somewhat altered circumstances, of the prophetic spiritualism. Its language had been uttered by the great teachers of anti-

[42] Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 145 sq. 343.

[43] Rev. v. 12.

[44] Sohar to Numb. Gfrörer, ii. 379.

[45] De Wette thinks that to suppose Jesus borrowed the prayer formulas of Judaism is to detract from their value, he therefore rejects the idea in his "De Morte Christi," p. 67; but in the "Commentary to Matthew", (vi. p. 74), he says, "The use of Jewish forms was not unworthy of Jesus, if made in a free spirit: nay, the avoiding them would have been affectation."

quity, particularly by the Psalmists, by Isaiah and Jeremiah[1]. The eulogium of meekness[2] expressed by Jesus in the very words of Scripture[3], was the prophetic advocacy of a virtue[4] which being in connection with religious faith the obvious wisdom and policy of the weak[5], had sometimes been used as a characteristic appellative of the chosen people[6]. Jesus was the true divine mediator or ambassador of his age[7], the "prophet" successor of Moses[8]; he taught like a true prophet with authority, yet he "spoke nothing of himself," but only what he had read or "heard of the will of his Father." He preached the repentance which had long before been announced as an indispensable preliminary of "the kingdom," and which the Baptist's career had shown to be a recognised want of the age. Yet it is not true, as maintained by some[9], that the sole difference between Christian and Jew was a recognition of the personal pretensions of Jesus. The acknowledgment involved a prolific principle or idea, whose elements, though no absolute novelty, required the force of original character and genius for their revival into efficient action. The principle contemplated by Jesus was not abrogation but fulfilment[10], not destruction but completion; it was still Judaism, but Judaism in its highest prophetical sense, involving a perfect realization of the law divested of anilities and abuses. The principle in a word was "righteousness,"[11] but righteousness of the old genuine kind[12],

[1] Comp. Psal. lxxxv. 10, 11. Isa. xi. 4; lx. 21, &c. Jer. vii. 5. 22.

[2] Matt. v. [3] Psal. xxxvii. 11; comp. xxii. 26.

[4] Comp. Isa. xi. 4; lxi. 1; lxvi. 2.

[5] 2 Chron. xx. 20. Isa. vii. 4; xxx. 7. Psal. xxxvii. 9. Lam. iii. 26.

[6] Psal. lxxvi. 9; cxlvii. 6; cxlix. 4.

[7] Exod. iii. 10. Numb. xvi. 28. Isa. vi. 8.

[8] Matt. xxi. 46. Luke vii. 16; xxiv. 19. Acts iii. 22; vii. 37. Deut. xviii.

[9] "Erraverunt ergo Judæi de primo Domini adventu, et inter nos atque ipsos de hoc est solum dissidium." Recognitiones in Coteler, i. 43. 50. Origen agt. Cels. iv. 2.

[10] "Οὐ καταλυσαι αλλα πληρωσαι;" "πληρωσαι πασαν δικαιοσυνην." Matt. v. 17; iii. 15.

[11] Δικαιοσυνη." Matt. v. 20; vi. 33; xix. 17. "Ὁσιοτης" and "δικαιοσυνη." Luke i. 75.

[12] Comp. Jer. vii. 5. Isa. xxix. 13; xlviii. 1, &c.

far transcending the ordinary standard of Scribes and Pharisees[13]. Indifferent to those material things which were the great object of Gentile pursuit[14], it required from the "true Israelite" an unreserved surrender of the human will to the divine, a life conformed to the purest scriptural standard. It was the theocracy spiritualized; it was to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," to be "perfect as he is perfect." Though an "easy yoke" compared with the "heavy burthens" of the law as commonly construed, it yet involved sacrifices of its own, a renunciation of the pride, self-righteousness, and narrow-mindedness of the Pharisaic zealot. So enlarged a view of religion could not but outgrow its original limit. Yet it does not appear that Jesus, at least in the earlier part of his career, understood in its true sense the Catholicity of his mission. He emphatically declared that he "was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."[15] The cases of the Centurion and Syrophenician are apologetically related as exceptions allowed in consideration of the special faith of the parties or their good offices to the Jews[16]; and though in conformity with prediction Jesus may have anticipated the universality of his doctrine in the sense of a universal Judaism, he had no idea any more than his disciples of the possibility of becoming a Christian without being first a Jew. His followers continued after his death to practise as of course, and to enjoin conformity to Mosaic law; and even miracle failed

[13] Matt. v. 20. 48. It really mattered little whether such a reform were called in politic connivance with prepossession the carrying out of the old law, or as by the later Christians, the replacing it by the new law "of love" or "of liberty;" for the law itself might be said to change when man's conduct and relations in respect of it changed; and both modes of speaking were authorized by prophetical language.

[14] Matt. vi. 32.

[15] Matt. x. 5; xv. 24. The exclusive injunction in Matthew is omitted, and the whole story of the Syrophenician considerably modified in Mark (vii. 27); but, as Strauss remarks, there is no reason why Matthew, who unequivocally makes Jesus foretell the calling of the Gentiles (viii. 11; xxi. 41; xxii. 9; xxviii. 19), should have gratuitously attributed to him the exclusive view, whereas there were strong reasons for its omission by the other Evangelists in deference to the Gentile converts.

[16] Mark vii. 29. Luke vii. 5.

clearly to convince them of the propriety of admitting Gentiles[17]. The retributory ordeal of the last day in the gospels[18] is only a separation of worthy from unworthy members of the Christian community; and the command to preach the word to "all nations" is no more than was required by dramatic propriety in order to account for an application of the Judæo-Christian standard of adjudication by providing a "testimony" against those who wilfully neglected it[19], justifying their destruction by depriving them of excuse. When indeed Christianity had been offered to the Jews and by the majority been rejected, Jesus needed not to foretell what had actually occurred, a Gentile conversion concurrent with Jewish exclusion[20]; a prediction which of course would greatly have exasperated his countrymen, but which as indicating the comprehensiveness of the Christian plan as finally developed, it was creditable and even necessary to attribute to its founder. There can then be no reason for presuming that, had Christianity been strictly confined to its original shape, it would ever have been more than it at first appeared, a form or sect of Judaism[21]. Whatever change may have been anticipated by Jesus at the close of the existing period[22], of the time, that is, intermediate between the Baptist and the final Messianic revelation, it is clear, that though disparaging the "commandments of men"[23] or traditions of the elders, and even though admitting in deference to a higher law qualifications into that of Moses[24], he considered his own doctrine as strictly a development of Judaism, aspiring as such to human perfectibility; though with this qualification, that the shortcoming of man is ever made good

[17] Acts xi. 2 sq.; xv. 1. [18] Matt. xiii. 38 sq. 49 sq.; xxv. 32.

[19] Comp. Mark vi. 11. Luke ix. 5.

[20] Comp. Matt. viii. 11; xxi. 41; xxii. 9; xxviii. 19. Luke iv. 25. Matt. viii. 11, is perhaps more correctly placed by Luke xiii. 28. Something like Pauline liberalism seems hinted in Matt. xi. 12. Luke xvi. 16, yet is again qualified by the pointed insertion of Luke verse 17, ib.

[21] Comp. Acts xxiv. 5. 14; xxviii. 22.

[22] "Εν τῃ συντελειᾳ του αιωνος τουτου." Matt. xiii. 40. 49.

[23] Matt. xv. 3. 9-23 sq. [24] Ib. xix. 8.

by the inexhaustible forbearance and forgiveness of his heavenly Father, the compassionate example of One to whom he owes so much naturally awakening a corresponding feeling towards his fellow-creatures, to whom, comparatively, he can forgive so little[25]. Hence the importance attached to works. Men were required not only to say and know, but to observe and do[26]; to bring forth fruits of repentance[27]; to work while to work was yet possible; not to allow their confidence to supersede their watching[28]; and the last judgment was to be pronounced not according to professions but deeds[29]. In short, for scrupulous legalism Jesus substituted scrupulous morality. He unconsciously transferred to the objective law the enlarged conceptions of his own mind. When, for instance, he said, "Moses allowed divorce on account of the hardness of your hearts, but from the beginning it was not so;" he showed by appealing from the formal rule to the natural, the real "plant of his Father's planting," that his meaning was to claim fulfilment of the latter, which however he felt bound as a Jew generally to identify with the former. Christ was the model of Christian practice, or "righteousness" personified[30]; but the idea which he suggested of human perfectibility and indefinite approach to God by dint of effort[31] could not but be overwhelming and unsatisfactory to the "hungry and thirsty" spirit anxious for repose, yet deeply impressed with humility and meekness[32]. Man under the idea of having fallen is restless and dissatisfied until the impression is removed; it is not enough to be in

[25] Matt. xviii. 27; xix. 17; x. 8. The parable of the vineyard (Matt. xx. 1 sq.) in which Christ's doctrine of grace is most clearly stated, receives a very different turn in the Jerusalem Gemara, where the decree runs, "This man has worked more in one hour than you the whole day." The passages approaching nearest to the Pauline doctrine of Justification are Luke xvii. 10; xviii. 13, 14.

[26] Matt. v. 19; vii. 21; xii. 50; xxiii. 2.

[27] Matt. xxi. 30; xxiii. 3. Luke vi. 46, 47. John xiii. 17; xiv. 15.

[28] Luke xii. 32. 37.

[29] Matt. xvi. 27, and so xxv. 35.

[30] Comp. Matt. v. 10, 11. Jer. xxiii. 6; xxxiii. 16.

[31] Matt. xi. 12.

[32] Ib. v. 3. 6; xi. 28. Mark x. 26.

a condition to amend, he must be actually raised and reconciled; he cries with St. Paul, "Wretched that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death[33]; for the commandment, which was ordained for life, I find to be to me a sentence of death."[34] Jesus, though preaching forgiveness concurrently with repentance, felt that this alone was not enough. He himself suggested[35] something as still wanting to his earthly preparatory establishment, namely, the outpouring of the fiery or spiritual baptism, whose actual communication is described in different ways by St. John and in the Acts[36]. Moreover, it soon became clear, that although Jesus was supposed to have wished, if possible, to conform to the minutest ordinances of Moses[37], his doctrine really involved a renunciation of technicality; and there very soon arose an open feud between Judaists and Hellenists, the former quietly maintaining their ground in Jerusalem[38], while the latter were persecuted and dispersed through the country. Stephen, the first victim of persecution, had been accused of "speaking blasphemy against Moses and against God;" of having predicted the destruction of temple and law. He met the charge[39] by justifying and even retorting it; he showed that the real heresy was the perverted spirit of Judaism which had ever scorned and persecuted prophetical reformers; and in regard to the charge about the temple, that visible sign or emblem of Jewish exclu-

[33] Rom. vii. 24. [34] Ib. v. 10.

[35] In Luke xxiv. 49, though not elsewhere by Jesus in the three first gospels.

[36] John vi. 63; xx. 22. Acts ii.

[37] Matt. iii. 15; xxiii. 3.

[38] Acts viii. 1, 14. Yet Peter on other occasions did not scruple to employ human means to remove himself out of the way of danger. Comp. Acts xii. 17.

[39] That is, supposing the narrative to be historical; but it must be admitted that the whole account of the proceeding before the Sanhedrim is suspicious; the writer of the Acts might well ascribe to the dying Stephen words attributed to Jesus by St. Luke; but it is not so clear that Stephen would at such a moment confine himself to expressions which would afterwards find a place exclusively in the gospel of Luke.

siveness[40], he proved that in this very matter the Jews had themselves served not God but Moloch, and that in reality all localities were the same to God[41], all temples but artificial symbols of the real temple of Him whose "throne is heaven and whose footstool earth."[42] The writer of Acts, whose narrative is a continuous apology for the liberal party, now introduces Paul, whose early animosity to the cause makes its issue a more signal triumph. Henceforth the older followers of Jesus become comparatively insignificant in the narrative[43]. Paul felt what was wanted in the former system; and despite the strict Judaism in which he had been educated, boldly filled up the blank, making Christianity independent as well as universal. With him the law fell confessedly into the subordinate rank of a schoolmaster, a means, not an end. The train of thought attributed to Stephen was probably that at the time generally entertained by the Hellenistic party. The Jews, the appointed heirs of salvation, had rejected their Messiah! If, in order to explain this paradox, it were suggested that the same obstinate antipathy to reform had pervaded all their history, it followed that the cause of the phenomenon must lie either in themselves or the system under which they lived. St. Paul's idea of the religious relation is nominally the same as that of Jesus. It is "righteousness," not, however, men's righteousness, but God's[44], and realized or acquired for the human subject in an entirely different way[45]. The Mosaic law

[40] The "ἁγιος τοπος." Comp. Acts vii. 7. 46; comp. xxi. 28, the moveable emblematic "σκηνη" being opposed to the fixed formal "*house*" which Solomon chose to build.

[41] Acts vii. 4, 5. 33. 49.

[42] Comp. Acts vii. 44 and 49. It was supposed by the Jews, and probably intended in the narrative, that God exhibited to Moses on Sinai the constitution of the universe. Exod. xxv. 40. "Little Genesis," in Fabricius, Cod. Ps. Vet. Test. ii. p. 120; and Supr. vol. i. p. 139.

[43] Except so far as their authority is required to sanction the great truth advocated by the writer. Acts x. 34 sq.

[44] Rom. i. 17, &c.

[45] Justification, or "Δικαιωσις" instead of "δικαιοσυνη."

(and to St. Paul Mosaic law was almost, as to Jesus, the expression of law generally), as proceeding from a divine source, was necessarily just, spiritual, holy[46]; and supposing perfect conformity with a perfect rule, righteousness, with its results of life and happiness, might through that law have been effectually realized[47]. But man is of twofold nature; he has within him a principle allied to the divine (νους, or ὁ εσω ἀνθρωπος), but so inseparably mixed up with the "carnal man" ("ἀνθρωπος σαρκικος or ψυχικος"), that he cannot act as the better principle prompts[48]. He apprehends, but cannot realize righteousness; and the very law which informs and should direct his conscience, becomes a snare or instrument of sin to him[49]. This unhappy state of internal conflict which under the mere law made righteousness unattainable, would have continued for ever had it not been for Christ. Christ, or Christ's gospel, is "the power of God for salvation;" but dependent on one condition, that of faith. St. Paul takes his stand on the famous prophetic axiom of "the just shall live by faith." Faith is not a mere formal adhesion to a name or a barren theoretical conviction, it is a consolatory practical assurance of a pregnant and potent fact which alters our nature. Faith in Christ is assurance of spiritual union with him, so that in his righteousness we, too, become "God's righteousness." Faith in his death is faith in the merits of his atonement[50]; faith in his resurrection is assurance of that spiritual change in our natures which supplies what under the mere law was impossible,

[46] Rom. vii. 12. 14, &c.

[47] Gal. iii. 12. 21.

[48] "Ὁ νομος πνευματικος εστιν· εγω δε σαρκινος ειμι." Rom. vii. 14. St. Paul, in this doctrine, follows cotemporary Jewish opinion, according to which there were two mental dispositions, the evil being as impossible entirely to control as the "working of leaven in the lump." (Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. p. 89 sq.) This evil propensity or "old leaven" was to be extirpated in the Messianic days. (Ib. p. 291.) The Talmud says, "In futuro sæculo auferet Deus ab Israelitis præputium cordis (figmentum malum), neque obfirmabunt amplius cervicem adversus Creatorem suum, juxtà id quod scriptum extat (Ezek. xi. 19), tollam cor lapideum è carne vestrâ, et reddam nobis cor carneum." Comp. 4 Esd. vi. 26, 27.

[49] "Δυναμις της ἁμαρτιας." 1 Cor. xv. 56.

[50] Rom. iii. 25; iv. 24, 25.

by raising up us also to God. For whereas by the law all men were under a curse[51], Christ redeemed them by taking the curse upon himself[52], exemplifying in his death the justice of God[53], and, at the same time, for ever setting man "free" from the law to enjoy the advantages of grace, life, and reconciliation[54]. The presumed resurrection of Jesus not only removed many of the apparent contradictions in his Messianic character, but tended to exalt the character itself. For while to a mere Jewish convert the second coming of Jesus was but the means of completing the technical (eschatological) outlines of his office, to St. Paul these narrow views were superseded and almost obliterated; the death of Jesus was to him the death of Judaism; henceforth he knew no more of "Christ after the flesh;" he had begun to live in the dead and risen Christ[55]; he shared the resurrection of whose reality he was convinced, and through which he became "a new creature."[56] He partook the "power from on high" promised by prophecy[57], which being but a renewal of man's original gift[58], might be represented under the ancient figure of a divine afflation[59], or even as a personal manifestation of the Son of God to the eye or ear of the convert. The conversion of St. Paul is related thrice in the Acts, and is often alluded to by the Apostle himself. If in one passage[60] the impression made on the mind must be taken in the sense of an objective apparition, parallel with those of Cephas, James, &c.; another place[61] with equal

[51] Gal. iii. 10. [52] Ib. iii. 13.

[53] Rom. iii. 26.

[54] St. Ignatius (to the Ephes. ch. ix.) describes the effect in bold allegory; "Ye are stones," he says, "for building the temple of the Father drawn up on high by the cross as by an engine, using the Holy Ghost for the rope."

[55] Rom. viii. 34. 2 Cor. v. 16. [56] 2 Cor. v. 17.

[57] 1 Cor. ii. 10. Gal. i. 12. Eph. i. 17; iii. 3.

[58] Gen. ii. 7. Job xxxii. 8. Prov. xx. 27. Jesus transferred to the law the dictates of nature and conscience; St. Paul treats the regenerated conscience as a mysterious internal revelation of Christ.

[59] John xx. 22. Acts ii. 2.

[60] 1 Cor. xv. 8; comp. ib. ix. 1.

[61] Gal. i. 16. Comp. 2 Cor. xii. 1. 7.

distinctness declares its subjectivity, and even in the Acts it is admitted that both the voice and vision were manifested not to bystanders, but to Paul only[62]. It was, in short, an irradiation of the spirit from within, not from the elements without; it was not what Paul *saw*, but what he seemed to see, and at all events fervently believed[63]. Either way, assurance was gained of the great fact of the resurrection[64], through which Paul became, not indeed blinded, but aware of his former blindness[65], and, by his eventual reillumination, an apostle[66] and new man. "There fell from his eyes, as it were, scales" (of prejudice), and he received at the same instant both the sight of the eyes and the insight of the Holy Spirit. Within his mind Christ had literally fulfilled the promise of destroying the old temple and building it up again in three days[67]; the temple being the regenerated human mind containing the Holy Spirit within its precincts[68]. The great distinction of a Christian is an independence of the external, arising out of assu-

[62] The assertion (Acts ix. 7) that the attendants, though "seeing no one," "heard the voice," is afterwards withdrawn (ch. xxii. 9); so that the objective vision to the eye is reduced to the "bright light," the customary accompaniment of celestial messages, in the present instance being the glorious light which was to "lighten the Gentiles" (Isa. ix. 2. Acts xxvi. 23), whose splendour of course far exceeded that of the sun, but which, physically speaking, was no very unusual appearance at noon day in the climate of Damascus.

[63] An attestation, he would have said, of the Spirit in its universality to his own individual spirit.

[64] Acts xxv. 19.

[65] Comp. Acts xxvi. 18. 2 Cor. iii. 14; and Acts xiii. 11.

[66] *i. e.* a witness of the resurrection. Comp. Acts i. 21, 22; ii. 32; x. 40, 41 (where in our version the punctuation is wrong); ix. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 15. St. Paul's apostleship is contested in the Clementine Homilies (xvii. 13) with characteristic Jewish illiberality. (Comp. Acts xiii. 45.) How, asks Peter, are we to believe that the Lord, who so long familiarly conversed with us, has appeared to you, if your doctrine does not agree with his? Why, if really an apostle, do you contend against me, the great pillar of the Church, supplanting me in the opinion of the people? (alluding probably to Gal. ii. 11.)

[67] Comp. Acts vi. 14; ix. 9. Saul having been blind during "three days." Mark xiv. 58. Heb. ix. 11.

[68] 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16.

rance of possessing the divine Spirit within him. Through this, of course, all estrangement ceases; they who have the Spirit of God are "sons of God," intimately connected and united with him[69]; they receive not, as did the Jews, a task-work of servitude and fear, but the spirit of adoption, and the apostle reproves the folly of the Galatians[70] for returning to the weak and beggarly elements of legal observance or Judæo-Christianity, instead of abiding by the "gracious" doctrine implicit faith in which was able to justify man by exalting his nature. For justification is not (what in fact it had been to the old prophets and to Jesus[71]) *forgiveness*, the mere esteeming or reckoning a person innocent who is really guilty; it is the true objective estimate of his regenerated nature as altered by the "righteousness of faith." The Christian is "baptized to Christ's death[72]. Henceforth the man of flesh, the carnal principle which could not realize "righteousness" by quantitative fulfilment, is dead and crucified with Christ, and if so, if we indeed live in Christ[73] sin becomes impossible, since its cause is eradicated[74]. Our life, by faith, is identified with that of Christ; if our flesh die with his flesh, our spirit shares his resurrection. His resurrection therefore justifies[75]; negatively we are dead to sin by his death; affirmatively, sharing his life, we share his righteousness. The "δικαιοσυνη Θεου" is, at the same time, "δικαιοσυνη ζωης."[76] Faith is but the first in a series of links spiritually connecting us with Christ and with God; and since all spirit is in close relation[77],

[69] 1 Cor. vi. 17.

[70] Gal. iii. 2; iv. 9.

[71] Comp. Isa. i. 18; xliii. 25. Ezek. xviii. 22.

[72] Rom. vi. 3. 1 Cor. xv. 29.

[73] Rom. viii. 9, 10.

[74] Since "he that is dead is free from sin." Rom. vi. 7. Thus was fulfilled the Rabbinical notion about the eradication of the evil propensity.

[75] Rom. iv. 25.

[76] Rom. v. 17, 18. 21; vi. 8. 11; viii. 10.

[77] "Αποσπασμα θειον ου διαιρετον," (according to Philo. "Quod det. pot. ins. sol." Mangey, i. 208,) "τεμνεται γαρ ουδεν του Θειου κατ' απαρτησιν αλλα μονον εκτεινεται."

and man's higher spirit[78] that very influence received aliunde by faith[79], our relation to God is both objective and subjective, the Spirit in its divine universality giving inward attestation to our spirit that we are "sons of God."[80] The doctrine might be objected to as mystical; and true it is that the things of God are known only through the Spirit of God[81]; but conversion to Christ unveils the mystery[82], removing the covering which had ever prevented the Israelites from observing the gradual evanescence of the "glory" of their own ephemeral legislation. The spiritual revelation of Christ's death and resurrection to St. Paul[83] had a twofold significance; it was the substitution of spirit for form, and of a system of *grace* for one of *merit*[84]. Paul found that "righteousness" is not of human growth; that man can only accept as favour what is beyond effort. Christianity thus fulfils its mission by shifting its ground. Grace replaces justice, virtue is made good by faith. The Christianity of St. Paul differs from that of Jesus as an imparted influence from without differs from moral effort from within; the one proceeds (primarily at least) from man, the other comes down from God. But the gift of righteousness and reconciliation must be accepted[85]. Faith is subjectively what grace is objectively. It had already been made by the Jews to comprehend all virtue[86]. The object of a Christian's faith is the justifying grace of God displayed in Christ's death and resurrection. It is the reconciling the human mind to an inference in common parlance untrue, *i.e.* to the ob-

[78] "Πνευμα." Corresponding to the Jewish "Neshamah," a supernal gift, the notion of which was derived from Gen. ii. 7. It was generally supposed not to be conferred until man's twentieth year. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 57. Supr. p. 339.

[79] Gal. iii. 2.

[80] Rom. viii. 4-17. The Cabbalists have the same doctrine. "Homo sanctificet se ipsum et sanctificabunt cum desuper;"—"et tum hæres fit omnium, et tales vocantur filii Dei; prout scriptum est Deut. xiv. 1." Gfrörer, ii. 58.

[81] 1 Cor. ii. 11 sq.

[82] 2 Cor. iii. 14. 17.

[83] Gal. i. 12. 1 Cor. ii. 2.

[84] "Μισθος λογιζομενος κατα οφειλημα."

[85] 2 Cor. v. 20.

[86] Supr. p. 254.

jective fact of the justification before God of man who is of himself in his natural condition not just. All have sinned and fallen short of God's glory and righteousness[87]. All, therefore, Gentile as well as Jew, are under the law's curse; for there was a Mosaic conscience where there was no Mosaic law, and thus the same law was revealed virtually, if not formally, to Gentiles also. All have therefore sinned, but are conditionally redeemed[88], Christ taking upon himself the curse incurred by us. Sin being extirpated with the flesh, the law, sin's universal concomitant, is dead also; we are henceforth emancipated by grace, or bound only by the law "of Christ" or "of the Spirit." For the law does not wholly die, it is revived in a new law, that of love, which retaining and fulfilling all that was immortal in its predecessor, limits our Christian emancipation by a more noble servitude to Christ and to each other[89]. Love includes the whole household of faith, being indeed only the practical exhibition in regard to other members of Christ's spiritual body of the faith which binds us to himself. They who live in Christ live not merely for themselves[90], but for all, whether Jew or Gentile, who have died in Christ, for all who have quaffed from the same living fountain of the Spirit[91]. We are all children of Abraham, "heirs according to the promise," not, indeed, of the "fleshly" Abraham, but of the "believing" Abraham[92], of him who staggered not at a seeming impossibility, and to whom, while yet uncircumcised, "faith was counted as righteousness." There are henceforth no more arbitrary distinctions; there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, male nor female[93]; all died in Adam, all are alive in Christ. Christ has done what Moses could not do; the old exclusiveness had ceased; the offer first made to the Jew is freely extended to the Greek[94], the boast of meritorious

[87] Rom. iii. 9. [88] Gal. iii. 13.
[89] 2 Cor. v. 14. Gal. v. 13 sq.; vi. 2. [90] 2 Cor. v. 15.
[91] Rom. xii. 13. [92] Rom. iv. [93] Gal. iii. 28.
[94] And that, not because it was first rejected by the Jews (Acts xiii. 46); but because of the comprehensiveness and abundance of Grace.

effort is excluded[95], and by a mysterious act of the theological[96] mind, a double transformation is effected, through which Christ is made sin, and the unrighteousness of man freely exchanged for the "righteousness" of God[97].

§ 5.

CHRISTIAN FORMS.

Christianity was no abrupt transition. Its idea and shape had their root in Judaism. It has two aspects; the moral conception, which, as eternally good and true, is not so much its own peculiarity as an essential part of all civilization; and secondly, the special dogmas and forms which making up its accidental expression or clothing, have never ceased to accompany its development, though often threatening to obscure or supersede the vital meaning connected with them. It was as natural that Jesus should use the current ideas and symbols of his time as that he should speak its language. A different style of expression and thought would have been as unsuited to his audience as to himself. He adopted the received theocratic image of a "kingdom;"[1] and as Messianic theory was from the first a virtual confession that God's real kingdom was not at the time identical with their own theocracy, so in the Messianic scheme of Jesus every element of a political nature was for obvious reasons expunged or postponed, and his kingdom was emphatically declared to be "not of this world." Of the particular gospel symbols connected with cotemporary traditions, such as the sacred "Stone," the "Shepherd," the "Light," the "Branch," the "Water of Life," and the "Bread from Heaven," some have been already noticed, some

[95] Rom. iii. 27. [96] Rom. x. 10.

[97] 2 Cor. v. 21.

[1] Comp. Wettstein to Matt. iii. 2. Targum to Mic. iv. 7. "Revelabitur regnum cælorum in Monte Zion." The consummation of Magian religion was a similar "kingdom of Ormuzd."

will recur again. But such illustrations could not solve the great problem, why did God reveal himself in a corrupt and perishable world? Why was man, the noblest of creation, allowed to fall, to become at enmity with his Maker and himself; and how, so fallen, is he to regain his lost estate? He cannot feel satisfied unless harmony be restored; and to effect the restoration he is not content with an inward operation of or on the mind, he wants an outward act, sign, or guarantee, appreciable by eye or ear, such as was demanded by the believing Abraham[2] as well as the unbelieving Zacharias[3]. Approximation, progress, are disheartening, insipid; we wish to clench our triumph, to cut short our labour, to find a by-path to the goal. It is certain that the very fact which to the Apostles as well as to other Jews had at first been an almost insurmountable "stumbling-block," namely, the death of Jesus[4], became afterwards, in part through a revival of the ancient theory of sacrifice, the most cherished assurance of their hope. But with equal certainty may it be affirmed that the answer ultimately given by Christianity to these grand problems of religious inquiry was not fully completed or "revealed" until after the death of its founder. It was then that in their official character as "witnesses of the resurrection,"[5] the apostles seem to have first propounded, in accordance with ancient and almost extinct ideas, the doctrine of his atoning and triumphant death, an event which they found scripture authority for presuming to have been part of God's mysterious and eternal scheme for the redemption and salvation of a guilty world[6]. We do not find in the three first gospels any distinct announcements by Jesus of his propitiatory death which can be relied on as authentic. The allusions to it ascribed to him are few, and the scripture passages

[2] Gen. xv. 8. [3] Luke i. 20. Comp. 1 Cor. i. 18. 23.
[4] Comp. Matt. xvi. 23. Mark viii. 33.
[5] Luke xxiv. 48. Acts i. 22; ii. 32; x. 41.
[6] Acts ii. 23; iii. 18. 21. Rom. xvi. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 7. Eph. iii. 5. 9. Col. 26.

now commonly understood as indicating it, are rarely, if ever, quoted by him. Even the emphatic 53rd of Isaiah, by which afterwards his followers strove ineffectually to remove the great Jewish "stumbling-block," receives in the gospels quite a different turn[7]. There existed the notion of atonement, but not of an atoning Messiah. Jesus may have eventually been influenced by the prevailing idea of meritorious suffering, but certainly did not deliberately plan his own death. He came to save sinners by turning them to repentance, not to supersede their exertions by his own vicarious act, or by undergoing at their hands a wanton martyrdom to aggravate their guilt[8]. The prophets, though allowing expiatory value to the suffering of the righteous, on the whole discourage the idea of vicarious atonement. Disregarding forms, they plead for sincerity and moral purity, especially advocating the natural law of personal retribution for personal offence. The teaching of Jesus was the same. His object was not form, but amendment. He preached the expiation by repentance preceding or accompanying the Messiah[9], whose final triumph was to be signalized by a judgment on the guilty, described by Malachi as an avenging fire[10], but whose career might also be compared to a purifying fountain cleansing Jerusalem from sin[11]. Jesus probably foresaw that his death would effectually secure the spiritualism of his doctrine by severing it unmistakeably and for ever from the idea of a worldly Messiah. It was this event which more than anything opened the tardy understandings of his followers to "know the scriptures."[12]. During his life they were blind to its import, and were far from anticipating advantage from their Master's death. If Jesus really and clearly foreshowed to them not his death only, but God's eter-

[7] Matt. viii. 17. In the second century Justin M. (Tryph. ch. 68 sq.) makes a Jew admit the Messianic application of this passage, yet not the death of Jesus by crucifixion. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 266 sq. Epist. Barnab. ch. v.

[8] Matt. xxiii. 35.

[9] Luke i. 75.

[10] Mal. iii. 2, 3; iv. 1.

[11] Zech. xiii. 1.

[12] Luke xxiv. 32. 45.

nal purpose of reconciling the world to himself by it, how can it be credited that they forsook and denied him at the very moment when he was voluntarily offering himself to fulfil this transcendant act of love; or how reconcile with such supposed declaration their apparent ignorance, after as well as before it was made, of his purpose and of the nature of his kingdom[13]? The same or greater difficulty involves the traditions which would make Simeon[14] or John the Baptist[15] to have foreseen the plan of atonement; since neither John himself[16], nor his disciples who went over to Jesus, appear afterwards to have themselves known what they were before supposed to have taught. And if the aim of Jesus was to show by precept and example the possibility of exact fulfilment of God's law, why should he have deliberately planned an inconsistent resource the necessity of which was in fact not felt until St. Paul proved the inefficacy of the law for justification, especially when the disciples' conduct and even his own language show that the plan, if conceived, must have been reserved a mysterious secret within his own mind[17]. He said, "I go to prepare a place for you;" "I go because it is written of me, and that I may rise again to enter my Father's glory;"[18] once only, "I go to be a ransom for the sins of the world;"[19] so that it seems more reasonable to take the allusions which, if made, were overlooked or misunderstood[20], as instances of "prolepsis," the narrative being only the form given to a subjective fact in the writer's mind, the fact, that is, of a well-known cotemporary doctrine which, when there were no longer any means of testing the correctness of the assertion, it seemed almost impossible to ascribe to any other than to Jesus.

[13] Comp. Matt. xvi. 23; xix. 27, 28; xxvi. 31. 70. Mark ix. 32. Luke xviii. 34; xxiv. 21.

[14] Luke ii. 35.

[15] John i. 29.

[16] Matt. xi. 3.

[17] Comp. Luke ix. 45; xviii. 34.

[18] Luke xviii. 31; xxiv. 26.

[19] Comp. Matt. xx. 28.

[20] So of the last supper, and the doctrines of the fourth Gospel.

§ 6.

THEORY OF SACRIFICIAL ATONEMENT.

Sacrifice was a symbol of many meanings. The association or communion with God aimed at in religion might be sought in as many ways as there are varieties of feeling or mental development. Religion takes its expression from common usage, and the first sacrifices would seem to have been gratulatory oblations to a personified God, composed of the usual food of man, vegetable or animal[1], accompanied with water or wine[2]; they were either burned in fire, the element supposed most nearly to resemble the divine nature[3], or were set out as shew-bread, as a "lectisternium" or table of the sun, enabling the gods to satisfy their appetites or to regale their nostrils[4]. Every phase of human life was refined through connection with religion, the altar, though often blood-stained, was a powerful instrument of civilization[5], and every meal or banquet was ennobled by becoming a holy rite submitted to regulation[6]. The relation to the Supreme Being implied in the earliest oblations or sacrificial banquets, in the hecatomb feasts of Homer, and the meat and drink-offerings of the Hebrews, was of the simplest kind. The sacrifice was "Jehovah's bread,"[7] and the most savoury parts of the victim were appropriated to the Being who, even in Ezekiel[8], com-

[1] Porphyr. Abstin. ii. 5. 28. 33. Ewald, Anhang to Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 27. The juice of a wild plant, the milk and honey of shepherds, and the flesh of animals, seem to have been used successively. Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 791.

[2] Paus. i. 26. 5. 1 Sam. vii. 6. Judg. vi. 20.

[3] Lev. iii. 11; ix. 2, 3. Deut. xxxii. 38. Max. Tyr. viii. 4. Judg. vi. 21.

[4] Gen. viii. 21. Lev. i. 9. 13. Numb. xv. 7. Amos v. 21. Iliad, i. 483; iv. 48; viii. 549. Aristoph. Birds, 1515.

[5] Comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 34.

[6] Comp. Ewald, Geschichte, Anhang. to vol. ii. pp. 57. 134. Lev. xvii. 3. In after times when the only legitimate altar was at Jerusalem the regulation was necessarily altered. Deut. xii. 15; xv. 19.

[7] Ewald, ub. sup. p. 31.

[8] Ezek. xliv. 7. 15.

plains that the fat and blood of right belonging to him for food had been given to other gods. Of course the most efficient sacrifice was the object most valued by the sacrificer[9]. But the religious feeling changed according as men were thoughtless or reflective, or as a smile or frown seemed to predominate in the aspect of Providence. The God of Nature is ambiguous; he is Siva-Roudra, the "joyous" and the "terrible," alternately kind and cruel. The undisciplined mind apprehends the stern more readily than the friendly character, and its ideas and acts reflect its impressions. The world then appears a scene in which labour and death are the price inexorably exacted for fertility and life. Nature sympathizes with man[10], and man feels that the only means of communicating with the divine is by acting sympathetically with Nature. But it was difficult to understand Nature, and from misinterpretation arose the "heavy burthens of antiquity," its grotesque and often cruel rites. All children are imitators, and imitation was the religious expression of the world's children. Superstition voluntarily offered itself to the ordeal which seemed prepared for it, mimicking the course of Nature which at the close of each year recovers a renewed being at the price of self-immolation. It was this cruel tribute ever owed by life to its source which Athens renewed periodically to the Cretan Moloch, the power who devoured his own offspring[11], and exacted the sacrifice of the first-born from the kings of Moab and Phœnicia[12]. Many of the voluntary deaths of ancient story, as those of Codrus and Curtius, the sanguinary propitiation of the elements under direction of the unerring oracle, and the fateful murders of Hippotes, Peleus, Perseus, and many other heroes, can be depended on only as mythical expressions of

[9] Comp. Iliad, vi. 272. Wild animals, as not being property, were generally considered unfit for sacrifice. Comp. Ewald, Anhang to Gesch. vol. ii. p. 32. "Whoever (says the Bagvat-Geeta, Lect. iii. 11) enjoys what the gods bestow without first restoring to them a part is a thief and robber."

[10] Jer. xii. 4. Hos. iv. 3.

[11] Diod. xx. 14.

[12] Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 29. 2 Kings iii. 26.

this sentiment. When the savage saw the earth parched with drought, its fruits failing, and the young of man and beast perishing, he thought his oblations had been too scantily performed, and determined to decimate his children in order to preserve the remainder[13]. Athamas, said the legend[14], by direction of the Queen of Nature married Nephele, and had by her two children; he afterwards became enamoured of the mortal Ino, so that Nephele resenting his infidelity fled to heaven, and oppressed the land he ruled over with drought. The oracle was consulted, and the envious stepdame intercepting the returning messengers, persuaded them to announce that the death of the children of Nephele was the required atonement. A similar calamity arising from elemental causes, originated the tribute of Athens to Minos[15]. Sterility continues until sacrificial reparation is made. Nay, the fatal necessity outlasts the immediate occasion, and becomes a periodical demand. The death of one victim causes other deaths to atone for it; Pelias suffered the penalty he had exacted from Sidero, so that life is a continued succession of ransoms and expiations[16]. In lieu of the typical sacrifice of Athamas himself, or of his children, was ultimately substituted a golden ram, the zodiacal sign presiding over the year's extinction and renovation. At the close of the Roman year, when out of elemental strife a new creation was about to spring forth from the ruins of the old (in mythical language, when Zeus was expected to return from his Ethiopian retreat, or had been victorious over his Titan foes), a day of solemn atonement was followed by the carnival of the saturnalia[17], the statues of the gods were unchained, men abandoned the toga for the loose robe and cap of liberty,

[13] Dionys. Hal. i. 23 sq. "It was customary," says Porphyry (Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10, p. 90, Gaisf.), "under great public calamity for rulers to offer up their own children to the avenging gods in order to avert general ruin." They thus made, as it were, "a covenant with death." Isa. xxviii. 15. 18.

[14] Schol. Aristoph. Aves, 258.

[15] Diod. iv. 61.

[16] Job xxxiii. 24. Psal. xlix. 7. Exod. xxx. 12.

[17] Macrob. S. i. 7.

and even slaves enjoyed temporary freedom. The expiatory month (December) was consecrated to Saturn, as January to the "renewer" Janus[18], both probably only varying aspects of the one stern power who is both Patulcius and Clusius, the "beginning and the end." Janus is the "door" of a new life, and it was therefore customary to smear the door-posts at the renewal of the year with blood[19], as the Egyptians marked their sheep with red in order to propitiate Time, and to defer the end of the world[20]. The anniversaries of the solstices and equinoxes, especially the vernal[21], were the times generally chosen for these celebrations. It was then that the emblem of life, the Bull[22], the progeny or symbol of Nature, was obliged to die, or what is the same thing, to be carried into the presence of Eurystheus[23]. Then the Israelite, too, made a bloody atonement to the Destroyer, the ruthless exactor of the first born, connecting what had once been probably a type of the liberation of the elements with the traditional escape of his fathers from the house of bondage into the "Lord's Rest." The Theban Zeus was then appeased by the offering of a ram, and at the same season Athens was purified by the victims of the Thargelia, and alternate joy and sorrow commemorated the death and revival of Adonis and Attis[24]. For spring is as a new creation[25], and the sun's escape from winter is a resurrection from the tomb. In token of the lengthening of the day and of the succession of light to darkness, the Roman client at the close of the year presented wax tapers to his patron, as the

[18] Macrob. Sat. i. 7, p. 237, Zeun. Virg. Æn. viii. 357. Creuz. i. 59. Plato, Laws, viii. p. 828.

[19] Exod. xii. 22. Judg. xi. 31. Bohlen. Indien. i. 140.

[20] Epiphan. Hær. xix. 3. Comp. Virg. Eclog. iv. 43, Serv.

[21] *e. g.* the ver sacrum, the Noorooz, the Huli, the Phrygian Hilaria. Macrob. Zeun. p. 326. Bohlen. Gen. 140.

[22] Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 508. 511, &c.

[23] *i. e.* Pluto. Apollod. ii. 5. 7. Guigniaut, Rel. iii. 463 sq. 482. 485.

[24] Creuz. Symb. ii. 366. 419.

[25] Virg. Georg. ii. 338.

Christians solemnly renewed their fires at Easter[26]; the first Attic month had its name from its "Hecatombs" or the power they propitiated[27], and at the beginning of the older year occurred the Diasia, in which cakes in form of victims were offered to Zeus Meilichius.

Consciousness of physical evil is closely followed by that of moral; and if the notion of a God of fear does not of itself imply acknowledgment of sin, the ideas are at all events nearly associated. As there is no precise date at which it can be said that man "fell" or lost his golden age, so it is scarcely possible to imagine a time when sacrifice was purely gratulatory, or when altering its character with human impressions the voluntary tribute became a penal forfeit, the festive communion an atonement. Theoretically there is a wide difference between a convivial meeting of friends, and a solemn attempt to renew a friendship that has been interrupted. But all religion (and of man other than religious we can scarcely be said to have any experience) implies more or less of an estrangement or "fall," which it proposes to reconcile by mediation. Conscience from within co-operated with the visible terrors of nature to enforce the obligation of voluntary suffering upon the worshipper, when self-convicted of sin he conceived himself to need a perpetual ransom, and his moral as well as physical being to be "bought with a price." Offences were always multiplying, the debt was never cancelled[28]. The self-inflicted losses of Polycrates and the longing of Macedonian Philip for a little evil to qualify extraordinary success, were closely related to the sin offering, as were the beatings and wailings of Osiris, and the infanticide, which when performed by an enemy was more dreaded by the Israelites than their arms[29]. The expiatory value of sacrifice was most fully secured by the death of the sacrificer. The aboriginal law seeming to re-echo the voice

[26] Brande's Antiquities, "Easter Eve."

[27] Hecatombæon or Cronion.

[28] Psal. xix. 13. Job i. 5.

[29] 2 Kings iii. 27; xxii. 13. 2 Chron. xxviii. 11. 13. Comp. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10, pp. 85 and 90, Gaisf.

of nature was the severe maxim, "the reward of sin is death;" "the soul that sinneth must die." Whatever may have been dreamed as to the innocence of the golden age, nothing can be more certain than that as ferocity diminishes with civilization, the earliest legislation was the sternest, and that the cannibalism and human sacrifice which continued to the age of Adrian to defy Greek and Roman civilization were the general rule of savage life[30]. The horrors of barbarism were perpetuated by obstinate superstition; the sardonic smile of the victim was thought to make it more palatable to the Deity[31], and its groans were drowned by acclamations or noisy instruments. But all atonement implied substitution. All felt conscious of sin, and it was to avert its general consequences that atonement was made. In time the principle was carried farther, and sacrifice, in itself symbolical, became the symbol of a symbol. The "φαρμακοι" of the Thargelia were followed by blows and execrations from the people healed by their deaths, and the goat driven to Azazel in the wilderness was loaded with the guilt of the entire Israelitish congregation. And as part was substituted for the whole, the individual for the family or country, the first-fruits for the harvest, the gods were still farther imposed on by receiving the bare bones instead of the flesh[32], the diseased or mutilated for the sound carcase[33], or when a hair, a few drops of blood or partial wounding of the person[34], a lower animal, or even a plant, for plants too have life[35], were deemed to be sufficient. "In sacrifices," says Ser-

[30] "Monstra," says Pliny, "in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandi vero saluberrimum." N. H. 30. 1. Sueton. August. 15. Livy, xxii. 57.

[31] Hence the reading "ἀσμινος," in Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10, p. 90, Gaisf. "Infans necessarius adhuc tener qui sub cultro tuo rideat." Tertull. Apol. 8. Plut. de Superst. 13, says the mother of the slaughtered child was prohibited from uttering a groan, for if she did she lost both bribe and child.

[32] Hesiod.

[33] Mal. i. 8. 13.

[34] Paus. viii. 23. 1. This was probably the primary meaning of circumcision, which was also a symbolical consecration. Comp. Lev. xix. 23. Exod. iv. 24, 25.

[35] "Τα δε ἐμψυχα φυτα και ζωα." Max. Tyr. xvii. 8. Seneca, Ep. 58.

vius[36], "the pretended is often taken for the real; and in this way animal victims which are sometimes difficult to be procured are replaced by images of bread or wax."[37] Amosis ordered wax tapers to be burned instead of men at Heliopolis[38], and an image of a kneeling man reflecting the original superstition was impressed on the forehead of the substituted ox[39], upon which the priest "laid his hand" in token of transference of guilt. The great change was recorded in legends such as those of Iphigenia, Hercules, or Abraham, setting forth how the Deity had himself interfered to purify his altars[40], that is, the change was effected when the Deity revealed himself in a milder character, or when priestly wisdom[41] was forced to relent in deference to general feeling. It is however noticeable, that while among the Greeks and Persians whole offerings or holocausts were rare, among the Hebrews this unreserved kind of sacrifice implying a more complete devotional self-abandonment seems to have been preferred to any other[42].

To the metaphysician sacrifice had a deeper meaning. Though properly but one of the means for procuring divine communion, from its pre-eminence it came to include all other devotional acts, and even appropriated the general name of worship[43]. For Pantheistic worship is only a reversal of the process by which the great Spirit was poured out into the diversified forms of being, a restoration of the particular into the universal by which the Pitris or Patriarchs of old were supposed

[36] Serv. to Æn. ii. 116.

[37] Menu. v. 37. Herod. ii. 47. Ovid, Fast. v. 621. Macrob. Sat. i. 7. Plut. Isis, ch. xxx. 50. Schol. Thucyd. i. 126.

[38] Euseb. Pr. Ev. iv. 16. 3. Porphyr. Abst. ii. 55.

[39] Plut. Isis, 31. Creuz. ii. 7. Porph. Abst. iv. 7, p. 316. Comp. Ælian, N. A. xii. 34.

[40] Paus. ix. 8. 1. Porphyr. Abstin. ii. 55, 56. Προσηκατο δ' ὁ δαιμων αντι του ἀνθρωπου του βουν· οὐτως ισαξιον ἐστι το δρωμενον.

[41] Personified in Hermes (Apollod. i. 9. 1. 4), who accepted a golden ram for the life of Phryxus. Comp. Herod. vii. 197.

[42] Ewald, Anhang. u. s. 53. 70.

[43] Comp. Bagavad-Geeta, Lect. iv. 23 sq. Gen. xxii. 5. Menu. iv. 23, &c.

to have raised themselves to gods[44]. The true sacrificial fire was the sun which makes a yearly holocaust of the earth; and the holy oblation of butter and curds was said to be "produced" by the universal sacrifice, as being a derivative portion of the great Being ever renewed and manifested in creation. The blood which the vulgar were taught to put aside as a sacred perquisite in order to eradicate cannibalism[45] was the most expressive symbol of the outpoured universal life, so that after a libation of the blood in this sense[46] the flesh was shared among the worshippers[47], without the reservation which had been usual when the gods were supposed to be nourished by the ceremony as well as propitiated. All sacrifice was originally a united feast of men and gods, and every human meal continued to maintain its character as a religious rite. In sacrifice alone was it lawful for the Hindoo to take animal life, for it was only the victim's religious consecration which fitted it to be received as food into the temple of the living body[48]. Every sacrifice and repast therefore implying divine communion through association with the gods as messmates, became doubly so in a higher and sacramental sense, the victim and all partaking of it being by consecration made mystically one with them. It was said[49], "there is the life of gods and the life of men; to connect them a middle term is required, since extremes can never meet without a middle or mediator, whose nature must resemble that of the terms needing its inter-

[44] Roth on Brahmâ, in the Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft. Comp. Menu. iii. 192. Unfortunately the gods hid the sacrificial pillar in the earth to prevent men from following their example. Aitareya Brahmana quoted in Roth's Nirûkta.

[45] Comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 32. Ghillany, Menschenopfer der Hebraër, p. 607.

[46] Lev. xvii. 11. Comp. Gen. ix. 4. Cæsar. B. G. vi. 16. Virg. Æn. ix. 349.

[47] Strabo, xv. 732. Deut. xii. 27.

[48] Menu. v. 22, 23. 27. 30 sq. Supr. p. 33. Comp. Lev. xvii. "Whoso killeth any animal and bringeth not as an offering to the Lord, blood shall be imputed to that man." Comp. Bagavad-Geeta, Lect. iii. 11 sq. "Beasts," said the Hindoo, "were created by the self-existent to be immolated in sacrifice; I therefore immolate thee, without incurring any sin by depriving thee of life." Asiat. Res. v. 374.

[49] Sallust. Philos. ch. xvi.

vention. Between life and life, life is the only suitable mean, and for this reason living animals are employed in sacrifices." In this sense those worshipping a god were said to be joined to him[50]; and the Jews excluded strangers from their Passover for the same reason that they held the partaking in the banquets and meats of the heathen to be a virtual participation in idolatry[51].

Pantheism had its own way of construing atonement. The felicity it proposed in divine reunion had its obvious antithesis in the state of individual separation. Hence matter was thought corrupt, mortality an evil, the world the prison and penance of the spirit. In its fleshly tabernacle the soul is as a stranger and pilgrim[52] far from its home; the ætherial spark is dimmed, and longs to escape to its heavenly kindred[53]. Death, through which alone death can be destroyed[54], is the spirit's escape[55], the only effectual removal of sin[56]. Heraclitus used to say that life and death are felt together in what we call our lives and our deaths; since in the living body the soul dies and lies entombed, but when we die it revives and lives. Men are mortal gods, gods are immortal men; life is the death and death the life of the inward divinity[57]. God made the world by the sacrifice of himself. His renunciation of a prior existence in the universal was the commencement of his visible finite manifestations. To complete the fatal circle, and to put

[50] Numb. xxv. 3. Psal. cvi. 28. Hos. iv. 17; ix. 10.

[51] Exod. xii. 43; xxix. 33. 1 Kings xiii. 9. Tob. i. 12. 1 Cor. x. 20. The relation was expressed by a familiar figure, that of "marriage" with God, or in case of idols of adultery.

[52] "Παροικία τις ὁ βιος." Lucian, Hemst. i, 434 n. 19. Æschyl. Dial. iii. 3. Cic. de Leg. i. 9. Or, as Schiller says, "Zum traur'gen Sarcophage die unsterbliche herunter stieg."

[53] Comp. Gfrörer's Philo, i. 377.

[54] Comp. Heb. ii. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 21.

[55] Joseph. Apion. ii. 25.

[56] Hence the "eternal example of *repentance*" given by Enoch's "*translation*" to God. Ecclûs. xliv. 16; comp. LXX, Gen. v. 24.

[57] Sext. Empir. Pyrr. Hyp. iii. 230. Clem. Alex. Pæd. iii. 215 n.

an end to limitation and imperfection[58], the process must be inverted, the great chasm of being again be crossed[59], until all things are made one in God. Every sacrifice is therefore expiation; for as bodily existence is a sacrifice of the spirit, so the relinquishment of it is that complete mortification of a corrupt nature which minor penances imperfectly imitate[60].

§ 7.

THE ANCIENT HEBREW SACRIFICES.

The Hebrews were no strangers to human sacrifices[1]. The very foundation of their hereditary privileges was the "faith" of their great patriarch in the authenticity of a divine command

[58] Eph. ii. 14. 16. John xvii. 21. 23.

[59] Luke xiii. 32. John xvi. 28. 1 Cor. xiii. 10. Virg. Æn. ii. 116.

[60] The following is a Mantra or formula in which the sacrificer, having duly prepared his human victim with consecrated food, &c., and smeared him with sandal wood, is directed to worship the deities presiding over different parts of his body and afterwards the victim himself by name:—"O best of men, O most auspicious! O thou who art an assemblage of all the Deities, and most exquisite! Bestow thy protection on me! Save me thy devoted, save my sons, my cattle, my kindred, the state, its ministers, and all friends, and as death is unavoidable, part with life doing an act of benevolence. Bestow on me, O most auspicious! the blessing which is attained by the most austere devotion, by acts of charity and performance of religious ceremonies, and at the same time, O most excellent! attain supreme bliss thyself. May thy auspices, O most auspicious! keep me secure from Racshasas, Pisachas, terrors, serpents, bad princes, enemies, and other evils; and death being unavoidable, charm Bhagavati in thy last moments by copious streams of blood, spouting from the arteries of thy fleshy neck."

"When this has been done, O my children," says Siva, "the victim is even as myself, and the guardian deities of the ten quarters take place in him. Then Brahmâ and all the other deities assemble in the victim, and be he ever so great a sinner he is made pure from sin; when pure his blood changes to ambrosia, and he gains the love of Mahadevi, the goddess of Yog-Niddra (*i. e.* tranquil repose of mind from abstraction of ideas), the goddess of the whole universe, or rather the universe itself." Extract from the Calica Purana, Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 379 sq.

[1] Ewald, Anhang. v. supr. p. 75.

to kill his own son[2]. And when the king of Moab offered his first born, the heir-apparent to his throne, "upon the wall" in sight of the besieging Israelites, the latter were seized with panic and fled, not, as Josephus pretends, from motives of humanity and pity for the Moabitish king, but because they superstitiously believed in the efficacy of the sacrifice they had witnessed, or, as the text expresses it, because in consequence of the sacrifice "there was great indignation against Israel."[3] Although the expedition had been approved and inaugurated by Jehovah's prophet, its success was interrupted by the performance of a religious act interdicted indeed in the present Levitical code, but evidently believed at the time by Hebrews as well as Moabites to be a charm of certain efficacy to procure divine favour. Accordingly it is expressly related of Kings Ahaz and Manasseh that they "burned their sons in the fire," and that the great majority of the monarchs of Jerusalem followed "the evil example of their fathers." What could have been the practices of those fathers anterior to the admonitions of the prophets, or when the prophets themselves scarcely censured[4], or like Samuel and Elijah themselves adopted the murder of a man as a sacrificial rite[5]? The character of the religion of a people may be generally inferred from that of their ordinary customs. David, whose biography is given more

[2] The case of Abraham, it is said, differs from all others, because he acted by God's command. But does not every savage who immolates a human being think and *believe* that he is thereby obeying the will of God? The order, it is said, was countermanded; but God does not send lying prophets and lying messages; he does not order a thing to-day in order to prohibit it to-morrow; he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Numb. xxiii. 19. 1 Sam. xv. 29. Mal. iii. 6.

[3] *i. e.* wrath of Jehovah. 2 Kings xxii. 13; iii. 27. 1 Chron. xxvii. 24. 2 Chron. xxix. 8. Comp. Justin. xviii. 7. The explanations, if they are to be so called, that *the Moabites* felt indignation against Israel (Newman's Hebrew Monarchy), or that the Israelites were so disgusted with the conduct of the Moabites that they would not even fight with such an enemy (Thenius, ad l.), refute themselves. The sacrifice was intended as a spell, the "Dira Detestatio," or curse, such as was performed in the Indian worship of Cali, "infusing by holy texts the soul of the enemy into the body of the victim." Comp. Asiat. Researches, v. 386.

[4] Mic. vi. 7.

[5] 1 Sam. xv. 33. 1 Kings xviii. 40.

in detail than that of other kings, was a perfect servant of Jehovah who "went fully after the Lord;" yet his acts were those of a Moloch-worshipper[6]. He was induced by a famine to acquiesce in the murderous atonement proposed by revengeful priests and executed by the Gibeonites[7], he burned the Ammonites in the ovens of their own idol[8], and destroyed the Moabites, like the Amalekites devoted by Saul, measuring them out upon the ground with a line, a third to live, two-thirds to die[9]. It is utterly incredible that the practice of human sacrifice could have been suddenly introduced; it must have been the originally congenial invention of superstitious savages and cannibals propagated and confirmed by inveterate habit. The same ferocity with which enemies were treated by Joshua, David, or Amaziah[10], had of old been the prevailing characteristic of the internal feuds of the Israelitish tribes[11]; and even the executions prescribed by law, whether inflicted on natives or foreigners, are described as fulfilments of a vow, or as performances of sacrifice[12]. It has been commonly believed that the Moloch-worship forbid-

[6] The name of religion has notoriously been perverted to sanction the most atrocious acts. In a sermon given on the Thanksgiving-day, Nov. 15, 1849, the Bishop of London is reported to have said that David was a religious man, his good deeds having been done in the sight of God and in hope of pleasing him, while his sins were bitterly lamented as involuntary offences against him to whom he devoted his life. "If the Psalms be true," continued the Bishop, "not the wicked and notorious sinner only will be turned into hell, but all the people who forget God." But surely, unless adultery and murder are involuntary acts which a religious person may commit yet still be religious, David not only occasionally forgot God, but was an open and notorious sinner.

[7] 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

[8] Ghillany, Menschenopfer, p. 773. Thenius to Sam. ii. 12. 31. It is observable, that in a psalm supposed to have been composed in reference to this event (Psal. xxi. 9), the miserable Ammonites are said to have been "swallowed up" by Jehovah himself.

[9] 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xiv. 12.

[10] 2 Chron. xxv. 12.

[11] Judg. xx. 48; xxi. 12.

[12] Exod. xxxii. 27. 29. Deut. xiii. 16; xx. 16. Isa. xxxiv. 6. Jer. xlvi. 10. Comp. Exod. xxii. 20. Comp. the expression "opening the mouth to the Lord." Judg. xi. 36. Exod. xx. 7. Job xxii. 27. Psal. lxi. 8; cxvi. 14. 18. Matt. v. 33.

den by law under pain of death was for the first time introduced by Solomon[13]; that this highly religious and wise monarch had so little profited by the law's plain precepts and by the special revelations with which he was himself favoured, that in his old age he apostatized through the influence of a few fanatical inmates of his harem, and dared the penalty of death through an unnatural predilection for Moloch-worship. The great improbability of this suggests the idea of a mistake or inversion of view in the Old Testament compilers, who in their patriotic anxiety to represent their ancestors in the most favourable light, may have attributed to them the ideas of a more enlightened age. The same anachronism which anticipates the use of the name Jehovah[14], that of the city of Jerusalem, the observance of the Sabbath, and the rite of circumcision[15], may have been adopted in the other case[16] in order to rescue antiquity from reproach, and especially to fortify the sanctions of the law by glorifying the name of Moses. Yet an indiscriminate admission of this perhaps inevitable misrepresentation would be to thwart its probable object. It would be to suppose the nation to have derived so little benefit from the divine oracles with which they were favoured, that they became constantly worse instead of better, and after all the discipline of law and prophets were left in a greater depth of degradation than when they received them[17]. Surely it is more natural to suppose that the worship of Moloch appertained to the earlier more emphatically than to the later period of Hebrew history; that it became less frequent as its hideousness became more noticed and discountenanced; that it was identical with the first rude worship of that "jealous" and "consuming" power symbolized in the fire and whirlwind,

[13] 1 Kings xi. 7.

[14] Comp. Exod. vi. 3.

[15] Comp. Gen. xvii. 11. 14. Tuch, p. 343, and V. Bohlen, p. 192 sq. ad loc. Also Josh. v. 4. 7, as to "rolling away the reproach of Egypt" by the general circumcision of, as Rosenmüller calculates, a million of persons, who, according to Genesis, had "broken the covenant."

[16] Comp. Gen. ix. 4.

[17] Isa. lvii. 5. 9. Ezek. xx. 31.

who demanded the first-born of man and beast for sacrifice[18]; that in process of time these horrid rites were exchanged for milder ones, but that the Bible writers in their representations of Jehovah eagerly vindicate his character by transferring to older times improvements of newer date, making inveterate practices appear as detestable innovations, for which with uncontrollable perverseness the Jews were ever deserting their own pure theism.

The Israelites of early times were in all probability as barbarous as other nations. Like savages they devoured the still bleeding carcase[19], and the emphatic prohibitions of this practice in a later day as well as of the kindred one of sacrificing to Moloch, must have undoubtedly been required by its continued recurrence. These odious rites are a subject of the indignant remonstrances of the later prophets. "The land," they cry, "is full of blood;" "thou city that sheddest blood in the midst of thee, thou hast done so to thy own ruin, thou hast polluted thyself with idols that thy time might come."[20] "They have committed adultery and blood is on their hands; with their idols have they committed adultery, and have also caused their sons, whom they bare unto me, to be given them for food."[21] To partake of the flesh of the offering is well known to have been a religious act usually making part of the ceremony[22]; and it follows that the horrid "food"[23] which was offered to the gods was shared also by men. "Ye eat with the blood," says Ezekiel[24]; "ye lift up your eyes to your idols, and shed blood." This was the most probable meaning of the sin of "eating on the mountains,"[25] and of the "abominable morsels" which floated in the witch broths of the sacrificial cauldrons[26]. It is notorious that the Canaanitish

[18] Exod. xiii. 13.
[19] 1 Sam. xiv. 32. Ezek. xxxiii. 25.
[20] Ezek. ix. 9; xxii. 3.
[21] Ezek. xxiii. 37 and xvi. 20.
[22] Lev. vii. 15.
[23] Deut. xxxii. 38. Jer. iii. 24. Ezek. xvi. 20; xliv. 7. 15.
[24] Ezek. xxxiii. 25.
[25] Ezek. xviii. 6.
[26] Isa. lxv. 4.

tribes in general "slew their children in their sacrifices, used secret ceremonies, and made revellings of strange rites."[27] The same practices prevailed among the Hebrews according to the testimony of their own prophets. "They did not destroy the nations concerning whom the Lord commanded them, but were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works. They served their idols, which became a snare unto them; yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan; and the land was polluted with blood."[28] The 16th and 23rd chapters of Ezekiel attest the similarity of the worship of the Hebrews to that of idolatrous nations, and the prophet expressly declares that the similarity continued. "When ye offer gifts, when ye make your sons pass through the fire, ye pollute yourselves with your idols even unto this day."[29] Not only did the Hebrews share the abominations of the tribes who burned sons and daughters in the name of religion[30], but they committed if possible more infamous excesses[31], so that even Samaria and Sodom were righteous by comparison[32]. The inhabitants of Palestine had from of old been anthropophagous like the Læstrygones and Cyclops[33]; their Israelitish successors continued the loathsome defilement, causing God to pour out his fury to punish them[34]. But the prophet consoles his native country under the execrations of its conquerors by announcing that these horrors would take place no more[35]. Yet if in the time of the captivity the Israelites mixed up cannibalism with their idolatry, it becomes more than probable, notwithstanding

[27] Wisd. xii. 4; xiv. 23. Zech. ix. 7.
[28] Psal. cvi. 34.
[29] Ezek. xx. 31.
[30] Deut. xii. 31.
[31] Ezek. v. 6; xvi. 20. 47. 51.
[32] Ezek. xvi. 52.
[33] Numb. xiii. 32.
[34] Ezek. xxxvi. 18.
[35] Ezek. xxxvi. 13. "Because men say of thee thou art a man-destroyer, and hast made thy people childless; therefore thou shalt no more eat men nor be a cannibal to thy children; I will no more hear the reproach of thee among the heathen."

the anxiety of their annalists to represent the past as it ought to have been rather than as it was, that the propensity existed in a still more frightful degree in those early times when every man "did what was right in his own eyes."[36] It was then thought necessary to restrict the Hebrews from eating the carrion which the wild beast rejected[37], nor was the misdemeanor considered even in later times a serious one[38]. "Fear ye not," says Joshua, in answer to the formidable account of the spies respecting the indigenous cannibals of Palestine[39], "fear not the inhabitants of the land, for *they are bread for us* (*i. e.* instead of our being bread for them); their defence is gone from them, but Jehovah is with us; fear ye not." "Behold," says Balaam, "the people shall ride up as a lion, as a young lion; he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain. He shall eat up the nations that are his enemies, and gnaw their bones; their arrows shall he trample on."[40] There is more in these words than a mere poetical figure. Palestine was indeed a country "which eat men, and made its people childless." "Draw near," exclaims the prophet[41], "ye sons of the sorceress, spawn of the adulterer and the whore[42]. Against whom do ye sport yourselves; against whom make ye a wide mouth, and draw out the tongue? Are ye not children of transgression, a brood of lies, who inflame yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying children in the valleys, under the clefts of the rocks?—And thou wentest to 'the king' (Moloch) with ointment, and didst increase thy perfumes, and didst send thy messengers afar off, debasing thyself even unto hell." Although Hebrew

[36] Judg. xvii. 6. Deut. xii. 8.

[37] Exod. xxii. 13. Lev. vii. 24.

[38] Lev. xvii. 15; xxii. 8.

[39] Numb. xiv. 9.

[40] Numb. xxiii. 24; xxiv. 8.

[41] Isa. lvii. 3. 9; lix. 3. Comp. Ezek. xviii. 6; xxii. 3; xxxiii. 25; xxxvi. 18.

[42] *i. e.* of a false god and renegade people. The words are addressed to the idolatrous exiles or "transgressors," but Ewald supposes the passage to be an extract from an older prophet and to have originally described Palestinian superstition.

cannibalism with the religious practices allied to it afterwards became less frequent[43], it is admitted to have occasionally recurred; and the language which to our modes of thinking appears only a figurative illustration becomes collateral evidence of a fact when we recollect that the types and symbols of ancient poetry were not the arbitrary choice of imagination, but were placed in its way, and in a sense forced upon it, by cotemporary circumstances and usages. When Zechariah describes the victorious Jews, under guidance of Jehovah, as eating their enemies' flesh, and drinking their blood as it were with the riot of winebibbers; nay, as gorging themselves with blood, not only like the vessel filled within, but like the corners of the altar gory without[44], it might at first be supposed that the description is only an exaggerated rhetorical figure; but when we learn from history that the very same atrocities, instigated probably by the notion of the horrors which were immediately to precede the Messiah's advent, were literally enacted against their fellow-colonists by the Jews of Cyrene[45], some of whom were probably descended from ancestors who left Palestine before the improvements in the law introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah[46], and who, as we know from Jeremiah, had never been favourable to reform, it becomes exceedingly probable that these excesses were not unprecedented, but that as the realization of the prophecy was a fanatical outbreak of ancient barbarism, so the prophecy itself was conceived from the possible recurrence of habits not yet forgotten or obsolete.

[43] Comp. the Psalmist, xvi. 4, 5.

[44] Zech. ix. 15.

[45] Dio. Cass. lxvii. 32. The murderers fed on the flesh of their victims and hung their entrails over their shoulders: 220,000 persons are said to have perished, and as many more in a similar cotemporaneous outbreak in Egypt and Cyprus.

[46] Ghillany, u. s. p. 655.

§ 8.

THE ANCIENT HEBREW GOD.

The Bible often speaks of a change in God's titles and relation to his subjects. His name Jehovah was unknown to the patriarchs[1], their "fathers served other gods."[2] Later writers[3] disown those early monotheists who used idols and teraphim, and shifted their gods with their garments[4]. The same Being seems to have been God of the idolatrous Syrians[5], as also of Melchizedec and Abimelech, long before he entered into that league of reciprocal interest with Jacob[6] and of political connection with Moses by which he became formally God of Israel; yet he thenceforth shows a marked jealousy of other gods, attesting thereby the proneness of the Israelites to worship them. But independently of Bible admissions respecting the earlier religion, the well-known idolatrous propensities in later times of a nation who so greatly venerated their ancestors would alone make it probable that those ancestors were themselves idolatrous; and it must at least be assumed that the Deity who prohibits the offering of human sacrifices under pain of death was, even if known in name, unknown in nature to the patriarch who believed in the authenticity of a divine command to murder his son. The compilers of the sacred books indeed found it necessary to make the commencement of idolatry cotemporaneous with the Judges[7]; since otherwise no sanction could have been derived from antiquity for a sound standard of doctrine, nor could they have referred to any orthodox ancestors from whom they inherited the promises which were the foundation of their faith. Accordingly the people who worshipped the calf in presence of the terrors of Mount

[1] Exod. vi. 3; iii. 6. 15, &c.
[2] Josh. xxiv. 2. 14.
[3] Psal. xcv. 10. Amos v. 25. Ezek. xxiii. 3.
[4] Gen. xxxv. 2.
[5] Gen. xxxi. 24; xxxii. 53.
[6] Gen. xxviii. 20, 21, 22.
[7] 2 Kings xxiii. 22.

Sinai, who apostatized to Baal-Peor before the eyes of Moses, are said to have served the Lord faithfully all the days of Joshua[8], and during all the days of the elders cotemporary with Joshua who had witnessed the "great works of the Lord for Israel;" afterwards there arose "another generation which knew not the Lord;" these did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim; "they *forsook* the Lord God of their fathers who brought them out of Egypt, and served Baal and Ashtaroth." At a time when real history was unknown this statement does not imply wilful misrepresentation; God being assumed to be changeless, the writer's faith doubtless appeared to be the genuine faith inherited from antiquity; he therefore treats Baal-worship as Mahomet did Arabian idolatry, as a falling-off or desertion of the true God, not absolute ignorance of him[9]. Had the offence been committed ignorantly it could not have been penally visited as sin; nor could it have served to illustrate the moral of the intimate connection between human conduct and human weal. Jehovah was one God; he could not have two characters, or own two opposite kinds of service; and as to the prophets it was impossible that cotemporaneous abominations could be acknowledged as Jehovah-worship[10], so the rites of the cruel God of early ages must have been apostacy to Baal, the ever-recurring cause of those disasters which the Judges were successively raised up by the true God to remedy. If it were asked what was the motive for such an apostacy, or how it was that the Israelites, unlike all other known nations, were so prone to change their faith, the most natural reply would be the short time during which the orthodox religion would seem according to their view to have existed. It commenced with Moses, and only outlasted the generation of Joshua. Even during that interval it suffered interruptions of unknown duration, and it eventually appears[11]

[8] Josh. ii. 7. [9] Koran, ch. vi. pp. 109, 112.

[10] Jer. vii. 11; xxiii. 11. Ezek. v. 11; xxiii. 38; xliv. 7.

[11] Am. v. 26. Deut. xxxii. 17. Comp. Psal. cvi. 34 and Lev. xvii. 7.

that the people had all along been sacrificing not to Jehovah, but to Moloch and Chiun (Saturn), or as the partizans of a better faith would say, "to devils and not to gods." The prophets represent idolatry as apostacy, but an apostacy which had been inveterate and hereditary[12]. Jehovah met the Israelites for the first time on their departure out of Egypt[13]; "then the Lord alone led them, there was no strange god with him." There was as yet no consciousness of antithesis in his character, and as no better feeling had arisen to protest against the obliquities of his worship, no record was preserved of his personal disgrace. It was only when reform had begun, when the repulsiveness of fact began to chequer the respect paid to tradition, that the retrospect seemed to be a perpetual oscillation between false worship and true, until at last the characteristic God of early times was denounced as a Moloch. We are misled by imagining the Hebrew God to have been throughout what he appears later, a Being elevated above nature, whose physical aspect is absorbed in his political tutelar or moral character. There is no reason for thinking that he whom the Bible itself confounds with the God of Pharaoh, the God of Carmel[14], and the Midianitish deity of Horeb[15], who deferred to other gods so far as to acknowledge their existence and to be jealous of them[16], who dealt alternately fortune and fear, bread and extermination, differed originally from the object of the nature-worship commonly prevailing in Arabia, Palestine, and Phœnicia. The Jews themselves admitted afterwards that

[12] Isa. xliii. 27; xlviii. 8. Jer. iii. 25; ix. 14; xiv. 20; xvi. 11; xxii. 21; xxiii. 27. Amos ii. 4. Mal. iii. 7.

[13] Deut. xxxii. 10. Hos. ix. 10; xiii. 5. Jer. xxxi. 2. Ezek. xx. 5.

[14] Isa. xxxvii. 24. Hitzig to Mic. vii. 14. Movers, Phenizier, p. 670. Tacit. Hist. ii. 78.

[15] Exod. iii. 1; xviii. 4, 5. 9. Deut. xxxiii. 2. Psal. lxviii. 17. Hab. iii. 3.

[16] There would thus seem to have been three religious stages: 1st, the general unappropriated god; 2nd, the tutelary Power aspiring to reign alone, but obliged to tolerate "other gods;" 3rd, the tutelary Power victorious, having reduced his rivals to dæmons or "nothings." Deut. xxxii. 17-21. Psal. LXX, xcv. 5.

Moses only transferred to the true God idolatrous rites to which the Israelites had already been accustomed[17]; and it is only a different turn given to the same fact, when the prophets complain that the trinkets and garments in which Jehovah decked the bride with whom he made a covenant in the wilderness, changed their character in her hands, and became perverted to uses of superstition[18]. The mysterious fire of the bush proclaimed itself to have been the God of the early patriarchs, though not known to them under the same name. The patriarchal God was El-Shaddai[19], El-Elohi-Israel[20], or El-Elion[21], titles compounded of El, "the Mighty," the well-known general designation of the Semitic Nature God[22], which enters into the composition of old Israelitish proper names as the corresponding one of Bel, or Baal, into Babylonian and Phœnician. The patriarch who pleased God by an act afterwards denounced as abomination, must have been a follower of this cruel power, El or Ilus, whose peculiar characteristic was to sacrifice or devour his own children. It was necessary that the general divinity should be made distinct to the perceptions of individuals, and become peculiarly and personally connected with them. Each tribe required a tutelar power who should take their part even against near neighbours. Thus the general or "nameless" deity became separated into many particular and local gods, each independent of the others, yet intimately allied to them in character, acknowledging their existence, and occasionally adopting their ritual and name. The most usual rivals of the Hebrew Deity are called Baal, "Lord," and Moloch, "King;" the latter being properly the King of Terrors, the Canaanitish Orcus or Erebus, the former the general

[17] "Egyptiorum consortio altius inolevisse vitium Idolis immolandi, nec posse eis radicem hujus mali excidi—immolare quidem eis concessit, sed Deo soli hoc fieri permisit." Recognitiones Clem. i. 36. Comp. Moreh Nebochim, quoted in Spencer, de Leg. Rit. lib. iii. ch. ii. end.

[18] Ezek. xvi. 11. 17.

[19] Exod. vi. 3.

[20] Gen. xxxiii. 20.

[21] Gen. xiv. 18.

[22] The God of Beth-El, Peniel, Israel, &c. Photius, Cod. 242, p. 1050. Bochart, Geogr. ii. p. 707. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 10. 13. 1 Sam. xv. 29.

Nature God, the power of heat, life, and generation. The symbol of Baal was the sun, of Moloch the fire; the former worshipped with licentious rites, the latter with sanguinary ones; both however were ultimately the same Being, and their rites and symbols interchangeable. Human victims were offered to Baal[23] or to idols in general[24] as well as to Moloch, though the latter was more peculiarly the stern aspect to which they were the proper tribute[25]. Thus Jeremiah says, "They built high places to Baal in the valley of the sons of Hinnom, in order to consecrate their sons and daughters to Moloch."[26] Moloch is not formally introduced until the time of Solomon, who, according to "the Kings," deserted Jehovah to follow the idolatry of his wives. In earlier times abnormal religion commonly takes the name of apostacy to Baal and his colleague Ashtaroth or Aschera. There were many separate forms or idols of Baal-worship, as Baal-Peor, Baal-Gad, Baal-Berith, *i. e.* "Lord of the Covenant," all comprised under the plural Baalim, as different modifications of the El worship under that of Elim or Elohim. The name of the deity signified but little if the notion of him was derogatory. The same acts and the same conceptions applied to Jehovah as to Baal. Self-mutilation was part of the ritual of both[27]. Both were worshipped upon the same high places[28], and under the same idol forms in Samaria and in Jerusalem[29]. There is no substantial reason why the great Syrian deity seated on the bull[30], should not be compared with Jehovah placed in the same posture[31] or figured under the same symbol[32], especially when we know that the

[23] Jer. xix. 5. 2 Kings xvii. 16, 17.
[24] Isa. lvii. 5. Ezek. xvi. 36; xx. 31.
[25] 2 Kings xxiii. 10. [26] Jer. xxxii. 35.
[27] 1 Kings xviii. 28. Jer. xli. 5. Isa. lvi. 4. Matt. xix. 12.
[28] Numb. xxii. 41.
[29] Jer. vii. 9, 10. 30. Ezek. viii. 16; xxiii. 39. 2 Chron. vi. 13, 14.
[30] Comp. Lucian de Syr. Deâ, ch. xxxi.
[31] Psal. xviii. 10.
[32] Comp. Hos. viii. 5, 6. Exod. xx. 23. Deut. xxxiii. 17. Neh. ix. 18. Tobit i. 5.

feast days of Baal were the same as Jehovah's[33], and that the Jehovah priests with the fanatical Jehu at their head, were not only idolators but murderers and robbers[34]. Both deities were symbolized by the sun; Jehovah's continuing help was assured by continuance of day[35], or arrived with the heat of noon[36]. The propitiatory heads were "hung up before the Lord against the sun[37], and Joshua's captive kings remained on the gallows as a thankoffering until sun-down[38]. The rites of the Hebrews were in many details identical with those of their neighbours[39]; the obelisks or "pillars" erected by a Phœnician artist in front of the Hebrew temple were obviously analogous to those of Hierapolis and Tyre[40]; and the chariots of the sun and sacred vessels of Baal first destroyed by Josiah were with strange pertinacity restored by his successor[41]. It is precisely when the names formed from El begin to be exchanged for others formed from Jehovah[42], that the name of Moloch enters Hebrew symbolism, usurping the place of Jehovah even in his own temple[43].

The Hebrews were sometimes said to have worshipped Uranus[44], and there is much in their rights and language to countenance the supposition[45]. The Lord of Hosts is surrounded by thousands of saints or angels; his countenance is as light-

[33] Hos. ii. 11, 12. 16, 17.

[34] Hos vi. 9; comp. iv. 2-9.

[35] Exod. xvii. 12. Josh. x. 14.

[36] 1 Sam. xi. 9. Gen. xviii. 1.

[37] Numb. xxv. 4.

[38] Josh. viii. 29; x. 26, 27.

[39] Joseph. Ant. xii. 5. 5. Spencer de Leg., book 3. Winer, R. W. ii. 489, &c.

[40] Herod. ii. 44. The consecration of stone pillars and staves, Baalim or Hamanim (Αμμουνεων γραμματα. Euseb. Pr. Ev. i. 9, p. 35. Gesen. to Isa. xvii. 8), and Aschera, first performed by Jacob, was common in Palestine (Judg. ix. 6. 2 Sam. xviii. 18. Ξυλα ἱδρυοντο περιφανη και κιονας ξεστων ἐκ λιθων. Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. 4); pillars stood not only in the Jewish temple and in the streets, but throughout the country. Ghillany, 164. Jer. xxxii. 29. Ezek. vi. 6. 13; viii. 16; xxiii. 39.

[41] 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 5. 11. 32.

[42] 2 Sam. xii. 25. 2 Kings xxiii. 34.

[43] 1 Kings xi. 7. 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

[44] Origen against Cels. v. 6, p. 234, Sp.

[45] Supr. vol. i. pp. 124, 125. 128. 130. 139.

ning, at his feet is the clear sapphire of the heavens[46]; he exhibits the universe to Moses by way of "pattern" for the tabernacle[47], and seated among flaming cherubim is saluted with early supplications at his advance from the east[48]. His proper title in reference to his subjects is "Moloch," the King[49]. But he is king of heaven above and earth beneath[50], as well as of his own people; he is the God whose strength is in the clouds, whose might thunders and lightens out of heaven[51], and also "the fire which once kindled in anger burns down to the lowest hell; which eats up the earth with its fruits, and sets on fire the foundations of the mountains."[52] It was probably the latter or subtelluric aspect which was specially signified by the Canaanitish Moloch; the Saturn who caused a man to be stoned for gathering sticks on his rest day[53], and to whom each Sabbath the Arabian priests sacrificed an ox to avert his evil influence or "fierce wrath."[54] Jehovah sometimes revealed in the sun, like the horned Dionysus to whom he was not ill

[46] Exod. xxiv. 10.

[47] Comp. Fabr. Cod. Apoc. V. Test. ii. p. 120. Acts vii. 44. 49.

[48] Called the "presence" or "face" of the Lord. Kitto's Biblical Dict. vol. ii. p. 550 (below). Comp. Ezek. xliii. 2; xliv. 1, 2; xlvi. 1. 12; viii. 16. Gen. ii. 8; iii. 24. Exod. xxxiii. 7. 10; comp. xxix. 42, 43. Psal. xix. 4. Lev. ix. 5; xvi. 14; and the practice of the Essenes. Philo de Vit. Contempl. 698. Mangey, ii. 475. 485. Rhoer. to Porphyr. Abstin. iv. 12, p. 336. Wisd. xvi. 28. Joseph. War, ii. 8. 5 and 9.

[49] Numb. xxiii. 21. 1 Sam. xii. 12. Deut. xxxiii. 5. Psal. x. 16; xxix. 10. Hos. xiii. 10. 14. Isa. vi. 5; xliii. 15. Jer. xlvi. 18; xlviii. 15; li. 57. Mal. i. 14. Hence Jerusalem is the "city of the great King" (Matt. v. 35); or as Irenæus says (i. 26), of God. Comp. Ep. Barnabas, ch. xvi. Heb. xii. 22. Rev. iii. 12.

[50] Gen. xxiv. 3. Josh. ii. 11.

[51] 1 Sam. vii. 10. 2 Sam. xxii. 14. Psal. xxix. 7; lxxvi. 8; lxviii. 33, 34; lxxvii. 18. Isa. xxix. 6; xxx. 27.

[52] Deut. xxxii. 22. Jer. xv. 14. Comp. the "still voice" in 1 Kings xix. 12 with Isa. viii. 19; xxviii. 15; xxix. 4, and Psal. cxxxix. 8. "If I go up to heaven, thou art there; if I make hell my bed, behold there art thou!"

[53] Numb. xv. 35.

[54] Ghillany, p. 196. Comp. Lev. x. 6. Numb. i. 53; viii. 19; xviii. 5, and Jeremiah's phrase "watching for evil, not good;" xliv. 27, al. Lam. ii. 4, 5.

compared by Tacitus and Plutarch[55], changes to an Erebus or phantom of darkness, as in the wrestling with Jacob, and in Abraham's vision[56]. While the Sun, or God of Heaven, was worshipped on hills or high places[57], the rites of Moloch were performed in valleys, as that of Hinnom, in pits[58], in watercourses[59], or in the sombre clefts and caverns of the rocks[60], for Moloch was a fiery or thirsty power claiming his tribute of blood in cavities emblematic of his own drear habitation[61], an Orcus, whose sacrifices are called "messengers to hell,"[62] and to whom were consecrated the wintry swine and dark-dwelling mouse[63]. Jehovah too dwells in thick darkness[64], he waits till night to

[55] Hist. v. 5. Sympos. 4, 5. Ghillany, p. 437. Movers, Phenizier, pp. 265. 541. 547. The horn was symbolical of light (Macrob. Sat. i. 19. Hab. iii. 4), hence the tauromorphic aspect reflected in Moses. Exod. xxxiv. 29. Gesen. v. קֶרֶן.

[56] Gen. xxviii. 11; xxxii. 24. Comp. Joel ii. 2; x. 31. God says to Israel, whose name is explained by the legend, "let me go for the day breaketh." So the dæmon Rakshakas of the Mahabharata are powerful only in the dark (Bohlen, das Alle Indien, i. 225. 263), and the shuddering horses of Mephistopheles dread the morning.

[57] When Elijah rears Jehovah's altar on Carmel, and is answered by fire from heaven, the inference is that Jehovah is the true Baal or Lord. Psal. lxviii. 15. Hence the name "Baaljah." 1 Chron. xii. 5.

[58] Tophet, the place of the burning, Isa. xxx. 33; probably a tumulus or pyre raised in a trench. Jer. vii. 29.

[59] 1 Kings xviii. 38. 40. Isa. lvii. 6.

[60] Isa. lvii. 5. Many supposed derivations of the Phœnician Moloch, as Cacus, the Minotaur, Cronus, Geryon, &c. lived in caverns (Virg. Æn. viii. 192); the sacrifice of the infernal Deity was performed in a trench (λάκκος, or βοθρός), into which the blood was poured. Comp. Exod. xxxiii. 22. Odyss. xi. 23. Horace, Serm. i. 8; and the nocturnal executions of the Spartans. Herod. iv. 146.

[61] 1 Kings xviii. 32. 40. Comp. the sacrifice to Trophonius, "ἐς βοθρον." Paus. ix. 39. 4.

[62] Isa. lvii. 9; xxviii. 15. 18. For sacrifice was the bridge of communication between two worlds; letters were thrown upon the burning victim, and his ambassadorial commission was recited in his ears before death. Herod. iv. 94.

[63] Lucian, De Deâ Syr. 54. Strabo, xiii. 901. Ælian, N. A. xii. 5. Plut. Symp. Qu. 5. Herod. ii. 67. 1 Sam. vi. 18. Isa. lxv. 4; lxvi. 3. 17. Herod. ii. 141. Comp. the Erebus of the Carthaginians and Gaditani, Gil. Ital. i. 92.

[64] Exod. xx. 21. Deut. iv. 11. 2 Sam. xxii. 12. 2 Chron. vi. 1.

ratify his covenant[65], by night appears out of the cloudy pavilion[66] from which his voice is heard[67]. His attributes are twofold; he promises unbounded plenty, but his aspect is often portentous of sterility, making the heaven as brass, the earth as iron[68], and by fire eating up its fruits[69]. Thus saith the Lord God, "Behold, mine anger and my fury shall be poured out upon this place, upon man, and upon beast, and upon the fruits of the ground; it shall burn and not be quenched."[70] As the Laphystian and Cretan gods similarly imaged by fire and sterility refused to restore fruitfulness until propitiated by blood,[71], it was necessary that the sons of Saul should be hung "before the Lord"[72] on account of a famine[73], and hence probably the rain immediately following Elijah's massacre at the Kishon. Fire, the usual Moloch symbol, was the element whose purity and subtlety seemed nearest to God's nature, and through which man seemed to behold his offerings visibly devoured or received up into heaven, its power of rapid destruction answering to all that was most terrific in the divine attributes. Jehovah is repeatedly described as fire[74]. "There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured; coals were kindled by it."[75] "Which of us," says the prophet, "shall dare to make his dwelling with the devouring fire, who continue among the everlasting burnings?"[76] He is moreover a "devouring fire;" a fire which eats up his enemies and offerings[77], like the furnace fires to which superstition gave its victims[78]. The Persian Magus cried to the

[65] Gen. xv. [66] Numb. ix. 15.
[67] Deut. v. 22. [68] Deut. xxviii. 23.
[69] Deut. xxxii. 22. Comp. Æschyl. Eum. 825. 856, Bothe.
[70] Jer. vii. 20.
[71] Apollod. i. 9. 1; iii. 15. 5. [72] 1 Sam. xxi. 6.
[73] Comp. Lev. xxvi. 20. 1 Kings xviii. 40, 41. Zech. xiv. 17. Comp. Paus. vii. 19. 4.
[74] Exod. xxiv. 17. Deut. iv. 24; ix. 3. Isa. vi. 4; xxxiv. 14. Ezek. i. 27.
[75] 1 Sam. xxii. 10. 13. Psal. l. 3.
[76] Isa. xxxiii. 14.
[77] Numb. xi. 1. 2 Kings i. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1. Psal. xcvii. 3.
[78] Gen. xv. 17. Exod. xix. 18. Psal. xxi. 10.

burning altar, "O Lord Fire, arise and eat."[79] The fire of Jehovah either from above or from below[80] "eats up the sacrifice," and "licks up the water in the trench." The daily temple offering was "Jehovah's meat." A lamb in the morning and the same in the evening, with a proportionate allowance of oil-cake and wine, was the "service" to be offered daily, "as meat, a fire-offering of sweet savour to the Lord."[81] Jehovah was by no means indifferent to the quantity or quality of his food; he required the choicest morsels, the fat and blood[82]; he spoke with bitterness of the savoury food taken from him to be given to rivals[83]; and when in the extremity of the Roman siege of Jerusalem the daily offering had been discontinued for want of men to attend it, Josephus urged the reluctant governor to surrender, the only means then open for its restoration, with the reproach "Vile wretch, if any one were to deprive thee of thy daily food thou wouldest esteem him to be an enemy, yet thou hopest to have for thy supporter in this war that God whom thou deprivest of his ancient service."[84] Another common symbol of the Cretan and Phœnician Moloch was the bull. The Minotaurs of Cnossus and Carthage were bull-images, their expanded belly being formed into an iron furnace like that of Phalaris, and the idol sometimes provided with mechanism by which a child placed on the extended arms was gradually raised up and jerked into a mass of fire[85]. The Jehovah of Aaron and of Samaria was worshipped under the same symbol and with the same rites[86]. It is probable, too, that the idol of Hinnom described by the Rabbins as a metallic statue with a bull's head, had its place among those many abominations mentioned by Jeremiah as polluting the Jewish

[79] Max. Tyr. viii. 4.
[80] 1 Kings xviii. 38. 1 Chron. xxi. 26. Judg. vi. 21.
[81] Exod. xxix. 38. Numb. xxviii. 24.
[82] Ezek. xliv. 6.
[83] Deut. xxxii. 38.
[84] Bell. Ind. vi. 2. 1. Comp. Mal. ch. 1.
[85] Diod. xx. 14.
[86] Hos. xiii. 2. Ghillany, p. 231 [n].

temple, and converting it into a "den of murder."[87] This may have been Ezekiel's "Image of Jealousy;"[88] *i.e.* an effigy which, though in the prophet's view by no means to be confounded with Jehovah, had yet sufficient similarity to him and to his external attributes, as for instance in the accompanying "fiery glory,"[89] to be occasionally mistaken for him, and thus to cause him to be jealous. It was in fact the old or rival deity, the "Moloch"[90] of the tabernacle, whom better conceptions were tending to displace; and there seems a curious analogy between the double ceremony in the valley and temple alluded to as consecutive parts of the same rite[91], and the Levitical regulation making it necessary to burn the remains of the sin-offering considered as unclean at a distance from the camp[92], after which it became lawful to petition God to withdraw the imputation of guilt[93]. Jehovah-worship appears under two forms; the idolatrous taught by Aaron, of which the Israelitish calf-worship was but a continuation[94], and the orthodox reformed religion without image or similitude appearing in Deuteronomy[95], but which it is impossible to agree with the later Jews in considering as Mosaic. Ghillany[96] argues plausibly that the seat above the ark between and "upon"[97] the cherubim was not, as represented by later authority, empty, but that the cherubim, like the lions of Solomon's throne,

[87] Jer. vii. 11. 31.

[88] Ezek. viii. 3.

[89] Ezek. i. 28; viii. 4.

[90] Amos v. 26.

[91] Ezek. xxiii. 38, 39. Comp. Jer. vii. 10. 30; xix. 14. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14. Ghillany, p. 220.

[92] Lev. xvi. 27.

[93] Ewald, Anhang to Geschichte, p. 68. Sin-offerings and burnt-offerings appear to have been originally made in different places. Comp. Lev. x. 18. Even after the alteration (Lev. vi. 25; vii. 1; xiv. 13) the remains after sprinkling the blood, were carried to a distance from the camp and burned as "Cherem." Comp. Lev. ub. supr., and De Wette, "De Morte Christi," p. 24.

[94] Judg. xviii. 30 compared with 1 Kings xii. 28. Bertheau to Judges, p. 134. Deut. xxxiii. 17. Jer. xxxi. 18.

[95] Deut. iv. 12; ix. 12.

[96] Menschenopfer, p. 337–8.

[97] Gesen. Thes. ii. 634.

were emblems of the wisdom and power of him who was actually and visibly enthroned on them. All the accessories of the great Baal temple at Babylon described by Herodotus, are repeated on a smaller scale with singular fidelity in the Hebrew tabernacle and temple; the golden statue alone is wanted to complete the resemblance, and notwithstanding the caution of the Hebrew writers even this is indirectly supplied. The very effort to conceal the ancient idol-worship [98], the proscription of imagery in a ritual which yet abounds with it, betrays the object before which the veil is thrown. The Being who had hitherto always assumed a visible shape in his communications with men formed "after his likeness," [99] who, unlike the prophetical God whose "ways were not as man's ways," eat blood and fat, and enjoyed the sweet savour of his sacrifices, was not likely to have presented a mere mysterious blank to his sensuous adorers amidst the complicated symbolism of the appointed place of meeting with them [100]. God's aspect being conceived to be intolerable to mortal eyes, Aaron was warned against incautiously approaching the divine presence in the "holy of holies." [101] After washing he was directed to take a censer of burning coals from the altar of burnt-offering, and to sprinkle incense thereon so as to form "a cloud before the Lord," [102] whose image therefore very naturally appeared through the smoky semi-obscurity [103] above the lid or cover of the ark serving him for a footstool [104]. The cherubim, the burning coals, and fuming incense reappear in the visions of the prophets [105], who, no longer apprehensive of misleading by sensuous imagery, venture to fill the otherwise useless throne with an "appearance as of a man." [106] It was truly said after-

[98] As where in 1 Chron. xiv. 12, David is said to have burned the images which in Sam. ii. 5. 21, he only "takes away."

[99] Comp. Gen. xviii. 2. Numb. xiv. 14.

[100] Exod. xxx. 6. 36.

[101] Lev. xvi. 2.

[102] Lev. ib. v. 12, 13.

[103] Ib. v. 2.

[104] 1 Chron. xxviii. 2.

[105] Isa. vi. Ezek. x. 2. 6. Hab. iii. 5.

[106] Isa. vi. 5. Ezek. i. 26.

wards, that a spiritual worship is inconsistent with a strictly local one[107]. If Jehovah was worshipped under the bull form in Samaria and as an idol[108] in Jerusalem, if he had a golden statue under the Judges[109], it is not impossible that he may have had one under Moses. Moses doubtless had real opportunities of beholding that similitude[110] which in later times being confined to heaven, could of course be seen only in dreams[111]; but which if really once resident among the chosen people, could scarcely have been so long associated with the sphynx-like cherubim without contracting some external likeness to the shapes by which it was surrounded.

§ 9.

THE ALTAR.

The ancient altar was an image of God, or the immediate earnest of his presence[1]. The first altars were called by God's name, "El-Elohi-Israel," and "Jehovah;"[2] they were composed of the same materials as idols, for the first objects of worship were stocks and stones. These were treated as gods, or as Bethels, *i. e.* "God's houses."[3] The God of Arabia,

[107] John. iv. 21.

[108] Amos v. 5) couples the superstitions of his own neighbourhood with those of Israel.

[109] Judg. viii. 27; comp. xvii. 4. 1 Sam. xxi. 9; xxiii. 6. The Ephod was probably more than a mere article of dress, for why should oracular power attach to a mere accessory of what David addressed as "Jehovah God of Israel?" 1 Sam. xxiii. 9; xxx. 7.

[110] Exod. xxiv. 10; xxv. 22. Numb. xii. 8. Deut. xxxiv. 10.

[111] Dan. vii. 1. 9.

[1] Amos ix. 1. "Der Altar sehr hoch stand,—als ware der Altar selbst der sichtbare Gott." Ewald. Geschicht. Anhang, u. s. p. 80. Hence using the altar made by Ahaz after a Damascene pattern is called "sacrificing to the gods of Damascus." 2 Chron. xxviii. 23.

[2] Gen. xxxiii. 20. Exod. xvii. 15; xx. 24. Judg. vi. 24. Psal. xliii. 4. 1 Kings xviii. 31.

[3] Gen. xxviii. 22; xxxi. 13; xlix. 24. Deut. xxxii. 4. 1 Sam. ii. 2. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. The most succinct precedent of the foundation and endowment of a reli-

whose "holy ground" was the earliest scene of the manifestation of Jehovah, was a square stone[4]. It was essential that the altar, like the world of which also it was a symbol[5], should be foursquare[6]; it was not portable, but a mass of earth or stones thrown up as occasion required[7], round which the priests danced chaunting the incantation, and sprinkling the blood[8]. The altar of burnt-offering prescribed for the use of tabernacle and temple seems to have differed from the authorized type. Instead of being of earth or stone, it was a hollow framework overlaid with brass, furnished at the corners with the horns of the calf-idol; reminding us of those hollow Moloch images of Phœnicia forming kilns or furnaces into which the victim was thrown. This altar continued to receive the sprinklings of atonement and nourishing fat[9], both forbidden as articles of human food not because impure but because they were "holy to the Lord," and had from time immemorial been delivered to the consecrated flame, or poured over the "Bethel" stone. It was required that the altar should be hollow[10], a condition inconsistent with that of a tumulus of earth. It was to be made after "the pattern seen upon the mount," like the tabernacle and golden candlestick; those images and representations of "heavenly things,"[11] of which if the candlestick lighted each evening counterfeited the planets and the tabernacle

gious house on record is probably that in Gen. xxviii. 22, the writer taking care to show that the vow of tithes was eventually the most profitable policy to the possessor. Ch. xxx. 43; xxxi. 12, 13.

[4] Max. Tyr. viii. 8. Judg. vi. 21; xiii. 20.

[5] Hence Hermes was "τετράγωνος." Artem. Oneiro. ii. 37.

[6] Exod. xxvii. 1. The four essentials of an altar in later ritual were—cornua, clivus, fundamentum, and forma quadrata. Joseph. War, v. 5, 6.

[7] Exod. xx. 24, 25.

[8] Exod. xxxii. 19. Psal. xxvi. 6. Ewald, Anhang to vol. ii. p. 46 of the Geschichte D. V. I.

[9] Exod. xxix. 13. Lev. i. 8. 12; iv. 18. 30. 34. The blood which was originally dashed in the face of the idol—"sitienti idolo in faciem jactatus"—(Ghillany, p. 605) was sprinkled on the "horns" of the altar, or poured out at its foot.

[10] Exod. xxvii. 8.

[11] Heb. viii. 5. Exod. xxv. 40; xxvi. 30; xxvii. 8.

the universe[12], the altar would be the all-devouring power or "Saturn" residing in it. Atonement was made to it by unction and blood[13] as to Jehovah himself; the expressions "before the ark," "before the altar," and "before the Lord," are used synonymously, the altar being the general manifestation of Jehovah to which atonement was offered daily, while the Jehovah of the holy of holies required it only once a year. Isaiah addresses David's city as "Ariel,"[14] *i.e.* "God's hearth" or sacrificial metropolis, menacingly pointing it out as the appointed "Tophet"[15] for the immolation of the heathen. As all flesh is consumed within Jehovah's true furnace-symbol—the universe, so the flesh of victims was burnt within its representative, the altar[16]. It was probably a brazen machine of this kind, uniting the conception of altar and god, before which Solomon spread forth his hands at the consecration of the temple, addressing it as Jehovah[17]. The chronicler blends two seemingly conflicting conceptions; that of a heavenly God[18] and that of the hideous idolatry ascribed to Solomon, and which here with tolerable distinctness assumes its proper position in his history, not as the imbecility of his old age, but as part of Jehovah's usual service. The eternal fire of the altar was the true image of the living God, the devourer of countless offerings, the God who showed himself as a "smoking furnace" and "flame of fire." The altar was therefore "most holy;" no unclean or unholy person could touch it under pain of death[19]. Every sacrificial fire was to be taken from its undying flame, "strange fire" being usurpation. The priest could not touch the altar without washing, and the Levite was prohibited altogether; yet in Exod. xxix. 37, the common man who should touch the altar is made by the very act of violation

[12] Isa. xl. 22. Acts vii. 48; comp. xliv. Heb. ix. 11, &c.
[13] Exod. xxix. 36.
[14] Isa. xxix. 1.
[15] Isa. xxx. 33; comp. xxix. 7; xxxi. 9.
[16] Exod. xix. 18. Isa. xl. 6, 7; li. 6. Zullig to Rev. vi. 9.
[17] 2 Chron. vi. 12, 13.
[18] Verse 18.
[19] Exod. xxix. 27; xxx. 21.

to "become holy," and as it would seem, to be not only blameless but benefited by the act. But the inconsistency is only apparent. The being "holy" is equivalent to being "devoted" as sacrifice, or consecrated to the sacred fire[20]. If the Levite who touched the altar was to die, much more the common man. The words are a commination of death under the unpitying hands of the priesthood, the fate awaiting all other devoted or consecrated things[21]. The neighbourhood of the altar was as formidable to life as that of the flaming mountain made by the divine presence to "smoke as a furnace," and so converted into a gigantic Moloch image, which to approach or touch was death[22]. If superstition may be said to have reached its climax when overcoming the most powerful of human feelings it brought the infatuated parent to kiss the bull-headed instrument of infanticide[23], it is not astonishing that one despairing Hebrew mother should have ventured to strike the guilty altar with her slipper, saying, "Wolf! how long wilt thou continue to devour the treasure of Israel's children."[24]

§ 10.

THE CHEREM.

Jehovah's aspect was death; his pass-word "destruction;"[1] his breath the consuming fire of Tophet[2]; he had the attribute by some thought to have been the original meaning of that "fearful name"[3] which armed the avenging angel, sometimes

[20] The Latin "Sacer." Comp. Ewald, Geschicht. Anhang, u. s. p. 85. Exod. xxii. 20.

[21] Exod. xiii. 13; xxix. 34.

[22] Comp. Josh. iii. 4. Exod. xix. 18. 21. 24. Numb. viii. 19. Deut. iv. 11.

[23] Hos. xiii. 2. 1 Kings xix. 8.

[24] Ghillany, p. 312.

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 27. [2] Isa. xxx. 33; xl. 7.

[3] יְהוָה. Comp. Deut. iv. 24; vi. 15; ix. 3; x. 17; xxviii. 58. Ewald, Geschicht. ii. 147, n. 4.

the champion of Israel, sometimes their adversary[4]. He was emphatically the terrific god, nay Terror personified[5]. No one but the priest dared to approach within 2000 cubits of the place of his fancied presence. His fire was always threatening to "break out" and to devour; and so blind was its fury that the very coffer supposed to contain the written command to "do no murder,"[6] sacrificed friends and foes indiscriminately. The men of Bethshemesh, of whom an extravagant number are said to have fallen for looking into the ark, wisely declined the responsibility of again handling it; but the unfortunate Uzzah was instantly destroyed for preventing its being upset[7]. Distrusting his own power of self-control, Jehovah substituted an Angel lest he should yield to his desire to consume the people[8]. He had the double aspect of all nature-gods, exhibiting a bright and a dark side, holding the balance of life and death[9], and often as profuse and partial in favours as at other times reckless and indiscriminate in destruction. Yet even kindness is fearful when irregular and incomprehensible; "he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy," but is as often inexplicably severe and unjust. He puts a lying spirit into the mouth of his prophets, and so lays a trap for his people which they could not escape. He gives quails to destroy them, and appoints "statutes which were not good"[10] in order to cause them to pass their first-born through the fire, and for the express purpose of making them desolate. The notion of

[4] Exod. xxiii. 21, 22. Numb. xxii. 22. Josh. v. 13. Judg. v. 23; vi. 14.

[5] Gen. xxxi. 53; xxxv. 5. Isa. viii. 13. Job xviii. 14.

[6] The ark or chest in which it was a very general practice to carry the arcana of religion was probably meant for the sarcophagus of the Nature-God (Ghillany, 353. 355. 529[a]. Welcker, Trilogie, pp. 254. 272), whose relics were supposed, like those of Elisha (2 Kings xiii. 21), to have magical powers. Hence Jacob and Joseph attached special importance to the removal of their bones, and the Tyrians carried the remains of sacrificed children in a Moloch ark before their armies. These reliquary chests when examined often drove the gazer mad. Paus. vii. 19; viii. 5. 3; x. 2. Eurip. Ion. 276.

[7] 2 Sam. vi. 6.

[8] Exod. xxxiii. 3.

[9] Exod. xv. 26; xxxiv. 6. Amos v. 17, 18. Psal. civ. 29, 30.

[10] Ezek. xx. 25.

blinding or hardening the hearts of men in order to furnish a conspicuous example of God's glory by punishing them is common throughout the O. T., and continues even in the New. Pharaoh's heart is hardened for the purpose of displaying the signs and wonders of an unknown God, and at the end of each plague the same process is repeated in order to justify the infliction of a new one. A capricious power is always terrific, and terror produces the superstitious desperation which discards humanity and pity. The sanguinary principle sanctioned by the example of Abraham extends through the whole of Hebrew ritual and practice. The often-recurring phrase, the being hung or "dying before the Lord," evidently means a sacrifice or religious act of atonement. The wholesale murders of Shittim and Gibeah[11] like the similar individual acts performed not in reference to a foreign idol, but under the immediate influence of the spirit of Jehovah[12], were strictly sacrifices to a Moloch whose plague ceased only on consummation of the rite. The calf worship at Horeb is said to have been signalized by a sacrificial massacre of three thousand people. On this occasion the Levites were authorized to be executioners of a "Cherem," the form in which men were allowed to sacrifice themselves or any member of their families by a voluntary vow[13]. "For Moses had said to the Levites, "Come to-day with full hand[14] for Jehovah, and initiate yourselves (as Levites) in your priestly office by slaying every man his son, his brother, his companion, and his neighbour; and so earn a blessing for yourselves this day."[15] The slaughter represented as punishment for worshipping the calf is more probably part of the calf-worship, that is, a Moloch-offering; the act which in Abraham's case was only purposed is here completed, and the issue in both cases is explained to be a blessing propor-

[11] Numb. xxv. 1. 8. 13; comp. xxi. 2. Josh. vii. 26. 2 Sam. xxi. 9.
[12] Judg. xi. 29, 30.
[13] Lev. xxvii. 28.
[14] Comp. as to this phrase 1 Chron. xxix. 5. 2 Chron. xiii. 9; xxix. 31.
[15] Exod. xxxii. 27, 29.

tioned to its importance[16]. The practice here instanced was regularly authorized as law. "If," said the legislator, "thou hear say that certain men, children of Belial, are gone out and have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, saying, Let us go serve other gods which thou hast not known; then thou shalt after inquiry smite that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly; and thou shalt gather all the spoil of it into the midst of the street thereof, and shalt burn with fire both the city and the spoil for *a burnt-offering to Jehovah*, that the Lord may turn from the fierceness of his anger, and have compassion on thee, and multiply thee, as he sware unto thy fathers."[17]

Ritual answers to theory, action to thought. To the double aspect of the deity corresponded his festivals of joy and fasts of grief, the address of alternate imprecation and praise, the thank and the sin-offering[18]. The religious vow, too, had its dark and its bright side; there was the simple dedication, and the "cherem" or vow of extermination[19], through which Jephthah purchased victory by devoting to Jehovah (or to death), not whatsoever, but whosoever should first issue from the door of his house on his return[20]. "No cherem," says the law[21], "which a man devotes as cherem to Jehovah of all which is his, either of man and beast, or of the field of his possession, shall be redeemed; every devoted thing is most holy to Jehovah. None devoted which shall be devoted by men shall be redeemed, but shall *surely be put to*

[16] Comp. Gen. xxii. 17. The very essence of the office of priest appears to have been that of "making atonement" (Exod. xxxii. 26. 28. Numb. xvi. 5. 8. 10. 47); *i. e.* of "bearing iniquity." Exod. xviii. 28; xxx. 10. Numb. xviii. 23. 32.

[17] Deut. xiii. 13.

[18] Ewald, as above, 58. 81.

[19] Derived like the word ἀνάθημα from ἀνατίθημι. Ewald, ib. p. 81, note.

[20] His words are a commentary on the law of the first-born in Exodus; the object he declares shall be Jehovah's, that is, he explains, I will offer it up for a burnt-offering. It must at all events have been a domestic animal, otherwise it could not issue out of the house.

[21] Lev. xxvii. 28. Comp. De Wette.

death."[22] Through this procedure cruelty became a sacred duty; and zealots were allowed in an outburst of enthusiasm to defy every civil or moral tie. Free scope was given to private enmity and to public aggression; and as under a perpetual reign of terror, any one might denounce his enemy or rival. War was carried on in Jehovah's name with relentless ferocity; it was an acceptable sacrifice, and hence the exultation with which the Hebrew annalist describes the utter annihilation of the conquered and "accursed" cities[23], including everything that breathed[24], man and beast, old and young, male and female. After the age of David this fearful practice is said to have become less frequent[25]; but the feeling on which it was founded left an indelible impression on language, a thing devoted, or as it was technically called "holy," being synonymous with the "accursed" and doomed to utter destruction[26]. And when there was no longer any immediate prospect of gratifying fanatical animosity, imagination revelled in a future renewal of the old scenes of carnage to inaugurate the Messianic kingdom, which like the first territorial establishment of

[22] Michaelis, Mosaiches Recht, iii. s. 145, p. 8; and v. s. 246, p. 84, admits that a devoted city destroyed by fire and sword according to Deut. xiii. 15; see Exod. xxii. 20, was a sacrifice to Jehovah. The words of the law confirm, if confirmation be needed, the account of Jephthah's daughter being really put to death. (Judg. xi. 39. Winer, R. W. s. voc. i. 541. It was so universally understood by tradition. "Θυσας την παιδα ὁλοκαυτωσιν" (Joseph. Ant. v. 7. 10), that is, he performed what he had vowed.

[23] Josh. vi. 17. 21.

[24] Josh. x. 32. 37. 40. The crime of releasing the devoted could only be atoned for by the life of the too merciful offender. Comp. 1 Sam xv. and xxviii. 18. 1 Kings xx. 42.

[25] Ewald, Geschicht. iii. p. 209.

[26] The Latin "sacer." Ewald, Anhang, v. supr. 84, 85. Josh. vii. 12. 15. The sight of God was death, because Jehovah and the angel of death were one. (Exod. xii. 12, 13; xxiii. 21. 23. Judg. vi. 14; xiii. 22.) There is a curious remark in the Sohar (to Genes. 98 a), that no one dies without seeing the Schekinah, since the "day of the Lord" to every one is the day of death. Three angels of the presence bring the Schekinah and carry away the dying spirit, according to Gen. xviii. 1;—"The Lord appeared to him in the heat of the day," that is, the heated furnace of the judgment-day.

the Hebrews was to be preceded by a "great day of the Lord[27], in other words, a great sacrificial massacre[28], a repetition of the eventful day of Midian[29]. "This, this is the day of the Lord God," exclaims Jeremiah[30], "a day of vengeance, that he may avenge him of his adversaries; and the sword shall devour and shall be satiate and made drunk with their blood; for the Lord God of Hosts hath *a sacrifice* in the north country by the river Euphrates." "Jehovah's sword is filled with blood, and fed with fatness, with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of the kidneys of rams; for the Lord hath a sacrifice in Bozrah, a great slaughter in the land of Idumea[31]. "And thou son of man," saith the Lord, "speak to every bird, and to every beast of the field, Assemble yourselves and come! Gather yourselves on every side to the sacrifice I prepare for you, a great sacrifice on the mountains of Israel, that ye may eat flesh and drink blood."[32] It was such anticipations repeated from age to age[33], and even fixing the very spot where the corpses of the heathen were to taint the air[34], that excited the Jews to the frantic violence which afterwards recoiled so heavily on themselves.

§ 11.

ANTIQUITY OF THE LEVITICAL LAW.

The same law, it is said, which prescribes the Cherem prohibits Moloch worship. This objection, if it were not self-contradictory, might be met by proof that the Hebrew law is not the well-reflected work of a single mind, but a digest of

[27] Joel ii. 11; iii. 13.
[28] Mic. iv. 13. Ezek. xxxix. 9. 17.
[29] Numb. xxxi. 3. 17. 23. Isa. ix. 4. Zech. xiv. 11.
[30] Jer. xlvi. 10.
[31] Isa. xxxiv. 6.
[32] Ezek. xxxix. 17. Comp. Rev. xix. 17.
[33] Comp. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 232. 234. 256 sq.
[34] Comp. Ezek. xxxix. 11. 2 Chron. xx. 24. Targum Jerus. to Deut. xxxiv. 2, 3. The great war (Rev. xx. 8) was to take place in the valley of Jericho.

various and often conflicting materials. Moses could hardly have prohibited a rite which, despite the compiler's caution, appears to have been resorted to by himself[1], as well as by Samuel and David. If David followed implicitly the statutes of Jehovah, he could not have read the law as we now find it; nor is it possible to believe that while the second command was yet echoing from Sinai, the High Priest of Jehovah should have ventured to become ringleader in the degrading worship of a calf. "The Lord," it is said, "plagued the people, because they made the calf which Aaron made;" but Aaron himself, the apostate priest and arch offender, escaped unpunished, or was himself executioner[2] of the people he misled. It is truly said that the Bible was not meant for criticism but belief. If we look at it from any point but one, the desired effect is lost. To keep up the delusion the whole Scriptures must be treated as the Books of Enoch and Daniel, the one considered as written by the "seventh from Adam," the other by a courtier of King Nebuchadnezzar. Seeking exactness, we no longer ascribe all the Psalms to David, all the Proverbs to Solomon, or all the law to Moses. The Jews habitually ascribed their writings to celebrated men or heroes; but their Pirke Eliezer was not written by the Rabbi of that name, nor the Book "Jezirah" by Abraham. We know that much of the present Pentateuch was long extant only in tradition[3], a fact relied on by many of the later Jews to account for its obvious deviations from the rules of eternal justice[4]. Many of its enactments can only be explained as a prospective provision for exigencies not existing at the date of its supposed origin. Neither Moses nor his Decalogue are quoted by the earlier prophets; the Books of Judges and Samuel betray no such acquaintance with his code as would seem to have been long before possessed by Abraham, but which suddenly and un-

[1] Exod. xxxii. 27. Numb. xvi. 41.

[2] Comp. the expression, "all the Levites." Exod. xxxii. 26, with ch. iv. 14.

[3] Judg. vi. 13. Psal. xliv. 1; lxxviii. 3. 6.

[4] Schliemann, Die Clementinen, pp. 73. 196 sq. 499, &c.

accountably becomes extinct, and continues unknown in the Israelitish kingdom through all the centuries of its existence. The possessors of the tabernacle and its rites[5], that tabernacle which Amos declares to have been Moloch's, continued to worship Jehovah under his ancient symbol on the high places of Carmel, Gilgal, or Bethel[6], where Jacob built the altar of the fearful god El, and where the angel with the drawn sword[7] exacted bloodshed and death. No priest, no prophet censured these proceedings until they were denounced by missionaries from Jerusalem. Jerusalem doubtless became actually that source of law which, according to a celebrated prophecy[8], it was to be prospectively. But the rise of jurisprudence was gradual, and the law extant under the early kings was far from being the present Pentateuch. Juvenal might well call the Mosaic system a well-kept secret[9], and we may ask with King Ptolemy[10] how it happened that if really it had been so long in operation neither poet nor historian knew of its existence? Why if it existed was it so neglected? Why do we hear nothing more of the periodical observance of feasts, of the sabbatical year[11], or of the year of Jubilee? Why is there not only no avoidance of foreign marriages, but no apparent knowledge of the regulations as to marriage with near kindred?[12] How is it that Moses repeatedly violates his own laws[13], nay, that Jehovah himself infringes his humane provision not to inflict needless depredations on the country of an enemy[14]? The Levitical texts[15] forbidding Moloch worship assume the

[5] 1 Chron. xxi. 29. Jer. vii. 12.

[6] 1 Sam. xv. 33. Mic. vii. 14. Amos v. 5.

[7] Comp. Josh. v. 2. 13. 1 Sam. xv. 33.

[8] Mic. iv. 2. Isa. ii. 3. [9] Sat. xiv. 102.

[10] Philadelphus. Joseph. Ant. xii. 2. 14. Strabo, xvi. 761.

[11] Comp. Lev. xxvi. 35. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

[12] 2 Sam. xiii. 13; xvi. 20. Lev. xviii. 11.

[13] As in his marriages, his neglect of circumcision, his construction of an altar (Exod. xx. 24; xxvii. 1 sq.), his making a graven image, &c.

[14] Comp. Deut. xx. 19 with 2 Kings iii. 25.

[15] Lev. xviii. 21. 27, 28; xx. 2. 23.

Canaanites to have been long destroyed or expelled; whereas we know that despite the many injunctions to this effect they continued quietly settled among the Israelites[16], who, we are told, learned their vices by associating with them, differing from them chiefly in excess of wickedness. Yet we are to believe the prohibition of these malpractices to have been long anterior to their supposed commencement, and to have been written at a time when arts much more necessary and homely than that of writing were unknown[17]. The people who under Moses have an elaborately-detailed code are lawless savages under the Judges; under Moses they had richly-appointed sacrifices and dresses, abundance of precious gums, skilful workmen in gold and silver; under Saul they have not even a common smith to make spear or sword[18]. The token of circumcision ostensibly given to Abraham was neglected throughout the sojourn in the wilderness, and we hear no more of the feast of tabernacles until the time of Nehemiah. The better part, or at least, better application of the law[19] is admitted to have been a late discovery, originating doubtless in the civilizing influences operating under the Jewish kings. In order to convince himself of the authenticity of a certain newly-found code or book, Josiah had recourse to an ancient prophetess, whose evidence however reveals no more than he already knew, except where it ventures on a prediction in regard to himself afterwards falsified by the event. The idolatrous rites which up to this time had passed current in the name of Jehovah are revealed to us in their full enormity for the first time when formally expelled his service[20]; "Go ye,"

[16] Exod. xxiii. 29. Judg. ii. 21; iii. 1. Psal. cvi. 34.

[17] Ewald, Geschicht. i. 68. Ghillany, pp. 12. 14. De Wette, Einleitung A. T. i. s. 12, p. 15.

[18] 1 Sam. xiii. 19.

[19] As distinguished from the "vain precepts" ridiculed by the prophets. Isa. xxix. 13. Jer. viii. 8.

[20] 2 Kings xxiii. 6 sq.

he says, "serve ye every one his idols, but pollute no more my holy name with your gifts and with your idols."[21]

§ 12.

REFORMATION OF JEHOVISM.

About seven centuries before the Christian era, the date ascribed by Ewald to his "fourth Mosaical narrator,"[1] there seems to have been a general movement of religious reform through Asia, connected in India with the name of Buddha, in Persia (or Media) with that of Zoroaster, and, a century later, extending itself by Xenophanes and Heraclitus into Greece. The prevailing character of this reform appears to have been a conviction of the evils connected with nature worship, producing efforts more or less violent to bend its forms into compliance with an improved moral consciousness. The monotheism elsewhere the chief object of reform had by the Hebrews been already to a certain extent attained. Jehovah had accosted Israel in the desert, and had there wooed the reluctant bride, binding her to himself by a solemn covenant or contract[2]. But hitherto he had proved a sanguinary bridegroom[3]. Instead of the righteous betrothal antedated by the prophets[4], he had been a stern exactor of atonement, and his contract was written in blood. He proved his people as he "tempted" or "proved" their most venerated ancestor[5], and it was at the price of his own "sons and daughters" that he turned his

[21] Ezek. xx. 39. Compared with this the words of the prohibition (Lev. xviii. 21) thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Moloch, neither shalt *thou profane the name of Jehovah thy God*, deserve notice. Comp. Isa. xlviii. 1.

[1] Geschicht. i. p. 123.

[2] Baal Berith "Lord of the Covenant." Judg. viii. 33.

[3] Exod. iv. 24, 25.

[4] Hos. ii. 19, 20.

[5] Gen. xxii. Comp. Judg. ii. 22; iii. 4.

merciless sword against their enemies[6]. It was long before his character improved, or rather before his people came to know him better. Even his right was not wholly undisputed; for since the covenant of prosperity and succour implied in it was based not on a true appreciation of divine impartiality, but on intense nationalism, the Hebrews were constantly tempted under calamity to change their god for some other whom events had proved to be a more efficacious protector. The first efforts of the prophets were therefore directed to assert the superiority and truth of the jealous Hebrew God. They met the tendency to revolt by declaring that misfortune instead of being any proof of his weakness or desertion, was a punishment purposely inflicted by him for prior sin. But while asserting the indefeasible right and supremacy of Jehovah, they introduced a new spirit into his worship. Although still in regard to the immediate present contemplating a God of fear, they were always looking beyond to a time when fear would be absorbed in love; when the same all-powerful Being who had permitted the temporary punishment of the Israelites would restore them to favour, and renewing the ancient marital relation would no longer be called Baal, "my Lord," but Ishi, "my husband."[7] Their admonitions were summed up in the ambiguous but comprehensive precept of implicit obedience to God and to his duly-appointed messengers[8]. But on the proper construction of the term "God" and the authentication of his message depended the whole controversy. The God of the reforming prophet was no longer the God of the common people. The Assyrian chief Rabshakeh directly asserts this in his derisive reply to Hezekiah's profession of reliance on divine aid; "Is not this the very God whose altars Hezekiah hath

[6] Exod. xii. 13. 23. Deut. xxxii. 41, 42. Ezek. xvi. 20; xxi. 3 sq. The severe conditions attached by Joshua's prediction to the rebuilding of Jericho (Josh. vi. 26), seem notwithstanding the literal fulfilment reported by Josephus, to have had the same meaning as the fire and blood of the Roman Palilia (Dion. H. i. 88. Ovid, Fast. iv. 727 sq.), and the satiating the dragon of Ares before building Thebes.

[7] Hos. ii. 16. [8] 1 Sam. xv. 22. Jer. vii. 23.

taken away, and has said to Judah 'Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem.'"[9] All reforms are innovations, and all innovations are unpopular. Every one was eager to deny the authenticity of a distasteful message, while the reformer who wished to withdraw the rude worshipper from local superstitions to a central shrine under his own exclusive influence[10], eagerly endeavoured to make the transition as easy as possible by introducing the new principle under the ancient name. The prophets represent their lessons as the old law, the true statutes and judgments of Jehovah[11], while impliedly exhibiting the falsehood of their own assertion. "It was not I," says the God of Jeremiah[12], "who commanded you to build the high place of Tophet which is in the valley of the sons of Hinnom in order to burn your sons and your daughters in the fire." No such horrors emanated from me. "They built high places to Baal in the valley of Hinnom to offer their sons and their daughters to Moloch, which I have not commanded them, neither came it into my mind to conceive that men would commit such enormities."[13] "The prophets who directed them were prophets of lies, not emissaries of mine[14]. True, I was the God of your fathers who brought you out of Egypt; but you forsook and forgot me[15], or rather you never knew me[16]. You were worshipping Moloch, or a calf, at the very time when you pretend to have been under the guidance of your legislator, Moses[17]. Therefore, I allowed you to follow the bent of your own corrupt imaginations, and punished you both in the wilderness and up to this day, by scattering you among the nations." The ancient idolatry might be described either as a rebellion against the true Jehovah, as things which "he could not away with," or as a judicial blindness authorized and per-

[9] 2 Kings xviii. 22. 2 Chron. xxxi. 1; xxxii. 12.
[10] Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 9.
[11] Jer. vi. 16; vii. 25; viii. 8.
[12] Jer. vii. 31; comp. xix. 4; xxxii. 35.
[13] Jer. xxxii. 35.
[14] Jer. xxiii. 13. 32.
[15] Jer. ii. 32.
[16] Ezek. xx.
[17] Acts. vii. 40. Amos v. 26.

mitted by him. He might say to his misguided people either that they who attached so much importance to empty symbols had not even the small merit of having offered them to himself, since they had been really offered to Moloch and Chiun[18]; or he might say, "your contumacy induced me to give you 'statutes that were not good;'[19] so that it was by a deliberate penal arrangement on my part that you polluted yourselves with your own gifts in that you caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb, that I might make you desolate, to the end that you might know that I am the Lord."[20]

The whole of the Israelitish monarchs had been idolators; of those of Judah two only, excepting only David, were approved to aftertimes as orthodox[21]. No better standard of orthodoxy would probably ever have arisen but for the civilizing influences which grew up in connection with the temple establishment and mercantile industry of Judæa. The prophets employed these influences in a free spirit, boldly denouncing formalism, immorality, and idolatry. Their god[22] was the supreme unity opposed to that dualistic separation of nature-worship which leads in practice to extremes of sensuality or cruelty, to the licentious Baal or dire Moloch[23]. However, the sincere but mistaken Jehovistic rites so emphatically repudiated afterwards were not at first severely noticed. Ahaz appears in Isaiah rather weak than wicked; the weakness of fear leads to the same issue as fanaticism, and Isaiah's silence in regard to contemporary proceedings[24] may be thought instead of acquitting the monarch to implicate himself. Yet in view of an ultimate ascendancy of benevolence, of a time when harsh anomalies would cease and peace and justice reign triumphant, the prophets were eventually enabled to develope the

[18] Amos v. 26.

[19] Ezek. xx. 25. Rom. i. 24.

[20] Comp. Isa. lxiii. 17.

[21] Ecclûs. xlix. 4.

[22] 2 Kings xviii. 22; xix. 4.

[23] The latter worshipped by those adversaries of Isaiah who "made a covenant with Death" (xxviii. 15. 18); as the people of Gades worshipped the same conception. Philostr. V. A. v. 4. Comp. Isa. vii. 11; viii. 19; also xlv. 7. Amos v. 8.

[24] 2 Kings xvi. 3.

eternal principle that "mercy is better than sacrifice,"[25] that "sin is not to be washed out by bloodshed."[26] It was under their influence that the great external change was effected of abolishing the "high places," and bringing all the people to take part in a better worship in the capital. The change was difficult. Many refused to attend or to purify themselves according to the new regulations; they even ridiculed the proposal, for the real object was the abrogation of the most important and imposing part of the old ceremony, the sacrificial immolation or "bloody token" of the old covenant[27]. The quick return of court and nation after the death of Hezekiah to idolatry proves the feeble hold which the new opinions had yet gained over the nation at large; and Manasseh expressly sanctioned the former sanguinary rite by delivering his own son to the flames[28]. The long continuance of the reign of this wicked king repressed the efforts of reformers; but in the eighteenth year of his second successor, when many adherents of reform had obtained high offices in the state, and most of the priests had adopted its principles, a favourable occasion seemed to have arrived for a new effort. The "book of the law" supposed to have been found in the temple by the high-priest was probably only a brief exposition of prophetical morality in a sententious form, accompanied with corresponding changes of ceremonial, especially of the passover. Up to this epoch of Josiah's reign idolatry had been the established religion. It was only by some impressive measure that the people could be influenced to resign their usual habits. Such an expedient seems to have been the discovery of "the book," a book strangely enough never before heard of as missed or lost, and which though it naturally caused no astonishment to the high priest, was both surprising and alarming to the king. It was now found that the contemplated changes were a revival of the old law which king and people had immemorially been

[25] Hos. vi. 6. [26] Mic. vi. 7.
[27] Gen. xvii. 10; xxii. 16; ix. 12. Exod. xii. 13.
[28] 2 Kings xxi.

provoking God's wrath by infringing[29]. The attempt succeeded; the majority seemed convinced without further evidence than that of one of the reforming party that the discovered volume was really the old covenant. The ceremonies enjoined were probably founded on ancient usage, and by giving form for form were doubtless intended to facilitate the transition to that spiritual change which they eventually obscured and obstructed. Yet the reform did not outlast the reign in which it was introduced. Even during Josiah's lifetime a conspiracy was formed against his innovations[30]. But their decided though short acceptance contributed to their ultimate success. Their advocates continued their efforts in spite of discouragement, and the captivity itself gave them a new argument. They employed the old resource of declaring misfortune a punishment for perverted worship; and while the majority of captive Jews, described by the great cotemporary prophet as going to meet "the king" (*i. e.* Moloch), with perfumes, and sending messengers to hell[31], amalgamated with the kindred superstitions of Babylon[32], a small but resolute party emboldened by the allied religion and power of Persia, realized the old idea of "the remnant" by re-establishing the pure worship of Jehovah in his own land[33]. Only a small fraction actually returned, but the very fact of their return attested their zeal. There was no more desertion of Jehovah for other gods, for Jehovah had no longer a rival, the new colonists being all reformers, their imaginations kindled with an elastic Messianic hope immediately connected with the national God. They now began to make collections of the ancient Scriptures, remodelling them on their own views; the great object of the compilers being to give reform the sanction

[29] However strange it may seem, the exemplary king Josiah had reigned 18 years and lived 26 without having learned the first two commandments.

[30] Jer. xi. 9. [31] Isa. lvii. 9.

[32] Gesen. to Isa. lvii. 5, p. 216. Ghillany, 137. 147. 169. A psalm (xvi. 3, 4) of the exile alludes to the revolting practices continued by his countrymen, those "holy ones" whom Jehovah had set apart as a nation of saints. Exod. xix. 6.

[33] Ezek. xx. 30. 40.

of antiquity, to throw back the better religion of the present to David and Moses. Truth of fact was remorselessly sacrificed to truth of principle. Every renowned historical character became henceforth a perfect example of the approved religion; every national calamity a punishment for incessant recurrences of idolatry. In spite of the Levitical prohibition, the sacrifice of Abraham continued to be a legitimate trial of his "faith" immediately connected with the prosperity of the nation descended from him; and the compilers felt no awe of captious criticism when they made the rites and ceremonies of a fixed agricultural hierarchy accompany the encampment of the wandering Israelites, or when they mingled the dogmas of a later period[34] as well as the incidents of its history with the early annals under the form of prophecy. It was now probably that the Jews discarded the Canaanite from the genealogy of Shem, and enrolled among their kindred the victorious and sympathizing Persian. They recoiled from acts once common to themselves, and found in their improved practice a new warrant for their old invasion of Canaan. Their Jehovah, before only one among the many Gods, was now the universal Power "whose throne is heaven and whose footstool earth;" a better conception of him altered his personality, in deference to which the ancient Baals and Molochs were either degraded into "nothings," *i.e.* imaginary beings, or took their place after Magian phrase among devils[35]. The antithetical conceptions[36] before veering between union and separation became per-

[34] Of this there are many examples: one of the most striking is that where the rule, "to obey is better than sacrifice" is put into the mouth of Samuel at the very time when he is rigorously exacting the most hideous of all sacrifices. (1 Sam. xv. 22.) The Levitical compiler has been carried too far in his application of the accommodation doctrine to Moloch offerings, since the law itself marks out cases in which no mercy or redemption were to be permitted. The strong contrast between the tone of the narrative of Jephthah in Judges and that in Josephus may caution us against confounding the later idea with the original.

[35] Deut. xxxii. 17, the swine, sacred to the infernal god, sharing their disgrace. Matt. viii. 31.

[36] Comp. Sam. ii. 4, 5.

manently parted into two rivals, of whom the sombre aspect, (Satan, or the Adversary), was banished to Tophet or Gehenna, that fire-furnace of the wicked[37] still forming a memento of his old abominations, so that it began to be perceived that Abraham's sacrifice was a suggestion of the devil[38], and that the ancient Hebrew God could not have been the father of Jesus of Nazareth[39]. Although it was still necessary to prohibit Moloch-worship, it was convenient to refer the prohibition to a time when its occurrence as an illegal practice might be quoted as a warning on which all history was a comment. Far different had been the Jewish records if edited by the idolatrous majority. The people would have been encouraged to follow rather than avoid the example of their fathers; yet finding in that example no principle which could, like the Messianic idea, abide the test of time and reason, they would soon have been absorbed among other nations.

§ 13.

THE PASSOVER.

The Hebrew reform is emphatically connected with the passover[1]. This festival was notoriously in relation with the sacrificial infanticide of the Hebrews[2], as also with the practice of presenting every first-born male child before Jehovah, afterwards substituted for the earlier revolting rite. The later Hebrews endeavoured to account for an otherwise unexplained

[37] Matt. xiii. 42. 50; xxv. 41. Rev. xx. 10. 15.

[38] Masiphat, prince of Dæmons, went to God, and said to him, "If Abraham indeed loves thee, let him offer his son as a sacrifice." Fabricii Cod. Ps. V. T. vol. i. 861; ii. 120. Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 380. Comp. Isa. xliii. 47.

[39] Irenæ. in Hær. i. 27; ii. 26. Especially by those teachers who, like Cerdon, Marcion, &c. dwelt more on the ethical antithesis of *the gods*, than on the metaphysical unity of God. Marcion unhesitatingly consigned all the pious adherents of the ancient "Cosmocrator," including Abel, Enoch, Noah, &c. to Tartarus.

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 22. 2 Chron. xxx. 5. [2] Exod. xiii. 12. 15.

practice by connecting it with the escape from Egypt, when the entry of the destroying angel into Israelitish houses was averted by an exhibition of blood upon the door-posts. Yet Moses would scarcely have instituted a festival in celebration of an event which not unreasonably seems to have been a continual source of complaint on the part of the people and of reproach to himself; nor is there any apparent reason why the Israelites on whose express behalf the destroyer was sent should have marked the occasion by a ceremonial of atonement, or why instead of expressing gratitude by a simple festivity they should have symbolically inflicted on themselves the injury which for their sakes had fallen on their enemies. The explanation in Exodus involves the inconsequence of supposing that God required the blood of his own first-born[3], because he had slain on their behalf the first-born of Egypt; that having once exercised an act of vengeance against the enemies of the Israelites, "therefore" he would for ever continue to inflict the same penalty on his own people unless propitiated by a ransom. Similar inconsistency is implied in the explanation that the mark of blood upon the doors was intended to prevent mistake on the part of the Destroyer, who without this precaution might have inadvertently seized a Hebrew child instead of an Egyptian[4]. Equally improbable is the attempted historical reference of the unleavened bread, the use of which was not confined to the hurried evening of the passover, but extended through the whole ensuing week; moreover the departure out of Egypt was on the whole not a hasty but a premeditated escape, and if Moses had sufficient time to give minute directions for observing the paschal ceremony, the people must have had leisure to leaven their bread as well as to bake and eat it. If the assigned cause be insufficient to account for the rite, its true origin must be sought in the general opinions and usages of the Hebrews. The fundamental article of the Israelitish creed was the absolute dependence of

[3] Exod. iv. 22.

[4] Exod. xii. 13.

the nation for weal or woe on the will of Jehovah; whose favour could be purchased only by that devoted allegiance expressed in the case of Abraham, when offering to heaven his most valued possession, his only son. This sacrifice, real or only intended, was the great charter of national prosperity. "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thy only son; that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand on the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies." Agreeably to this precedent, the claim to the first-born forms the great prerogative of Jehovah's supremacy, "Thou shalt offer to me," he says, "all that openeth the matrix; it is mine."[5] Again, "The first-born of thy sons thou shalt give unto me; in like manner shalt thou do with thy oxen and sheep; seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it unto me."[6] Nothing is more strongly insisted on than this right; it was probably founded on the general feeling that the Deity is entitled to the first and choicest of the goods bestowed by him, a feeling which Aristotle says was the origin of all sacrifices[7]. According to George[8], the feast of unleavened bread as well as the other annual feasts were agricultural commemorations; three times a year all the males were to appear before the Lord in token of grateful homage, first, for the commencement of corn harvest, the feast of weeks for its completion, the feast of tabernacles for the gathering in of other produce. Each feast originally fell on the fifteenth day or middle of the month, that is, on the full moon, and lasted seven days. At the commencement of harvest, on the 15th of the month Ahib or Nisan, a sheaf of first fruits was brought to the priest and "waved" before the Lord; from this time, as after an annual grace before meals, the use of unleavened barley cakes, the usual food of the time and

[5] Exod. xiii. 2. 12; xxxiv. 20. [6] Exod. xxii. 29, 30.
[7] Eth. N. viii. 11. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 139. Paus. i. 26; viii. 2.
[8] Judischen Feste, 223 sq.

country, was permitted[9], continuing as a sacred usage after wheat had superseded the use of barley[10], when the purpose of the employment of the unleavened and more homely article was explained out of historical tradition, partly from the haste in which the Israelites were supposed to have quitted Egypt, and partly as a commemoration of the "bread of affliction" which they had eaten during their stay there[11].

But Jehovah was entitled to the first fruits of cattle and men as well as of corn and wine[12]. These having no precise limitation of season were placed at the vernal commemoration of the year's renewal, becoming eventually the most important part of the ceremony under the name of Jehovah's "transit" or "Passover,"[13] the "offering of the Lord in his appointed season."[14] It began during the last hours of the fourteenth day of the first month; the victim was killed in the evening, and eaten or otherwise consumed the same night[15]. The passover ("ἑορτη διαβητηριος"[16]) was the transit between life and life, or between two great periods of existence presided over by Janus[17]. It was the solar festival common among all nations, particularly the Phœnicians and their colonies, at the commencement of the year[18], when the Egyptians and even

[9] 1 Sam. xvii. 17. 2 Sam. xvii. 28; xxi. 9. Ruth ii. 14.

[10] 1 Kings iv. 28. Joseph. A. v. 6. 4.

[11] Deut. xvi. 3. See Ewald on the use of the word Mincha, corn offering, for offerings generally, indicating its greater prevalence among the ancient Israelites. Anhang to Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 38. 42.

[12] Deut. xvi. 2. 17.

[13] Comp. Lev. xxiii. 5. Hence פָּסַח, to spare. Gesen. to Isa. xxxi. 5. Ghillany, 511. George, u. s. 238.

[14] Exod. xiii. 10. Numb. ix. 7.

[15] Exod. xii. 6. 8. Lev. xxiii. 5. Deut. xvi. 5, 6.

[16] Winer, R. W. ad. v.

[17] Comp. Ewald, Geschichte, i. p. 318. Creuz. Symb. i. 59 sq. Judg. xi. 31. Gen. viii. 20.

[18] "Καθ' ἑκαστον ἐτος." Euseb. de Laud. Constant. ch. xiii. Paus. vi. 20. 1. Sil. Ital. iv. 770. Porphyr. Abstin. ii. 27. Tacit. Germ. 9. Plutarch, Isis, ch. lxxiii. Macrob. Sat. i. 8; iii. 7. Ghillany, p. 33. 516. Movers' Phœnizier, 301. Ewald, Anhang, 357.

Peruvians smeared their doors, their sheep, or their fruit-trees with blood[19], and when the Hebrew Jehovah was supposed to hold a periodical sitting to judge the world[20]. Death seems to preside at the new birth of time, that perilous interval of Egyptian darkness when he may be said to devour his sacrificial tribute of the past, and appeased by the mighty meal to open the stores of the future. The passover was a periodical observance of the same kind as that resorted to occasionally under disaster or peril, including both expiation of sin[21] and a tribute of homage to the great "King," the Patriarchal El, the Cronus of Babylonian tradition[22], who if ever worshipped only with rites suited to the golden age, became afterwards so altered by superstition that Jehovah was obliged to denounce him as an alien and enemy, to prohibit his worship, and at last to confound him with the prince of rebel spirits. The Phœnician symbol of this deity was fire. Nothing impure could approach him[23]; no unclean animal, such as the dog or fly, was allowed to enter his temple. His most favoured offering was the tender child or virgin; the infant at the breast, or the milk and honey which are its first and purest food[24]. Hence the hideous custom adopted by his priests of cutting and maiming themselves for God's sake, which the present Levitical law expressly and pointedly *prohibits*. Hence too the religious hatred of leaven, the emblem of corruption[25], the nice distinctions between clean and unclean, the strict injunction to consume the whole victim, to burn with the all-purifying element whatever should remain until morning[26]. The paschal sacrifice addressed the dark nocturnal Power who ruthlessly exacted that tribute which the Egyptians refused to give voluntarily[27],

[19] V. Bohlen, Ind. i. 140. Epiphan. Hær. xix. 3.
[20] Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 75.
[21] Numb. ix. 13. 2 Sam. xxi. 9.
[22] Movers, Phœnizier, 256. 259. 261, &c.
[23] Lev. xi. 44.
[24] Movers, ib. 306.
[25] Plutarch, Quæst. Rom. 109.
[26] Exod. xii. 10; xxix. 34. Lev. vii. 15. Comp. Paus. viii. 38. 8; x. 38. 4.
[27] Exod. iv. 23; v. 3; xi. 4.

and who was propitiated by bloody marks upon the lintel[28], afterwards better replaced by the life-giving Word[29]. The same right which claimed the first-born of the Athamantides demanded the first-born of Israel, the whole nation being strictly speaking "holy" as Jehovah's first-born[30], though of course redeemable by a substitute[31]. The destination of the victim or substitute was death[32], the universal debt of Nature. Doomed by an inevitable covenant, all souls are in strictness incapable of ransom; they belong to death as they belong to God[33]. "All souls," says Jehovah[34], "are mine; as the soul of the father so the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sinneth it shall die." Death was the consequence of sin; the cause was as general as the consequence, which could be ransomed or delayed only by a voluntary gift or atonement. The household escaped in consideration of yielding a child; the child was afterwards commuted for a ram or lamb, the offering in each case being subject to the same treatment[35]. Another substitutive rite or "token of the covenant" was circumcision, both ceremonies being legally due on the same day after birth, and constituting analogous conditions of obtaining reward or safety. Jehovah it is said[36], after commissioning Moses[37] to threaten Pharaoh with the death of his unransomed first-born, met him at the inn and wished to kill him; thereupon Zipporah circumcised her child with a sharp stone, exclaiming angrily, "Surely a bloody husband art thou to me;" on which Jehovah let Moses go.

[28] Gen. iv. 7. Judg. xi. 31. Isa. lvii. 8.
[29] Deut. vi. 9. Comp. John x. 9.
[30] Exod. iv. 22. Jer. ii. 3.
[31] Exod. xxx. 12. Lev. xvi. 30. Numb. iii. 41; viii. 16. John xi. 50.
[32] Numb. ix. 13.
[33] Psal. xlix. 7, 8.
[34] Ezek. xviii. 4. Job. xii. 10.
[35] Exod. xiii. 13; xxii. 29.
[36] Exod. iv. 23.
[37] Moses, who is said to be as a God to Pharaoh and to his brother (the Aaronites? Exod. iv. 16; vii. 1), is described as of form divine (Joseph. Ant. ii. 9. 7), and as called "Melchi." He was also named (Manetho, in Jos. against Apion, i. 31, 32) Osarsiph (Arsaphes? a name of Osiris) and Tisithen, probably Seth, whose soul was said to have passed into him. (Eisenmenger, i. 645.)

When the human victim had both in ritual and legend been replaced by an animal substitute, it was natural that every vestige of the ancient obnoxious form should as far as possible be suppressed. Accordingly, after the first and second celebrations under Moses and the equivocal testimony of Joshua, there occurs no authentic account of a passover until Hezekiah and Josiah, when for some unexplained reason it became important to make an alteration in it. The king is said to have ordered that the passover should be observed according to directions given in the newly-discovered book of the law, and it is added, that "no such passover as that had ever been held from the days of the Judges, nor in all the days of the Kings of Israel or of Judah."[38] The writer would intimate that the passover had been duly observed in the Mosaic period, but that subsequently in the time of the Judges and thence down to the then present day the Mosaic institution had been neglected. But if no such passover had been held since the age of the Judges, or according to a more suspicious writer, since Samuel or Solomon[39], it may safely be inferred, as in the similar case of the feast of Tabernacles[40], that the reformed passover was a novelty under the disguise of a restoration, and that in reality no such passover had ever been held at all. Yet the new observance had certainly been preceded by some other requiring reform, the precise nature of which it was inexpedient even to name in connection with the ritual of Jehovah. It transpires, however, that objectionable passovers had been hitherto kept at the suppressed high places[41]; and since we know that the new passover was a sacrifice of blood closely connected with Jehovah's claim to the first-born, and that the immolation of human victims which down to a late period unquestionably formed part and no unimportant one, of Jehovah's ritual[42]

[38] 2 Kings xxiii. 21. [39] 2 Chron. xxx. 5; xxxv. 18.
[40] Neh. viii. 17. Ghillany, 520; but comp. Ewald, v.s. p. 357.
[41] 2 Kings xxiii. 9; comp. v. 22. Comp. Deut. xvi. 2. 5, 6.
[42] Mic. vi. 7. Comp. Isa. i. 15. 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

had been a recent object of prophetical remonstrance, it is not unreasonable to infer that such rites usually reserved for the passover festival may have been the very enormity it was now wished to extirpate. The conjecture is confirmed by Ezekiel, who in a remarkable passage[43], asserting Moloch worship to have been an institution authorized by Jehovah in order to punish his people, alludes to the old passover rite as having formed part of that worship[44], but omitting the clause enjoining substitution and redemption. The prophet admits the fearful practice which depopulated the nation; he admits too that it emanated from the ancient Hebrew God, but declares that it was a visitation of wrath inflicted for the purpose of exhibiting his power by desolating the country, and that as originally propounded it was unmitigated by the qualifying provisions found in the present text. We are then authorized by Scripture testimony as well as collateral evidence, such as the custom of executing malefactors on the Passover, to presume that the institution in its new shape was only an instance of the merciful substitution so often occurring about the dawn of history[45]; that many of its existing accessories explicable, as Ghillany shows, in no other way, such as the prohibitions of eating the raw flesh, of tearing or breaking the limbs, were intended to exclude former abominations[46]; that in short the new Passover replaced the old Moloch rite, in which, if analogy may be a basis for conjecture, a man or child was hung, or rather crucified as an offering "before the Lord" during the last hours of the departing year, and after being suspended till sunset[47], was then taken down, the blood poured out upon unleavened cakes[48], which with portions of the flesh were eaten by the communicants, and the remainder burnt in the furnace

[43] Ezek. xx. 25.

[44] In the words of Exod. xiii. 12.

[45] Euseb. Pr. Ev. iv. 16.

[46] The ωμοφαγια.

[47] *i. e.* during "the preparation." Comp. Numb. xxv. 4. Deut. xxi. 23. Josh. viii. 29.

[48] Exod. xxiii. 18; xxxiv. 25. Deut. xv. and xvi. Ghillany, p. 540.

fire of "Moloch," the still continuing title of Jehovah in paschal invocations[49].

§ 14.

CONTINUANCE OF SACRIFICIAL THEORY.

Inveterate habit could not be suddenly effaced. The eating blood in "private dwellings"[1] was strictly forbidden, and the suspicious passover rite brought under metropolitan surveillance[2]. Yet blood was still the only means by which sin could be expiated and life ransomed. "It is the blood," says the authority, "which makes atonement for the soul;" "without blood there is no remission."[3] And though a lamb superseded the victim of ancient ritual, there remained a tendency to revert to the more efficacious expedient under strong excitement. A senatûs-consultum or Levitical edict proves the commencement of a change, not its completion. Though human sacrifices had been nominally abolished by the heroes of civilization historical or fabulous, by Amasis, Hercules, or Theseus, Juvenal accuses the proverbially humane Egyptians of feeding on men while they spared the kid[4]; and long after the Carthaginians had generally discontinued the sacrifice of natives to Saturn, a defeat in battle overwhelmed them with such superstitious remorse that they offered up two hundred boys of the

[49] Ghillany, 542. The difficulty of understanding the redemption clause otherwise than as an interpolation may be seen by its effect in making many passages of the Pentateuch unmeaning; as Exod. xiii. 15. "*Because* the Lord slew all the first-born of Egypt, *both the first-born of man and the first-born of beast, therefore* I sacrifice to the Lord all that openeth the matrix; *but the first-born of my children I redeem!*"

[1] Lev. iii. 17; vii. 23. 26.

[2] Deut. xv. 19, 20. 23; xvi. 2. 5.

[3] Lev. xvii. 11. Comp. Heb. ix. 22. Ib. Wettstein, "Non est venia nisi per sanguinem." Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 188. 190.

[4] Herod. ii. 45. Ghillany, p. 623. Juven. Sat. 15.

first families at once[5]. Impending destruction roused the Tyrians to similar frenzy[6]. Even Athens tolerated the sacrificial death of criminals and foreigners[7]; and the bloody tribute to the Arcadian Zeus Lycæus condemned in the legend of Lycaon continued down to Diocletian[8]. "How much," says Pliny, "do we owe to Roman civilization for abolishing the horrible superstition which made the killing a man a most pious act, the eating him a most salubrious one!"[9] And yet notwithstanding the self-complacency of the philosopher, these practices recurred. Human sacrifices were prohibited by the Senate in the year 98 B.C.; the Decree was renewed by Augustus, Tiberius, and Adrian. Yet Augustus himself sacrificed 300 Romans of rank to the manes of his uncle[10]; the same rites were performed by Commodus and Elagabalus, and in the fourth century Lactantius speaks of the dire sacrifices of Jupiter Latialis as still subsisting[11]. Similar occasional outbursts of inveterate habit occurred among the Jews. In terror and disaster the dregs of prejudice are stirred up, and excitement revives all the atrocities of superstition. The cannibalism denounced by the prophets was no vague menace, no unprecedented evil[12]; the prohibition of eating blood or raw flesh did not prevent a mother from devouring her child whom she called "her sacrifice,"[13] nor restrain the Jews of Cyrene from tasting the entrails of their fellow-citizens[14]. The bloody immersion recommended by Jews to the Emperor Constantine as a specific for leprosy was a nostrum of the old law[15]; and the crucifixion of children under Theodosius[16] was but the revival of a practice far less generally revolting and unusual than

[5] Diod. S. xx. 14. Lactant. Inst. i. 21.
[6] Curtius, iv. 3. 23.
[7] Ghillany, p. 114.
[8] Paus. viii. 2. Euseb. Pr. Ev. iv. 16. Porphyr. Abst. ii. 27. Ghillany, 632.
[9] N. H. 30. 1.
[10] Suet. Octav. 15.
[11] Lactant. Inst. 1. 21.
[12] Lam. ii. 20; iv. 9, 10. 13.
[13] Joseph. War, vi. 3, 4.
[14] Ghillany, 653. 655.
[15] Ghillany, p. 625. Lev. xiv.
[16] Ghillany, 527.

Josephus would have us suppose[17]. As in the gladiatorial shows of demoralized Rome the old tribute to Saturn, or the War-God, still continued a spectacle of horrid entertainment; so in regard to Judæa, that theatre of the most extraordinary excesses of fanaticism which the world has perhaps ever witnessed, it may be asked why, if detestation of human sacrifices was generally and sincerely felt, the precedent of Abraham was still allowed to stand prominently forward as the great foundation of privilege and hope[18]; or how we are to avoid the dilemma that the Jews were either still semibarbarous in their hearts, or that an incredible fidelity to tradition induced them in this instance to allow the severest reflection to pass on what they most revered? The blood of sacrifice, of circumcision, of the Passover, still continued the great pledge of the eternal covenant[19]; and that the idea of human sacrifice though rare in practice still maintained its place in the background as a mysterious secret[20]. The story of the man found reserved for sacrifice in the temple meets in Josephus[21] but feeble contradiction; and the suspicion which has always attached to the secret mysteries of the Jews has been kept alive from age to age by the excesses of enthusiasts[22]. Sacrificial atonement, especially atonement by blood, had ever been their great religious idea. Established in Abraham, who through "faith" was supposed to have earned the inheritance both of this world and the next[23], the rite originating in abject fear was the most popular source of hope. The notion of imputation or substitution, of the innocent being made to pay for the guilty, was war-

[17] War, vi. 3. 5.

[18] Isa. xxix. 22; li. 2.

[19] Zech. ix. 11. 2 Chron. xxx. 16. Neh. x. 33. Gfrörer, ii. 191. "Israel is redeemed by a twofold bloodshed; that of the passover and of the circumcision." Schemoth. R. ib.

[20] Ghillany, pp. 106. 623. 625. 653.

[21] Joseph. against Apion. ii. 8. Ghillany, p. 546.

[22] Comp. Socrates, Hist. i. 7. 16. Eisenmenger, Ent. Judenthum, ii. 220.

[23] Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 159, 160. Comp. Heb. xi. 17.

ranted by ancient practice[24] and confirmed by law. Embodied in the Decalogue and acted on judicially[25], it was transferred to the divine attributes[26], and a notion so treated is not easily displaced. Even the prophets, however averse to injustice, found in this hypothesis a collateral guarantee for Messianic hope. They delighted in their denunciations to represent God as a fearful warrior trampling the earth in his fury, with blood-drenched sword and gory garments[27]. Criminals and enemies had been always regarded as economical sacrificial expedients for purchasing divine favour; the extent of the sacrificial vow being proportioned to the difficulty anticipated in fulfilling it, sometimes confined to slaughter of the males, sometimes, as in the case of the Amalekites, including women, children, and cattle[28]. The Hebrews in their contempt for foreigners regarded them as animals for sacrifice; and the notion was adopted by the prophets. By Jerusalem or "Ariel,"[29] Jehovah's sacrificial metropolis, it is pointedly said that "Tophet" stood ready prepared[30], the place had been "of old" marked out by divine vengeance for celebrating a holocaust of the enemy. "The Lord's fire was in Zion, his furnace in Jerusalem;[31] it was deep and large, high piled with fuel, and wanting but his own breath to kindle it."[32] The nature of the required victim was often shrouded in mysterious silence[33], but was invariably made clear by the event. In the olden time Egypt had been the expiation as well as spoil of Israel, the

[24] The "holiness" of the sin-offering is unaccountable in the usual acceptation of the term consistently with the breaking or purification of the vessels employed in it. It was "holy," *i. e.* irredeemable, or doomed.

[25] 2 Sam. xii. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 34; xiv. 10. 17; xxi. 28, 29. Isa. xxxix. 8.

[26] Psal. cix. 10. Jer. xvi. 4; xviii. 21.

[27] Isa. xxxiv. 5, 6; lxiii. 1. 3. Jer. xlvi. 10.

[28] Numb. xxi. 1; xxv. 13.

[29] "God's Hearth." Isa. xxix. 1; xxxi. 9. Ezek. xliii. 15.

[30] The writer adds with menacing ambiguity, Yes! for the "King" it is prepared.

[31] Isa. xxxi. 9.

[32] Isa. xxx. 33.

[33] Gen. xxii. 8. Exod. x. 26.

substitutive offering of first-born for first-born required by Jehovah[34]. The days of Gibeon and Midian were fearful precedents of the same kind[35]. The defeat of Sennacherib, of Pharaoh Necho at Carchemish[36], were each of them a great "cherem" or sacrifice; such too was the impending destruction of those ancient rivals of Israel the Idumeans, who from the time of the exile were especially the "devoted,"[37] the type of all that was most obnoxious in heathenism[38]. In this feeling the expiatory value of blood was exemplified on the largest scale in the Messianic theory. Israelitish depression would "in the year of the redeemed of Zion"[39] be requited a hundredfold on the ancient foes whose anguish would not only satisfy Hebrew vengeance but atone for Hebrew sin. "Precious in the sight of the Lord was the death of his saints."[40] "Fear not, O Israel," says Jehovah[41], "for I have redeemed thee; I have called thee by name, thou art mine; when thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, when thou walkest through fire thou shalt not be burned. For I am thy God Jehovah, the holy one of Israel is thy Saviour; I give as thy ransom Egypt, Ethiopia and Seba instead of thee[42]; since thou wast precious in my sight I loved thee; therefore give I men for thy ransom and people for thy life." "I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh, and they shall be drunken with their own blood as with sweet wine; and all the earth shall know that I Jehovah am thy Redeemer."[43] "I will

[34] Exod. iii. 18; viii. 8. 27.

[35] Isa. ix. 4; xxviii. 21. Comp. Obad. 15. Zeph. i. 7, 8. Whoso sheds the blood of the ungodly, said the Rabbis, is as meritorious as he who offers sacrifice. Jalkut Simeoni, fol. 245. Bamidbar Rabba, f. 229. Under the name of the ungodly seem at the time to have been included Christians. Eisenmenger, i. 689. 735. 756. 761; ii. 203.

[36] Jer. xlvi. 10.

[37] Isa. xxxiv. 2.

[38] Isa. xxxiv. 6. Obad. 10 sq. Psal. cxxxvii. 7. Jer. xlix. 13-17. Ezek. xxv. 12 sq.; xxxv. 5; xxxix. 17.

[39] Isa. xxxiv. 8; lxiii. 4.

[40] Psal. cxvi. 15.

[41] Isa. xliii. 1.

[42] Comp. Psal. xlv. 14.

[43] Isa. xlix. 26.

make my arrows drunk with their blood, and my sword shall devour flesh; with blood of the slain and of the captives, from the head of the Princes of the enemy. Rejoice, O ye tribes, his people! for he avenges the blood of his servants, rendering vengeance on their adversaries, and purifying (or "washing") his people in their blood."[44] The great "day of the Lord," that fearful retribution preceding, not according to Christian theory, following, the Messianic establishment, would be as in other instances[45] an atonement, by which the heathen would be instrumental in consummating Hebrew redemption. And if atoning virtue accrued from dying criminals and enemies, how much more might be expected from the unmerited suffering of the righteous Israelite! If the ancestor's guilt brought evil on the child[46], the pang of the child must redound to the advantage of children's children. The reformers who discarded Moloch worship inconsistently retained the theory on which it was founded. They used sacrificial language in reference to the uncomprehended inequalities of Providential dealing; for pain and death could not have existed without a cause, and it was less repulsive to suppose the misdeeds of the wicked to be expiated by the good, than to imagine evil as wantonly inflicted. Among murderous priests[47] and cruel altars, where men devoid of mercy as of knowledge offered sacrifices which God desired not[48], the prophet was scouted when protesting against popular abominations he appealed to the plain dictates of humanity. Yet unmerited suffering was a problem difficult even to himself. The mysteries of Providence resembled the usurious dealing of the householder in the parable, rigorously exacting payment for an unjust debt. All that the greatest of

[44] Deut. xxxii. 43. Rev. i. 5. Hence the Proverb, xi. 8; xxi. 18. Comp. above, p. 270 n 56. "Si justus aliquis est qui in viis regis superni quidem ambulavit, aliquâ tamen vestium parte deficiat, illi Deus ex impii illius operibus defectum suum supplet, ut scriptum est Job xxvii. 17; "Parabit impius vestes sed justus induet." Sohar in Gfrörer, ii. 185.

[45] Exod. xxxii. 29.

[46] Lam. v. 7.

[47] Hos. vi. 8, 9; viii. 11. 13; ix. 13. 15, 16. Lam. iv. 13.

[48] Hos. vi. 6.

prophets could do was to contrast the sublime resignation of the upright to God's inscrutable judgments[49] with the vile rites wantonly perpetrated by men. He leaves moral anomalies to find their explanation in the very theory which had been the root of superstitious pollution, pointing out the suffering prophet as a "sin-offering" who had borne the iniquity of his fellows and so healed their sorrows[50]. "Thou knowest, O God," says the martyr Eleazar[51], "that I could even now escape, yet for the sake of the law I am willing to die a fiery death; therefore be thou gracious to thy people, let my suffering on their behalf suffice thee; and instead of their lives accept thou of mine."[52] The results of martyrdom were twofold, purification and glory to the sufferer, and benefits of example and atonement for the people. The penances of the just were a "treasure in heaven" constituting a fund of communicable desert, and the reckoning between Jehovah and his people was treated as a commercial balance of accounts. Rabbi Judah the holy suffered the toothache for thirteen years; during those years it was affirmed that no living thing died in Israel, and no woman miscarried[53]. The death of the righteous being superfluous in regard to himself, operated on the general balance of account in favour of the people; the death of the High-Priest was considered a general satisfaction for sin, so that the involuntary shedder of blood became by that event at liberty to return in safety to his home[54]. "Why," says the Talmud[55], "did the sons of Aaron die on the day of Atonement? That ye may learn that as the day of atonement makes expiation for

[49] Isa. lvii. 1 sq. [50] Isa. liii.

[51] 4 Mac. vi. p. 506. Comp. p. 518 and 2 Mac. vi. 30.

[52] This idea is said still to prevail in some Jewish communities. Rabbi Joseph, the son of Joshua, relates that when the son of a Jewish renegade was burnt by order of Charles the Fifth, "the Lord smelled a sweet savour;" and a letter from Jerusalem describes the death of those who perished in the earthquake of 1837 as an atoning sacrifice for Israel. Daumer, Feuer und Moloch dienst der alten Hebraer. p. 33.

[53] Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 187. [54] Numb. xxxv. 25. 28.

[55] Gfrörer, ii. 188.

Israel so also doth the death of the righteous." Again, "Why does Scripture relate the death of Miriam immediately after the directions about the red heifer?[56] To teach that as the ashes of the heifer atone for Israel, so doth the death of the righteous." In treatise Meschilta R. Jonathan appeals to the examples of Jonah[57], Moses[58] and David[59], to show how patriarchs and prophets offered their lives for their people; and it was an impression handed down from early times that the same self-immolations of chiefs and princes often met with in profane history, in which the devoted hero undergoes a voluntary death at the command of an oracle or soothsayer, had repeatedly occurred among the Hebrews, and that the extraordinary deaths of Moses and Aaron by God's appointment were not mere natural events, for the "eye of Moses was not dim nor his natural force abated," but self-inflicted forfeitures, sublime acts of sacrificial self-devotion for the public good[60].

§ 15.

ITS PRESENT EFFECTS.

Atonement, spiritual reunion with God, a restoration of the "golden age," these are the great aims of all religion. When man fell, when, in other words, he ceased to be in unconscious sympathy with Nature, his ingenuity of course sought for means of reunion. With the consciousness of estrangement arose varied forms of mediation, one of the earliest of which was a metaphysical pantheism producing a more or less deli-

[56] Numb. xix. 20, 21.
[57] Jonah i. 12.
[58] Exod. xxxii. 32. Numb. xi. 15.
[59] 2 Sam. xxiv. 17.
[60] "Mors justorum est expiatio sæculi," says the Sohar. (Gfrörer, ii. 188.) Again, "There is no expiation more powerful to avert the plague than the sacrifice of the binding of Isaac (Gen. xxii. 9); God's severity was thereby bound, and therefore all Jews ought in the captivity to reflect on Isaac's bonds which protect them against all evil."

berate return of the self-conscious mind to the serenity of its childhood. But it was not in the power of all men to overleap the barrier by a sudden effort. There was a long interval, during which the mind parted from Nature yet imperfectly aware of its own claims, roved fitfully through the twilight of the mythical, investing the outward world with attributes and powers which it strove by fanciful means to propitiate or influence. At length man stood face to face with a supreme independent Being raised, like himself, above Nature, and bearing his own likeness. But the very supposition involved a continuing separation. Among the Hebrews, the relation of God to man was that of Governor and subject ascertained by a law, the terms of which would therefore contain the means of reconciliation. But legal conformity was always felt to be imperfect. The state, the individual suffered, and the suffering of itself was proof, if proof were needed, that reconciliation was incomplete. Sacrifices therefore were used to make up for lack of performance, while to those who had a truer notion of perfection, who "thirsted after righteousness,"[1] the absolute theocratic fulfilment was transferred from the present to future hope under the form of the Messianic theory. Even while man and God were thus opposed as persons, the efforts to appease him partook in some degree of the feeling of the first and last stages of thought; but the very existence of a law implied continuing estrangement, its constantly recurring ceremonial containing an acknowledgment of guilt which separated rather than united. Judaism was eminently calculated to be in the Pauline sense a "schoolmaster;" that is, to awaken in men's minds a distinct idea of the necessity of atonement; but it at the same time seemed to proclaim the impossibility of fully attaining the object except at some remote time and through some new organization which would be its own downfall. The incompleteness and transitory condition of law was daily exhibited to those who espied the unveiled barrenness[2]

[1] Isa. li. 1. 5; lv. 1; lviii. 2, &c.

[2] 2 Cor. iii. 7.

of superannuated sacrificial forms, while the prophetic spirit, that necessary part of Judaism, was constantly looking out for a "better promise," and chaunting a song of exultation over the approaching fall of its parent. In Christ the fulfilment of all expectation and prediction is brought before us in two ways: first, in the example of a faultless life encouraging us to realize objectively the divine ideal; secondly, by denying as far as could consist with the notion of a personal God the imaginary barrier, and assuming him to be already reconciled as a friend and father. It may be questioned whether in making a further effort to restore the golden age, in endeavouring through the atonement scheme to arrogate by a symbol the claim to spiritual union made on abstract ground by the metaphysical idealist, Christianity did not betray its own dignity, and abandon for a fanciful notion a prolific truth. The sacrifice of Jesus was a sacrifice for a principle. He died to establish his religion, to bequeath an eternal truth to mankind. To say that he courted death would contradict both authority and probability. He pathetically deplored the obdurate aversion of his countrymen to the "things belonging to their peace." He easily foresaw that in the then prevailing temper of their minds there would arise "false Christs and false prophets," that misdirected zeal would undo them. He experienced the bitter disappointment of an enthusiastic philanthropist whose aims and motives have been misconstrued and depreciated. His agony was not an unmanly fear of death, but distress at the utter failure of his most cherished hopes, and the impossibility of his living except as an apostate without universal offence and constant persecution[3]. It may be that at an earlier period he imagined that his kingdom in its loftiest meaning was to be quickly realized to the eye either in a natural or supernatural manner[4]. But the expectation if ever formed was soon dispelled; and the proffer of the only kind of deliverance which it was competent for himself to offer or for his countrymen to receive was scorn-

[3] Comp. Matt. xi. 6.

[4] Matt. x. 23; xi. 3 sq.; xvi. 27, 28.

fully rejected by the world, and coarsely misinterpreted even by his nearest friends. At this conjuncture it remained only that since his Messianic plan had for the present failed both temporally and spiritually, he should himself become a sacrifice for his cause, not merely in order to prove his sincerity, but as an appeal to the future world against the grossness and hard-heartedness of this. Impressed with the inevitable necessity, he had no longer any scruple as to acknowledging publicly before the Sanhedrim and the Roman governor his pretensions to be the spiritual prince and saviour of men's souls; he boldly confronted death to uphold his sinking cause, conscious that the expectations he had sown in the reluctant hearts of his disciples could fructify only in his blood. Words had been spent in vain, deeds alone could bring down the "holy spirit" into their hearts. His death too might seem to be demanded by the same oracle which was the guarantee of his second coming[5] and of the proverbial "woes" which were to precede it. He was influenced doubtless by the example of preceding prophets, nearly all of whom had been martyrs[6], especially by the passage, Isaiah liii.[7], not indeed in opposition to his great object[8] in the idea of substituting his own bodily suffering by way of sacrificial expiation for obdurate sin, but chiefly in the hope that indifference and cruelty would at last be awakened to remorse[9], so that his death might as it were ransom sin by eradicating sinfulness from the heart. Even admitting the words ascribed to Jesus about "giving his life a ransom for many" to have been really spoken by him, it seems needless to ascribe to them more than the figurative sense[10] intimating

[5] Dan. ix. 26.

[6] Matt. xxi. 35 sq.; xxiii. 30. 37. Comp. Mark ix. 12; xiv. 49.

[7] Comp. Luke xxii. 37. [8] Matt. ix. 13. Mark xii. 33.

[9] Comp. Zech. xii. 10.

[10] Isa. liii. Comp. Wisd. iii. 6. Philo generalizes the word "ransom" in his adage of "Πας σφος του φαυλου λυτρον" (De Sacrif. Abel. et Caini) into "salutary influence" or "remedy." The language transmitted from a rude and ignorant age would of course receive afterwards a different turn.

the beneficial influences of heroic martyrdom, or to think that he whose great object was to enforce practical righteousness seriously entertained the inconsistent idea of a summary gratuitous reckoning or settlement of account. In short, we cannot admit the atonement doctrine to have been authorized by Jesus as part of his religion. He used the terms and symbols of his age, which the disciples, "foolish and unapprehensive" as they were, applied literally, thereby creating a superstitious mystery never deliberately contemplated by their master. They could but dimly appreciate the new world of spiritualism through the mist of old conventionalisms[11]; and in the sensuous construction of Messianic types, the con-

[11] How far, if at all, the notion of martyrdom had in the time of Jesus become mingled with Messianic theory, is one of the obscurest problems of antiquity. Allusion has before been made to the Rabbinical notion of a secondary Messiah, a son of Joseph or Ephraim, who was to perish in the war of Gog (Above, p. 321, and Targum to Cantic. iv. 5; vii. 3. Bereschith Rabba to Gen. xlix. 14), and whose blood would atone for the schism and iniquities of Jeroboam, finally healing the division of the tribes. (Bertholdt, Christologia, s. 7 and 17, p. 78.) In the Talmud (Succa, p. 52[a]) the words of Zechariah (xii. 10. 12) are applied to this son of Ephraim, whose death, it is there stated, would enable the son of David to obtain eternal life from Jehovah. (Gfrörer, Urchrist. ii. 259.) It is well known that the great Israelitish prophet Elijah was to precede and to inaugurate the Messiah, appearing three days before him on the mountains of Israel to announce salvation and peace. Many believed Jesus to be this personage (Matt. xvi. 14); his conduct was rather that of precursor than of the true Messiah; even the disciples when supposed to be convinced of his true character by the transfiguration, immediately ask, "Where then was the Elias who was to come first?" It may be questioned whether the Samaritans may not out of local traditions have set up a rival Messiah theory as well as a rival temple; whether already extant notions of a dying mediator may not have helped them over the great stumbling-block of early Christianity (Matt. xxvi. 31. Luke xxiv. 19 sq. Acts xxvi. 23), predisposing them to accept the preaching of Philip (Acts viii. 6); whether the abrupt departure of Jesus for Galilee after his resurrection (in Matt. xxvi. 32; xxviii. 18) may not have been intended to meet conceptions more specific than the general prophecy of Isa. ix., and whether the Jewish persecutors of the Galilæan "son of Joseph" may not have been partly influenced in conspiring his death by considering him, according to the suggestion ascribed to Caiaphas in St. John, as the preparatory victim whose unmerited and therefore meritorious suffering (Luke xxiii. 14. 47. Wisd. iii. 6) was to produce or expedite the appearance of their own Davidical hero.

tinuance of an obscure term involved retention of its associated thought. The Hebrew Palladium was thus inherited by Christians[12]. Yet if in moral inequalities there be anything which can really disturb the serenity of the divine mind, tasking it not merely to forbear but to forgive, the forgiveness (of course not to be expected from a lower source[13]) is surely a free gift to the repentant[14], unpurchaseable by bloodshed, uninfluenced by magical exorcism; and if human waywardness had deliberately proposed to cast a slur on the sublime act of self-devotion which closed the career of Jesus, the object could scarcely have been more effectually attained than by construing it as an enchantment or spell through which the real mental change he died to promote might be superseded by a mere profession of paradoxical belief. The expressive sign or symbol of "atonement" recommended itself to the imagination, supplanting one trick of fancy[15] by another, and giving a seemingly substantial basis for hope. This hope, of which in St. Paul,

[12] Jesus is not the Levitical sin-offering, but rather, in respect of Isa. liii. 7, the expiatory "lamb" of the old paschal rite. Justin M. describes the mode of roasting the paschal lamb as containing a pointed allusion to the death by crucifixion (Tryph. ch. xl. p. 259. Comp. Epist. Barnab. ch. ix. Tertull. in Marcion, iii. 9. Jerome on Ezek. ix. 4. De Wette, Archaologie, 287); a practice by no means peculiarly Roman, but common to Persians, Scythians, Carthaginians, &c. Its probable origin was a superstitious rite, such as can alone explain the odd custom of crucifying hawks inherited by modern times from the old Egyptians (Ælian, H. A. x. 24), or the healing serpent of Moses. (Justin M. Apol. i. p. 93. Tryph. p. 322.) Executed criminals appear to have been considered as sun-offerings, consecrated, or in Bible phrase, "accursed," and their bodies were removed at sunset. The cross itself was emblem of the Sun or of Baal (Ghillany, p. 530, and above, vol. i. p. 158. 160. 214); and if we call to mind that the essential idea of sacrifice was the union of the victim with the God, that the Carthaginian idol hugged the devoted child in its arms (comp. Deut. xxxiii. 27, and above, p. 307) like the fiery embrace of the Cretan Talus, it may be conceived how the instrument of torture and death became the "sign" of salvation and immortality. (Wisd. xvi. 6. Socrat. E. H. v. 17. Lucian, Prom. 1, and De Sacrif. 6. Exod. xvii. 11. Rufin. H. E. ii. 29.)

[13] Luke v. 21.

[14] Hos. xiv. 4. Isa. lv. 1. 7. Ezek. xviii. Matt. xviii. 27. Luke vii. 42; xviii. 14.

[15] The Fall.

grace is the object and faith the inward assurance or means, is the mental realization of a new golden age or spiritual union with God. But apart from a firm trust in the general beneficence of the Creator, which needs not to be restored since it never was withdrawn, can this transcendental presumption which arrogantly anticipates the distant goal of existence be a safe creed for an imperfect progressive being? A large mass of error is easily embalmed and perpetuated by a little truth. If the symbol of Christ's death were only an eminent example of self-devotion through which his Spirit could for ever dwell with us[16], or if it were taken only as a final cancelling of those subjective fancies which made God appear as a tyrant, and raised an imaginary barrier between Him and his creatures, its effect would be healthful; unfortunately it has been used for the very opposite purpose of perpetuating those ancient superstitions in their most frightful form, and practically giving to Christianity a character, which though it have an ill sound it would be vain as well as dishonest to dissemble, that of a religion of Moloch.

[16] Matt. xxviii. 20.

SPECULATIVE CHRISTIANITY.

"Redit error in orbem
Et sua perpetuo relegunt vestigia gyro."

OXFORD PRIZE POEM.

"Ουτε ἡ γνῶσις ἄνευ πίστεως ἔυθ' ἡ πίστις ἄνευ γνώσεως.

CLEM. ALEX. STROM. v. 1. p. 643.

SPECULATIVE CHRISTIANITY.

§ 1.

THE ALEXANDRIAN THEOSOPHY.

AMONG the numerous Jews who settled in Egypt under Alexander and his successors, there arose a peculiar theosophy out of the mingling of heathen doctrines with their own. Reserving as indisputable truth the divine authority of their Scriptures, they transferred to Jehovah the philosophic notions gained in Alexandria. An acquaintance with the Greek writers, especially Plato, engendered inquiry and criticism; and the natural result was an endeavour to explain away the sensuous representations of God in the Old Testament. It was admitted that God, the universal mind[1], is invisible, incomprehensible, to be contemplated only by intellect[2]; and hence the Septuagint uniformly alters every passage suggesting a visible manifestation of God by substituting his "angel" or "glory" instead of himself. Where for instance the original[3] states that not only Moses and Aaron, but also Nadab, Abihu and the elders "saw" the God of Israel, and were able to eat and drink after it, the LXX alters the phrase to "the place where the God of Israel stood," though it is expressly stated in the Babylonian Talmud that there existed no reading to authorize the change.

[1] "Νους των ὁλων." Philo in Pfeif. i. 6.

[2] "Νοητος." Aristobulus in Euseb. Pr. Ev. xiii. 12.

[3] Exod. xxiv. 9. 11.

The Alexandrians after Plato endeavour to merge the sterner aspect of God in his goodness, love and grace. His goodness is the harmony of the universe; without it all things would immediately sink into annihilation[4]; and as it is wrong to consider God as inflicting the punishments really brought about by inferior spirits[5], it is equally so for man to ascribe to himself the good which he really owes to God[6]. Philo observes that there are two sorts of men; the spiritual, and those who, themselves sensual, always look for a sensual exhibition of Deity. Hence it is that two distinct views pervade the Pentateuch. Moses wished to be of use to all, and therefore ascribed bodily organs to God in order to accommodate his language to vulgar perceptions. In this way must be explained the passages representing God as liable to passion and change; God, foreseeing and knowing all things, never changes; he is omnipresent, far above space and time; he is everywhere and nowhere, that is, his glory is manifested everywhere, but his form is nowhere seen.

The expedients employed by the Jews to bring philosophy into agreement with orthodoxy were the allegorical interpretation and a machinery of intermediate beings. Allegorical interpretation had already been used by Greek philosophers to explain their own mythology; it was the main secret of the spiritual insight afterwards employed by St. Paul[7], and of which St. Barnabas exultingly exclaims, "Blessed be the Lord who has given us 'wisdom' to understand his secrets!"[8] The more educated Jews perceived the impossibility of gravely abiding by the literal sense of Scripture, and Philo speaks only the general opinion when he lays it down that wherever the literal construction furnishes a meaning unworthy of God or of Moses, there we must adopt a figurative one. For example, it would be "foolish," he says, "to think that God literally created the world in six days, or indeed in any fixed time, for

[4] Philo in Pfeif. ii. 420. Wisd. xi. 25.
[5] Pfeif. iv. 252.
[6] Pfeif. i. 148; iii. 110; iv. 258.
[7] 1 Cor. x. 1.
[8] Ch. vi.

time is itself measured by the sun, and can therefore have existed only after the creation." In regard to Eve's issuing out of Adam's side, he says, "This is a mythical statement[9]; for how can a human being be formed out of a man's side?" Again, Adam's hiding himself from God cannot be literally true, for God is present everywhere. The name Bathuel means literally "daughter of God;" this, says Philo, denotes Wisdom (Sophia); and as to the difficulty of making the father of Rebecca a female, he adds, Wisdom, God's daughter, is to be deemed masculine and a father, as begetting in the soul science, prudence, and all praiseworthy actions. The whole Pentateuch is in Philo's view more or less allegorical, some parts having no meaning except a figurative one; the larger portion, commencing with the account of the Patriarchs, is historical, yet in the historical fact lies hid a deeper meaning.

The earliest traces of Jewish allegory may be found in the Book of Proverbs[10]. That Philo only adopts what was already familiar is shown not only by his assuming the ready assent of his hearers, but by often giving different renderings of the same passage as understood by different expositors[11]. He was preceded among others by Aristobulus, by the author of the Book of Wisdom, and also by the LXX, which often substitutes allegoric paraphrase for translation. Philosophy cramped by orthodoxy was forced into the way of allegory as the only means by which new opinions could be grafted upon old traditions. By this the most discordant elements were reconciled to the Jewish mind under a popular name. Philo often states that the Greek philosophers copied from Moses; and Aristobulus who lived 150 years earlier says expressly that not only the poets, as Orpheus, Homer and Hesiod, but the most eminent Greek thinkers, especially Plato, had derived their lore from some old version of the Pentateuch. Josephus, following the same tendency, promises an extended

[9] "Το ῥητον ἐστι τουτου μυθωδες ἐστιν." Philo, Mangey, i. 70.

[10] Prov. iii. 18; xi. 30.

[11] Comp. Mang. i. 513. 638. Pf. iv. 124; v. 54.

allegorical theory, and many similar instances occur in the Pauline epistles. Like the author of Hebrews[12], Philo confines to the "wise" those recondite expositions[13] which he compares to the Pagan mysteries, enjoining the initiated to withhold them from the profane[14]. He probably assumes the style of the Hierophant more for effect than from any absolute necessity for secrecy; yet there appear to have been then as now many illiterate and bigoted persons who, obstinately attached to the "beggarly elements" of the letter, would have felt outraged by innovation[15]. On the other hand many of those favoured persons who might be said to be among the initiated (θεοφιλεις and θεραπευται) incur the censure of Philo for excess in the use of allegory, thus abandoning wholly the historic sense, and endangering all faith in the national institutions and privileges.

§ 2.

THE DIVINE POWERS AND THE LOGOS.

God being perfectly pure and holy cannot touch the impure and imperfect. The Alexandrian Jews therefore removed their Deity from immediate contact with the world, adopting the oriental notion, which though properly forming no part of Plato's philosophy may yet seem to have been countenanced by him, of the impurity of matter as source of evil[1]. Pantheism is on this account impious; it is to make the world to be itself God instead of God's work[2]. God dwells alone in inaccessible solitude; his emblem, or that of his everlasting associate,

[12] Heb. v. 11.

[13] Pfeif. v. 316. 332.

[14] Pfeif. ii. 26. 100. 144.

[15] Pfeif. ii. 24. Mang. i. 146.

[1] "Ου γαρ ην θεμις απειρου και πεφυρμενης ὑλης ψαυειν τον ιδμονα και μακαριον." Pfeif. v. 126; comp. ii. 258. Mang. ii. 261. Wisd. ix. 15. There were however other precedents both Greek and Oriental besides Plato for ascetic maxims and practice.

[2] Pfeif. iv. 162.

Wisdom, is the solitary dove; his unchangeableness is eternal repose; with him, not in the changing world, dwell true freedom, peace and joy; and the "ασκηται σοφιας," the wrestlers for wisdom and virtue whose highest aim is to become like God[3], must court the solitude which is pleasing to him; they must forsake the flesh as the Israelites escaped from Egyptian bondage, quitting, as did the Levites[4], not only country and kindred, but even themselves, in order to approach nearer to God. As in the O. T. idea of the life being in the blood good men had been carried up alive to God, so on the spiritual principle of death being the commencement of true life, it became desirable to anticipate it by self-mortification[5]. Such ideas led numbers to quit society for the purpose of spiritual improvement, giving rise to the remarkable ascetic communities of the Therapeutæ and Essenes. These monastic saints are described as pale and wasted men who try to overmaster the flesh by the spirit so as to become if possible altogether soul[6]. Rarely they leave their abodes, or if they do, they sojourn in desert places[7], imitating Moses who after 40 days' abstinence on the lonely mount became so glorified that the Israelites could not endure the brightness of his presence[8]. The same tendency to renounce common human relations and enjoyments as prejudicial to a divine life obtained a place in certain Christian dicta[9] which long continued to influence the Ebionites, and on which a painful commentary was given by the "sainted libertine" of Assisi, when stripping off his rags he threw them at his father's feet, exclaiming, "Take back what was your own; henceforth I acknowledge no father but him who is in heaven."

[3] "Εξομοιουσθαι Θεῳ." Mangey's Philo, ii. 193. 197. 404.

[4] Mangey, i. 337.

[5] "Metathesis," or translation, thus came to be confounded with "metanoia," in the type of Enoch. Ecclûs. xliv. 16; comp. LXX, Gen. v. 24; and the idea recurs in Philo, Mang. ii. 410. Pfeif. v. 238. Hence Heb. xi. 5.

[6] Pfeif. iv. 334.

[7] M. ii. 279. Pfeif. v. 240.

[8] M. ii. 145. Comp. 2 Cor. iii. 7.

[9] Matt. v. 29; vi. 25; x. 9; xix. 12. 23. 27. Luke xiv. 26.

When God had been removed beyond the world and all impurities of matter, it became necessary to devise some means of bringing him back again, to account for his admitted control over nature generally, as well as for the particular interpositions recorded in Scripture. Pantheism was excluded as profane; and the only remaining resource was that of emanations or intermediate beings. The connecting link always required between the universal and individual when broken in regard to the Supreme divinity was supplied either by a subordinate person or by a plurality of persons. The personal Will and Word by which God made the world, implied ideas in the divine mind and powers in the creating agent. It was, according to Philo, through his "Powers" that God created the universe and maintains it. These powers are of two kinds; the ideal archetypes of creation, and secondly, spiritual beings dwelling in the air; both are "δυναμεις ὑπηρετουσαι," "ministering spirits," a sort of body guard surrounding the eternal and constituting his "glory." They are innumerable as the stars and of different kinds. Some descending the ladder of the firmament become involved in mortal bodies; others escaping soar aloft, while the most pure and godlike, who never yearned after the flesh, act as emissaries of the Supreme; they are the divine mandates or "λογοι," the Dæmons and Heroes of the philosophers, and the Angels of Moses. The ministry of the λογοι αγγελοι is either carried on under a visible form, as by the three men who appeared to Abraham at Mamre, or invisibly, as in the influences guiding the soul to truth and virtue. Floating between abstraction and personality they include the Creative attribute through which God has his name Θεος, that of Dominion by virtue of which he is κυριος; moreover Legislation, Mercy, Peace, Wisdom, &c. When Philo wishes to explain the scriptural Theophanies, he treats the "Powers" as persons; again, fearing lest divine agents distinct from God should lead to polytheistic mistake, he assures us that they are only aspects or modes of operation inseparable from God as the senses and faculties from the

human soul. The paradox of imagining the same beings to be both persons and abstractions, united with God yet separate from him, is excused on the ground of the feebleness of the intellect, and its incapacity to grasp at once the majestic union of the divine perfections.

The δυναμεις collectively are the half-personified constituents of the ideal world which are again comprehended and absorbed in the divine Logos. The word Logos has many meanings. It unites speech and reason, word and thought. The Hebrew "Dabar" seems equally extensive, being used generally for "matter" or "thing," like the Latin res allied to ῥημα, and the German sache from sagen[10]. The divine Logos may be either the direct voice of God, his written oracles, or his natural laws, either distributed as "λογοι" or personified as "αγγελοι;" and as the Logos of man is either enunciated (προφορικος) or unspoken thought (ενδιαθετος), so the divine is twofold; one kind answering to the κοσμος νοητος or ideal[11], the other the manifested world[12], or development of the ideal by God's creative fiat.

Philo adroitly transfers to Moses the Platonic doctrine of ideas[13]. God made the ideal world on the first day, and as the plan of a city prearranged by its projector, the invisible patterns of the universe reposed in the mind of its Author. The divine Logos may be either the sum or residence of the ideas[14]; comprehending either way the infinite variety of

[10] Words therefore are things in Jewish etymology as in Jewish philosophy. The term translated things in our version is ῥηματα in the LXX. Of a king it may be said that his word is tantamount to act (Æschyl. Suppl. 545, Bothe. Judith ii. 2. Eccles. viii. 4. Esth. vii. 8. Matt. viii. 8); especially in the call of the King of kings. (Ecclûs. xlii. 15. Wisd. ix. 1. Psal. xxxiii. 6. 9. 4 Esd. vi. 38; xvi. 55.) Hence Philo gives to God the name of the "Speaker" ("Ὁ λαλων." Pfeif. iv. 268.)

[11] "Εννοησις" or "λογισμος θειος."

[12] Διανοησις.

[13] Quoting Gen. i. 27 and ii. 5.

[14] So the "holy tabernacle" in Wisd. ix. 8 is not merely the Cosmos, the outstretched tent of Isaiah (xl. 22. Acts vii. 44), but the "Cosmos noetos," the universe of ideas encircling the Deity as a garment. Sophia, too, according to Philo (Pfeif. iv. 192), is the "palace" of the great King.

species which fills the world. Hence it is called το γενικωτατον, the "most generic" or universal, and also "universal divider" (παντων τομευς), since the universal as penetrating all things and defining their essence may be said to divide or analyze them. It was this which at the beginning "divided" light from darkness; it is also the "God within the mind" which ever separates truth from falsehood in the chaos of the human soul. The well-known Biblical emblem of the "sword," that, for instance, which guarded Paradise, which armed not only the angel of the Covenant, of the vision of Balaam, &c., but Jehovah himself[15], was metaphysically applied in this sense. Isaiah had described the prophetic word as a "sharp sword;"[16] and Plato speaks of an ineffectual argument as one inflicting no wound[17]. So too the Logos or Word of God is "the sword of the Spirit;"[18] and the words of Philo supply a curious commentary to mystic descriptions proceeding from the same school or influenced by it[19]. The creative word considered as the external manifestation of the divine thought may be called the "dwelling-place" of the ideas; this, says Philo, was understood by Jacob when he consecrated the "house of God" at Bethel. It may also be treated either as the "instrument" of creation[20], as the "seal" by which God stamps out the various modifications of matter, as "πιστις" (faith), the pledge of the stability of creation, "the δεσμος των απαντων," or as a subordi-

[15] Deut. xxxii. 41; xxxiii. 29. Psal. xlv. 3.

[16] Isa. xlix. 2; comp. xi. 4 with LXX; xxxiv. 6. Hos. vi. 5.

[17] Phileb. 13, p. 136. Comp. Eccles. xii. 8. Eupolis in Diod. S. xii. 40. Pind. Ol. ii. 159; ix. 17. Soph. Antig. 1085. Life of Timur, cited by Gesenius to Isaiah, vol. iv. 126.

[18] Ephes. vi. 17. 2 Thess. ii. 8. Rev. i. 16; ii. 12; xix. 13. 15.

[19] "Logos, the universal divider, which sharpened to the keenest edge never ceases to divide all phenomena." Pfeif. iv. 58. Comp. Wisd. v. 20; vii. 24; xviii. 15, 16. Heb. iv. 12. Acts ii. 37. 1 Cor. ii. 10.

[20] Comp. Ephes. iii. 9. Heb. i. 2. Coloss. i. 16. John i. 3; *i. e.* the Word or Son "who is in the bosom of the Father," "μηδενος εστως μεθοριου διαστηματος," who "is in heaven" even when dwelling on earth. John iii. 13; xiv. 10, 11; xvii. 21. Pfeif. iv. 268. Mang. i. 561.

nately personified artificer, like the Demiurgus of Pluto[21]. Plato called the world μονογενης, as the one divine production. In Philo the sensible universe is called "younger son of God," the elder being the ideal Logos whom he retains with himself. God the great Shepherd and King appointed his first-born, "ορθος λογος," as viceroy over the elements, and charged him with superintendence of the heavenly herd or host, as it is written, "Behold, I send an angel before thee to keep thee in the way."

The external manifestation of Logos, which investing itself with the world as with a garment forms the mainstay of all law and order (θεσμος and νομος των ὁλων), the "Chance" of the foolish, and the "Providence" of the wise, stands in a peculiar relation to God's noblest work, man. It is this, which like the "first-born,"[22] opens the womb of the soul; which stirs the body to move, the tongue to speak, the spirit to comprehend. Uniting as the universal idea all spiritual natures, it is the soul's essence; it is either itself its dwelling-place, or makes the pious soul its abode, so that the "λογικη ψυχη" is the temple of God[23]. Its gifts are the true and good, wisdom and virtue; true wisdom being to the Jew as to the Brahmin or Persian that written "Word" from which he is forbidden to swerve[24]. The word is the healing "dew" of the soul[25], the true "manna" rained from heaven[26], the divine river of Psalms[27] from which wisdom flows, and which is prepared to refresh all who hunger and thirst after righteousness[28], since

[21] "Μιμουμενος τας του Πατρος ιδεας προς παραδειγματα αρχετυπα ετεραν βλαστον εμορφον ιδη." Pfeif. iii. 342. Comp. John v. 19.

[22] Exod. xiii. 2. Pfeif. iv. 52.

[23] Pfeif. v. 98. Mang. ii. 437. 1 Cor. iii. 16.

[24] Pfeif. ii. 302. Comp. Ecclûs. xxiv. 23.

[25] Gen. ii. 6. Isa. xxvi. 19. Psal. lxxii. 6 in LXX. Prov. iii. 20. Pfeif. v. 204. 206.

[26] Pfeif. i. 342; iv. 282. Wisd. xvi. 20. 25. Ecclûs. xv. 3.

[27] Psal. xlvi. 4; lxv. 9.

[28] "Τους διψωντας και πεινωντας καλοκαγαθιας εφηδυνουσα." Pfeif. iv. 282; v. 204.

man lives not by bread alone but by the Word of God[29]. Manna means literally "something;" that is, something indeterminately, since the Logos as "most generic" of all things includes universal being[30]. The Logos is as the soul's husband and father; it sows the virtues as husband, and as father it begets good counsel and upright conduct which it nourishes with genial admonition. It is the censor (σωφρονιστης) of the soul, symbolized by the brazen serpent; the ελεγχος, or voice of conscience, which, like the entry of the priest into an unclean house, marks out for observation and remedy moral disorders. It is only when, like Balaam, we disregard this divine monitor, that the infirmities of the soul become wholly incurable.

There are two temples of God; one the world, in which the Logos, God's first-born, is priest; the other the rational soul whose high-priest is the archetypal man. The two birds which Abraham did not divide, denote the prototype and the antitype, divine and human wisdom, the one within us, the other without. That above is called by Moses the image of God; that within the image of that image. For it is written, God made man, not the image, but after the image, so that the soul or real man is the Creator's image only in the third degree. The likeness is not external but spiritual. The mind is in man what God is in the universe. All men are brothers, all have one father[31], the "immortal man," the Son of God, the imperishable Word. The "real man" being mind, mind is itself the image of the universal soul or Logos; one being the individual, the other the divine or ideal man. The creation of the ideal Adam (ανθρωπος ουρανιος) in God's image is told in the 1st Genesis; in the 2nd, that of the carnal Adam formed of dust, of mingled nature and varied sex. God speaks of the latter as formed not in *his own image* but in God's; that is, not that of the Highest but that of the "secondary God" or Word[32]. Good

[29] Deut. viii. 3.
[30] Pfeif. i. 228.
[31] From Gen. xlii. 11.
[32] Philo in Euseb. Pr. Ev. vii. 13.

men are in Scripture called sons of God; and if men be not strictly entitled to this dignity, let them strive, says Philo, to be called after the Logos, God's first-born, that eldest of angels, who is styled "Beginning,"[33] "Name of God,"[34], the "man after God's image," "Looker on God."[35] It was he who appeared in the burning bush as representative of the source of all brilliancy and beauty[36], the unseen angel of the fiery or cloudy pillar[37], the "Covenant" personified[38], the Messianic "Branch" of prophecy[39], the artist of the pristine tabernacle Besaleel (literally "shadow of God"), in short the divine Image, eldest of ideal things, undivided associate of the Supreme[40].

Philo evidently uses the Scriptures as a fund of forms or vehicles for his Platonism, and the unceremonious way in which he does so shows that he is not conscious of any innovation. Of these symbols a favourite one is that which recurs so prominently in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that of the High Priest. The anointing with oil, the mystic robes, the breastplate, "*των κατ' ουρανον φωσφορων απεικονισμα*," were all significant of the Logos, whose garment is the universe, whose head ever wears a royal diadem[41], who rends not his clothes, but maintains continuity throughout nature. As the High Priest's death was the signal for the return of the slayer, so the departure of the Word out of the soul opens the door for the

[33] Gen. i. 1. Prov. viii. 22. God having made all things "in" or "through" the Beginning.

[34] Exod. xxiii. 21. Isa. xxx. 27.

[35] Viz., Israel, or "*ἰδων Θεον*."

[36] "*Εικων του οντος*." De Vit. Mos. Mang. ii. 91. Comp. Wisd. xiii. 3.

[37] Mang. ii. 107. Comp. Wisd. x. 17.

[38] "*Τον του οντος λογον ὃν Διαθηκην ἐκαλεσε*." Pfeif. v. 202.

[39] "Zemach," translated by the LXX *Ανατολη*, the "rising" or "the glory of God." (Isa. xi. 1. 42. Jer. xxiii. and xxxiii. Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12. Luke i. 78.) As Eustathius (to Il. v. p. 462. 11) says that ambrosia cannot be said to grow, for this would be unworthy of its celestial nature, but *ανατελλειν*, to "spring up."

[40] De Profug. i. 561.

[41] According to Exod. xxviii. 36. Zech. vi. 11.

admission of sin. The great High Priest is also the cupbearer, not like the cupbearer of Pharaoh, but he who as minister of grace pours forth libations of the purest wine; he is Melchizedec the "king of peace," the priest of the Most High, who brought forth bread and that wine which imparts to the soul an intoxication more temperate and godlike than sobriety itself; no eunuch like Pharaoh's minister, but father of the holy Logoi, among whom are Ithamar and Eleazar[42], as also others attendant on the sacred fire; therefore far from being excluded from the congregation he is one of its most important members, nay, is himself the congregation, himself alone equivalent to the whole race of men, or rather a being above man. "For when the High Priest enters the holy place he is said to be no longer a man[43], he assumes (if not a God) an intermediate nature which continues until he comes out, typifying the soul, which when seized with heavenly love it attempts to enter the sanctuary, in its rapture forgets the world, forgets itself. As Aaron stood between the dead and living, as the cloudy pillar separated the Israelitish and Egyptian hosts, so the Archangel Logos stands between God and man, to the one a minister of peace and order, to the other an advocate (παρακλητος) and intercessor; when he enters the sacred place he bears (in his symbolical garments[44]) the whole universe along with him, since it is fit that he who ministers to the Father should bring the pure and perfect son with him as advocate for the remission of sins and dispensing of merey and blessing."[45]

[42] The sons of Aaron, or the Word, according to Exod. iv. 14-16. Lev. x. 6.

[43] Lev. xvi. 17, with comment.

[44] Comp. Wisd. xviii. 24.

[45] Mang. i. 501; ii. 155.

§ 3.

SOPHIA AND πνεῦμα Θεοῦ.

A similar metaphysical personification, or rather another name for the same meaning, is Sophia or Wisdom. Philosophy and tradition being both received as true, they naturally coalesced in mythus, in which the offices originally performed by God were transferred to an ideal personage apart from him; yet with this distinction, that while to a mind like Philo's mythus would be scarcely more than a transparent allegory or vehicle for philosophy, to the vulgar the speculative element would sink in importance, diminishing into a mere adjunct or dim envelopment[1] of a received tradition. A passage in Proverbs[2] where God is said to have "created[3] Wisdom, the beginning of his ways, for the purpose of his works," probably furnished the first hint of what was afterwards more elaborately embellished. Philo[4] and even Aristobulus[5] quote the passage; and both Ecclesiasticus[6] and the Book of Wisdom, in which Sophia plays a prominent part, make Proverbs their model. As in the older authority Sophia or the Word[7] is made to take part in creation[8] and to exercise benign influence over mankind[9], so in the later she is the pre-existent Word[10] pervading nature as its life and light, inspiring the human soul, and establishing her peculiar habitation among the Jewish people[11], to whom she was shown of old in the cloudy pillar[12] and cove-

[1] Like the "cloudy pillar" which according to Philo dispensed wisdom to virtuous souls, but "troubled the Egyptians."

[2] Prov. viii. 22, LXX; comp. iii. 19, 20.

[3] Comp. Ecclûs. i. 4. 9; xxiv. 9.

[4] Pfeif. iii. 182. M. i. 75. 361.

[5] Fragment in Euseb. Pr. Ev. vii. 14.

[6] Ecclesiasticus is supposed to have been composed (about B.C. 200) in Egypt, at all events to have been there translated. Gfrörer's Philo, &c., vol. ii.

[7] Prov. ii. 6.

[8] Prov. viii. 27.

[9] Prov. viii. 31.

[10] Ecclûs. i. 5 sq.; xxiv. 3.

[11] Ecclûs. xxiv. 8. 10.

[12] Ecclûs. xxiv. 3, 4.

nanted law[13]. Still more remarkably in the Book of Wisdom she acts the part of a Metis or Athene as "the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of God's power and image of his goodness,"[14] the all-penetrating spirit of the soul and of the world, the moral life[15] which only vice, or as the vulgar would say "the devil"[16] can destroy, historically manifested as saviour of mankind and guide of the chosen people. Morally, she is one with righteousness[17]; and the metaphysical attributes collected in ch. vii. 22 sq. resemble the Anaxagorean theory of νους. She is the heavenly Manna, the well from which Rebecca watered her flock, the sharp and irresistible "Divider" like the Logos[18], the universal "criterium."[19] The continuous struggle which both in the universe and the human soul[20] she maintains from age to age against the opposed principle of unrighteousness and folly, may be considered a transition form of religious thought from the traditional or historical to the more purely speculative, the allegorizing antecedent of Christian Gnosis. Philo distinguishes a twofold "Wisdom," the divine and the human; the former loves solitude and dwells alone with God, its symbol being the dove; the other is domesticated with man, and its emblem is the pigeon. Like the Logos Wisdom is the spiritual dwelling of the great king[21], the depositary of his thought and organ of his act. She is as the universal mother[22], in association with whom God brought forth his only begotten, the visible world. She is neither born like man, nor unbegotten, as God, but an emanation[23] before all worlds, identical with the divine all-penetrating spirit which presided over creation, and which even now makes all things new[24]. This identity with

[13] Ecclûs. xxiv. 23 et al.
[14] Ecclûs. vii. 26.
[15] Ecclûs. i. 12. 15, 16; iv. 1. 9; vi. 18; viii. 13; xv. 3.
[16] Ecclûs. ii. 24.
[17] Wisd. i. 4, 5; viii. 7.
[18] Pfeif. iv. 310. Mang. i. 575.
[19] Κρισις των ὁλων.
[20] Wisd. vii. 27.
[21] "Οικος νοητος."
[22] "Μητηρ and τιθηνη των ὁλων." Pfeif. i. 210; ii. 182; iii. 182. Mang. i. 361. Wisd. viii. 3; ix. 9.
[23] Απμις or ακτοββοια.
[24] Wisd. vii. 27.

the "Spirit" of Genesis already hinted in Proverbs[25] becomes clearer in the later books[26]. Philo says the divine Spirit may be considered either physically or metaphysically; either as the element which brooded over creation and binds it together, or the spirit of Wisdom poured "from above"[27] into man's soul, or breathed into his nostrils at the beginning. The human mind thus became the temple or tabernacle of God[28]; it is this nobler essence (ψυχη ψυχης) which makes the distinction between the noble and ignoble, between those fashioned after the carnal Adam, and those bearing the impress of the Logos. It is this which suggests impulses of virtue, and which by the clear evidence and reproof of conscience makes all after-committed sin wilful and inexcusable[29]. The celestial germ is indeed but too readily obscured within the fleshly tabernacle[30]; the Spirit "rests" not[31] in man continuously; the inborn faculty in order to be permanent must be constantly renewed by a divine external influence from "on high."[32] Man's nature is essentially corrupt, not through hereditary taint transmitted from Adam (for Adam was already redeemed by wisdom[33]), but by his existence in the body, the very commencement of which was his Fall[34]. The stores of evil are within us, good is the gift of God only; the virtues are a divine progeny, reflections of heavenly perfection; neither wisdom, which is knowledge of God, nor virtue, which is likeness to him, can be attained without his grace and gift. All spiritual natures are in intimate relation and connection; and the

[25] Prov. viii. 28.

[26] Ecclûs. i. 3. 5 sq. Wisd. i. 5. 7; ix. 9. 17. Comp. 1 Cor. ii. 7. The phrase "rod of his mouth" rendered by λογος in the LXX, Isa. xi. 4, is in 2 Thess. ii. 8, given as πνευμα.

[27] Wisd. ix. 17; xii. 1. Comp. Isa. xxxii. 15.

[28] Pfeif. v. 98. Mang. ii. 437. Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 16. 2 Cor. v. 1 sq.

[29] Pfeif. i. 140. Mang. i. 50.

[30] Wisd. ix. 15. Pfeif. ii. 364. M. i. 265.

[31] LXX to Gen. vi. 3.

[32] Wisd. viii. 21; ix. 10. Pfeif. iii. 98.

[33] Wisd. x. 1; xiii. 1.

[34] Pfeif. i. 268; iii. 414; iv. 118. 122; v. 62.

human soul[35], though confined within the narrow precincts of heart or brain, is enabled with lightning speed to compass heaven and earth, and becomes subject to the influence through which God or the Logos works at each instant upon the mental universe.

§ 4.

HELLENISTIC DEVELOPMENT.

Jesus at his death left much unexplained or unsaid[1]. Except in the one article of Messiahship, his disciples were still Jews, subject as such to Jewish prejudices finally to be removed only by the influence of the Holy Spirit. But whatever marvels this influence through its sudden miraculous descent may have had upon their tongues, it was long before its fruits were fully matured in their understandings and hearts. It required long deliberation, repeated struggles and miracles, to convince them of the real meaning of the "law of liberty," and many never became aware of their own emancipation, or friendly to an admission of unproselyted Gentiles. But the spiritual influence would, of course, act more rapidly and abundantly on a soil fitted by education to receive it. In the age of Philo and St. Paul the fundamental notions of Alexandrian philosophy were either independently present in Palestine, or had been brought thither by the Essenes and Hellenists[2]; and it is remarkable that the germ of universalism really inherent in Christianity was first developed and announced by the Hellenist Stephen. In his memorable harangue ridiculing the superstition of the "holy place" apart from the pious faith and feeling which believed and obeyed long before temple or Mosaic law existed, Stephen adduces Essene and Alexandrian notions as to temple

[35] "Της του παντος ψυχης αποσπασμα ου διαιρετον."

[1] Luke xviii. 34. John xvi. 12.

[2] Hellenists, *i. e.* Jews educated in Greek manners and language.

service, symbolical interpretation[3], and angel mediation[4], in order to show that the Jews had wholly misconceived their own "living oracles," having not only neglected the superhuman "messengers" of the old covenant, but even killed the "prophet" whom Moses himself told them to respect as his successor[5]. It was fortunate that the persecution of Hellenists following the death of Stephen transferred the struggle of opinion to the neutral ground of half-Judaized Samaria. Samaritan conversion might help the Jewish mind to receive the astounding fact of the direct admission of heathens; and the first heathen convert (the Eunuch) appears to have been a proselyte of the Gate. Whatever may be thought of the narrative in Acts[6] about Peter's miraculous lesson that the true condition of acceptance was not birth or traditional forms, but right feeling and right conduct, it is at least certain that Paul was early enabled to *see* and boldly to declare that Mosaic law was only institutional or preparatory to the perfect law or spirit of Christ. The Ebionitish author of the Clementina might truly assert[7] the question of Messiahship to be the only appreciable point of difference between Jew and Christian, since the higher element which eventually separated Christianity from Judaism, or raised Judaism to new life in Christianity, already resided within Judaism itself. Here, however, its development was cramped and sterile. Philo's philosophy is almost a renunciation of Judaism; and St. Paul, though still claiming the Jewish inheritance for Christianity, as

[3] Acts vii. 38. 44; comp. xxi. 28. Ecclûs. xxiv. 10. Wisd. ix. 8. John iv. 21.

[4] "Θεου εικονα τον αγγελον αυτου λογον ὡς αυτον καταγουσι." Philo, de Somn. i. 656. Joseph. Ant. xv. 5. 3. Gal. iii. 19. Heb. ii. 2. Deut. LXX, xxxiii. 2.

[5] Possibly Acts ii. 37 may allude to the λογος τομευς, the "divider," as in Heb. iv. 12, supr. p. 476.

[6] Acts x. 35. The Acts would represent Peter supporting Paul, and Paul acting the part of Peter, turning to the Gentiles only when rejected by the Jews. The revelation to the soul of Peter (and it should be noticed that the spiritual illumination of both Apostles takes place while their bodies are fasting, Acts ix. 9. 19; x. 10. Comp. Matt. iv. 2), seems like a symbolizing view of the successful preaching of Philip already accomplished in the district where the vision occurs.

[7] Clem. i. 50.

child not of the bondwoman but the free, gives it by emancipation a new existence. Yet though Christianity be new, it is but fulfilment of the Gospel promise made long ago to Abraham[8]. In the line of argument required to explain and defend his mission to the Gentiles, St. Paul applies Alexandrian processes to idealise Christianity and bend the Old Testament into agreement with it. The belief of Abraham sets forth that of the Christian; his two sons are the two covenants; baptism took place in the Red Sea and cloudy pillar; the true temple of God is the human body, or the aggregate members of Christ's body; and Christ himself is the Passover, and also the ubiquitous rock[9] which seemed ever at hand to supply (spiritual) drink to the Israelites. And not only does the old law herald in type and prophecy the new[10], but the facts and forms of the new covenant melt into meanings and ideas, the human Christ prefigured in Adam merges in the glorified Christ[11], and this new Adam of the regenerated soul, the express image of God's power and wisdom[12], is himself the light and life[13] producing the spirituality of view which recognises them. The Mosaic law, given as the Alexandrians would say through intervention of Angels[14], was a medial introductory dispensation which, though not objectively a cause of sin, but on the contrary made for the purpose of provisionally restraining it[15], might still be said to be so far its cause as bringing home the perception of it to the human conscience[16]. Sin's ultimate source is the corrupt nature transmitted from the first Adam, which dies and is regenerated by faith in Christ and his atonement. The precise manner in which this takes place is not clearly explained; but St. Paul evidently goes far beyond the literal idea of sacrificial satisfaction[17] when he makes the latter a symbol of

[8] Gal. iii. 8.
[9] De Wette to 1 Cor. x. 4.
[10] Rom. iii. 21.
[11] Rom. v. 14. 2 Cor. v. 16.
[12] 1 Cor. i. 24. 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[13] Rom. viii. 2. 6. 2 Cor. iii. 6. 17; iv. 6. 10. Comp. John i. 4. 1 John v. 11.
[14] Gal. iii. 19.
[15] Gal. iii. 19.
[16] Rom. iii. 20; vii. 8 sq.
[17] Rom. iii. 24, 25; v. 9. 11.

the emancipation of the spirit by mortification or crucifixion of the carnal principle[18], commencing the glorifying change to be consummated in death[19]. Something of Essene self-denial seems attributable to Jesus when he taught his followers to lay up treasure in heaven regardless of the objects of Gentile pursuit, enjoining reliance upon God and renunciation of the world, even to the extent of abandoning relatives and care for the morrow. James, the Lord's brother and first bishop of Jerusalem, is described[20] as a strict Jewish disciplinarian or Nazarite, taking no animal food or strong drink, never shaving or washing[21], his knees swollen like those of a camel through incessant praying. Such asceticism might mortify the body, but could not materially benefit the spirit. St. Paul, too, gloried in toils and infirmities; he aspired to die in the flesh that he might live in the spirit. But he emphatically declared that justification is not by works but faith; a faith effecting spiritual identification of the believer with Christ and with God. This idea, the ultimate basis of all ascetic practice, is the real scope of St. Paul's theological imagery. Christ's death is our death, inasmuch as our carnal principle dies with him; again, this death is but a symbol of our spiritual revival by faith, that mental regeneration which, though emancipated from law, naturally brings forth fruits superior to law[22]. The fundamental idea revealed to St. Paul through mists of conventional symbolism is the point where theology ends and rationality begins, which every healthy mind adequately informed and unembarrassed by tradition would arrive at of course. Spiritual regeneration is the implied death of worldliness, blindness, and bigotry. The essence of the gift which it confers, or rather discloses, is the "blessing" unlimited to caste or creed freely announced to uncircumcised Abraham[23], in other words, God's all-comprehending sponta-

[18] Rom. vi. 6; viii. 13. 2 Cor. v. 14, 15. Gal. ii. 20; v. 17. 24.
[19] 2 Cor. v. 2. 5, 6. Supra, pp. 405, 406.
[20] Hegesippus in Euseb. E. H. ii. 23.
[21] The same is said of St. John, Epiph. Hær. xxx. 24.
[22] Gal. v. 16. 22. [23] Gal. iii. 8.

neous "grace" or goodness. We are invited to be reconciled; not through any change in the Deity, but by a transformation of ourselves; to accept what in fact was never withdrawn; to correct the strange distortion of our mental eye; to dismiss inveterate prejudices, especially those theological chimæras which so long made God a tyrant and his government a perpetual menace or curse.

Jew Christians were not convinced by the arguments of St. Paul. These "zealots for the law"[24] stood aloof from their unproselyted brethren[25], kept the passover with other Jews, scrupulously attended to washings, meats, circumcision, &c., and were in fact falling back into pure Judaism. The Apocalypse may exemplify how their imaginations revelled in visionary expectation of Christ's second coming in proportion as they were slow to appreciate the spiritual dignity of his first, and their bigoted animosity reduced St. Peter[26], and even, as it would seem, St. Paul[27], to the necessity of dissembling. Jews could not abandon Jewish notions[28], for it was their firm belief, a belief which they now transferred to Christian eschatology, that strict observance of the law was the essential preliminary of the coming, or second coming, of Messiah[29]. While St. Paul abandoned the superannuated forms incompatible with spiritualism, the Judaizers had only engrafted a new name on old prepossessions; and the danger of patching old garments with new cloth anticipated by Jesus made itself felt in a violent disruption. Apologists of the liberal side might either strive to win over opponents by representing the new system as a furtherance of the old, or carry on the hostile tendency by declaring Judaism superseded. The former line of argument was available on both sides. St. Paul himself had spoken of Christianity as an inner or perfected Judaism[30]; while even the Apocalypse

[24] Acts xxi. 20. Comp. Gal. iv. 10, 11.
[25] Gal. ii. 2. 4.
[26] Gal. ii. 12.
[27] 1 Cor. ix. 20; x. 33. Acts xxi. 26.
[28] Acts xv. 5.
[29] Isa. lii. 1; xvi. 17. 20. Zech. viii. 21; xiv. 16.
[30] Rom. iii. 29. Gal. iii. 8. Comp. Rom. iv. 1. 1 Cor. x. 1.

allowed the admission of heathen[31] on the old-established condition of their being proselytes or servants of the Jewish tribes[32]. St. Paul had attached far too much importance to the formulas which interpreted his feeling to himself; and the worn-out garment which he had garnished and given out for new[33] threatened to resolve itself into its "beggarly elements" of rags and tatters. The so-called Epistle of James sinks far below the view which it intentionally controverts; when advocating the "new or perfect law of liberty" it makes even the sacrifice of Abraham a justifying meritorious act; yet, though St. Paul might easily have met the argument about faith and works on purely spiritual grounds[34], he had too closely connected his own notion of justification with O. T. typology to be able to deny the force of Abraham's example when quoted against himself. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, though widely differing from St. Paul, ostensibly advocates his principles against the reactionary Ebionitish feeling, the forms of Judaism are rather transferred than abolished, and Christ is the eternal high priest of an eternal and perfect law. The writer speaks of Christianity as the true Judaism, its aim the hitherto unrealised sabbath in a celestial Jerusalem[35]; in the character of hierophant he upbraids his opponents with their slowness to discern the mystic aim and meaning of the old ordinances. The Levitical high priest was one raised above the level of common men, intermediate between the congregation and the Deity. He was fit to represent man as having man's nature. But the representative of the tribes by consecration was also united to God, or, as it is said, "Holiness to Jehovah."[36] Vested in the cosmical robe and sacred tiara[37], anointed, and carefully reconciled by sacrifice[38], he at last became a part of the object he

[31] Rev. v. 9; vii. 9.
[32] Rev. vii. 4 sq.; xiv. 1; xxi. 12. 24.
[33] 2 Cor. v. 17.
[34] Comp. 1 John v. 18.
[35] Heb. iv. 9; xi. 10. Rev. xiv. 13; xxi. 10.
[36] Exod. xxviii. 36; xxxix. 30.
[37] Comp. Plin. N. H. 16, ch. iv. and supr. pp. 479, 480.
[38] Outram de Sacrif. ch. v. p. 58.

adored, and sat down to share the hallowed food of the Deity[39]. The priesthood of Christ is shown to have superseded the O. T. ministration through the evidence of the O. T. itself. He is not a priest of the house of Aaron, but of a new and higher order called after Melchizedeck[40]; he is the perfect High Priest, who once for all made a perfect atonement, and thereupon entered not into an earthly tabernacle, but into the celestial "holy of holies" or actual presence of God[41]. "The new priesthood involves the necessity of a new law;"[42] and the new law is not the carnal commandment of dead works[43] but the living spirit written, according to prophecy, in the heart. We thus stand at the close of one epoch and commencement of another. Judaism is old and waning[44]; it seems still to exist, but its life is gone. The chrysalis has burst, a new divinity has passed into the temple. The old incomplete covenant is not merely succeeded but displaced: not so much, however, in the Pauline sense of an alteration of the inner man, as in that of a new external law and a new sacerdotal administration. With St. Paul faith had been all in all; it was opposed to works because implying a state of mind and life supposing and including their highest effect, and dependent on symbols only because symbols had been psychologically instrumental in elaborating its idea. The "Hebrews" rudely restores to the symbol its undue prominence, reducing faith considered as mere belief in things transcendental to the subordinate or instrumental function[45], and differing from the doctrine of "James" only in asserting faith to be necessary as well as works, instead of contending for works against the self-sufficiency of faith. The main doctrine of the Epistle, and of the later Christianity in general as opposed to Ebionitism, is

[39] Exod. xxix. 32. Lev. viii. Rab. Levi Ben Gerson, in Outram, l. c. "Post holocaustum autem sacrificium simile salutari (cujus pars Deo, pars sacerdotibus, pars offerentibus dari solet) eum in finem offerebant, ut eos jam in gratiam apud Deum eò usque receptos esse constaret ut communi cum eo mensâ uterentur."

[40] Heb. vii. 11.

[41] Heb. ix. 24.

[42] Heb. vii. 12.

[43] Heb. vi. 1; vii. 16; viii. 8; x. 16.

[44] Heb. viii. 13.

[45] Heb. xi. 6.

the reconcilement and endless life[46] conferred in virtue of Christ's divinity. In the old covenant the effect was imperfect, on account of the imperfection of the means. The blood of bulls and goats could not effectually take away sin. It was otherwise with the spotless sacrifice of Christ. The eternal priest of Melchizedeck's order, the son of God and "express image of his person," was far higher even than angels, not to say than any descendant of Levi[47]; a superiority acknowledged by Abraham himself when he gave tithes to its mysterious founder[48]. His office was not like the Levitical continued through a succession of many persons, admitting its own incompleteness by a perpetual repetition of its functions. Christ is the eternal minister of the sanctuary built by God[49]. By the sacrifice of himself once offered he obliterated sin for ever. His resurrection is not so much as St. Paul thought the positive integration of the negative effect of his death, through which by some mystic means the spiritual is substituted for the old Adam within us, as an external act of his atoning ministry, in which he entered the heavenly sanctuary with his own blood[50], becoming himself glorified by the act[51], and living for ever to make effectual because unceasing intercession[52] for those whom he redeemed and made pure by it. The divine approximation[53] externally conferred through atonement as opposed to the practical "righteousness" of early Christianity and to the subjective "grace" of St. Paul is the key to all later development. The faith already exemplified in O. T. types is henceforth to be the consolation of our patience[54] while we contemplate the practical antithesis of suffering and triumph in Jesus[55]. Its object is the sanctifying and saving import of Christ's personal functions. The writer

[46] Heb. vii. 16.

[47] Against the Ebionitish doctrine of Christ being an angel or new Moses. Epiphan. Hær. xxx. 18.

[48] Heb. vii. 4. Comp. Epist. Barnab. ch. xiv.

[49] Heb. viii. 2.

[50] Heb. ix. 25.

[51] Heb. ii. 10; v. 9.

[52] Heb. vii. 25.

[53] Heb. vii. 19.

[54] Heb. x. 36.

[55] Heb. xii. 2.

would teach St. Paul's inferences, as he understands them, from premises strictly Jewish. The abolition of the law which the latter inferred from man's unsatisfactory relation to it, the former derives from the divine superiority of the new revelation and the character of its author. The claim which to one had been an inwardly assumed change is to the other an outwardly bestowed privilege. In both an individual benefit accompanies an individual act of faith; but the nature of the accruing "grace" differs with that of the conditioning faith; the one directing attention to the spiritual state of the subject, the other to the transcendant perfections of the mediator.

§ 5.

ASCENDANCY OF SPIRITUALISM; THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

The idea of Christ's person became elevated in proportion to the elevation of his religion. When from mere profession or performance the latter came to be considered as a new revelation perfecting or even superseding the old, corresponding importance was attached to the character of its author, exalting him from a pre-eminently gifted man into a second Moses, an Archangel, or even a God. The Christianity of the new covenant, called "power from on high," "power of God for salvation," or "power to become a son of God," was to the mind of St. Paul an inner change implying a revelation exclusively of the glorified Christ. Against Ebionitish lingerers over the "old leaven" whose Christological views remained below the orthodox level, the Epistle to the Hebrews asserts Christ's superiority not only to Moses but to angels, and the "Colossians" in the same spirit declares him to be the "image of the invisible God, the pre-existent creator of heaven and earth, in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily."[1] But the claim which thus raised Christianity and its author above

[1] Col. i. 16; ii. 9.

ordinary Judaism brought it nearer to Alexandrianism; and the glorified Christ effecting a glorifying change in man's nature was undistinguishable or scarcely so from the Logos. This term, originally a compound of Platonic and Jewish mysticism, the divine thought or "idea" of the philosopher and the divine "Word" of Genesis and of the prophets, was well suited to express all that was most exalted in them who came "forth from the Most High,"[2] so that the half-personification of Philo readily coalesced with the transcendental notion connected with the Christian Redeemer. The union commenced in "Hebrews"[3] and "Colossians"[4] is completed in the fourth Gospel, where the predicted annulment of the old covenant[5] is fulfilled in a sense somewhat different from St. Paul's by the "eternal life" and "new commandment" given through the personal Logos. We have already seen that Scripture narrative is rather doctrinal than historical. History, in the sense of critical history, is a creation pre-eminently modern. The Gospels in their very name imply not "lives of Christ," but digests of the "glad tidings" he came to impart[6]. This doctrinal or speculative character belongs especially to the fourth Gospel[7], which is but the adaptation of the narrative form to a theological idea. The idea as formally stated towards the end[8] is the doctrine of eternal life through faith in Jesus as son of God, a faith enabling men also to become sons

[2] Comp. Prov. ii. 6. Ecclûs. xxiv. 3. Psal. xxxiii. 6. 9. John iii. 31; viii. 23; xvi. 28.

[3] Heb. i. 3; iv. 12. Comp. Rev. i. 5; iii. 14; xix. 13.

[4] Col. i. 15 sq.; ii. 9.

[5] Mosaic law is henceforth a thing superseded (John viii. 17; x. 34; xv. 25); yet Jewry was genetically connected with Christendom (John iv. 22; comp. i. 47; v. 56; vii. 19, &c.), in which its better spirit survives in love, love to God (πίστις) and love to man (ἔργα). (John xiv. 21. 23; xv. 10. 12; xvi. 27; xvii. 26.)

[6] According to Irenæus there must be neither more nor less than four gospels, because there are four winds, four regions, four formed cherubim, &c.

[7] Baur, Untersuchungen über die Canonischen Evangelien, Tubingen, 1847. The speculative character of the gospel is indeed impliedly admitted by the author himself. John xiv. 26; xv. 26; xvi. 13.

[8] John xx. 31; comp. vi. 40, &c.

of God and spiritually one with him[9]; in illustrating it the writer has in view the now extant evangelical literature, and is evidently well versed in Hellenistic Platonism. The manifested Divinity or Logos, he who in the beginning was one with God and was God, was also present from all time in the world as its life and light[10], especially in the nobler part of his creation, man[11]. But the light shined in darkness, and by darkness, as long ago prophesied by Isaiah[12], it was not and could not be recognised or understood. Darkness is essentially opposed to light[13], and men shun light because their deeds are evil. It was the eternal purpose of the divine Logos to maintain through a series of self-manifestations ever increasing in clearness and brilliancy a conflict with the darkness which he would at last overcome[14] and reconcile to himself in love. The process by which this purpose is effected might in a certain sense be called a "judgment" (κρισις), since the manifestation of light is *ipso facto* a test or criterium[15] distinguishing the apt from the dull, the spiritual from the carnal; but the mission of the Word is to save rather than to judge, and the line of moral demarcation varies, the sphere of darkness contracting with the advance of light. In order to realize in men the spiritual light as life, it is necessary that like the heavenly bread it should be spiritually "eaten,"[16] becoming united with the soul as food by assimilation nourishes the body; in short, it must be received or believed, and in order to be believed it must first be "manifested" or made known[17]. The Word, who

[9] John i. 12; xvii. 21. Comp. Rev. i. 17, 18.

[10] John i. 10. Comp. Wisd. xii. 1 and Deut. xxx. 14, where the word is said to be close to and within us.

[11] John i. 4.

[12] Isa. xii. 37 sq.

[13] John xiv. 30.

[14] John xvi. 33.

[15] John iii. 18; vi. 66; viii. 47; ix. 39; xii. 48. Comp. Luke ii. 34. 1 Cor. ii. 15. Eph. v. 13. Heb. iv. 12. Wisd. vii. 23. "The judgment is, that they who see not may see, and they who see are blinded."

[16] John vi. 57. "He that eateth me shall live by me."

[17] If he had not come in the flesh, how could we men have been able to look upon him that we might be saved? Epist. Barnab. ch. v. Marcion said the same, using the word "appeared" instead of "come." Baur's Gnosis, pp. 259. 262 sq.

even when wholly unrecognised was always present in the world, and yet, in view of a more complete disclosure, was always "coming,"[18] was therefore at last manifested in the flesh[19], and was seen[20], at least by those qualified by heaven[21] to discern him, in all the fulness of glory in the life and accents of Jesus[22]. Witnessed to the world by John as Forerunner, his immediate agency was attested by works or signs, illustrated by argument, and finally exhibited as a symbol of salvation "lifted up," like the serpent of the wilderness[23], in the person of the crucified. His earthly career was a progressive series of manifestations adapted to establish in men's minds and hearts that preordained immanence of the Logos[24] whose effectuation was at the same time to glorify the Father through the Son[25], and also to fulfil ancient prophecy respecting a universal outpouring of the Spirit[26] and establishment of the empire of Jehovah. The most striking form of exhibition and the most approved means of producing faith was a miracle or sign. Accordingly, the entire human career of Jesus was a great "sign" or aggregate of signs[27] attesting or illustrating the purport of his mission[28]. But the utility of signs is not in themselves; they are means, not ends. The use of the sign is

[18] "Ην ἐρχόμενον." John i. 9; comp. vi. 14. Matt. xi. 3. Yet it had already been seen by Abraham (viii. 56), by Moses (v. 46), by Isaiah (xii. 41).

[19] John i. 14.

[20] John i. 34. 46; ix. 39; xii. 21; xx. 8. 25 sq.

[21] John vi. 65.

[22] John i. 14. 16; comp. iii. 19; xii. 46; xviii. 37. Comp. Col. i. 19; ii. 3. 9. The word "Pleroma" including completeness and independence of revelational development. Comp. Eph. i. 23; iii. 19.

[23] John iii. 14.

[24] John i. 10. Comp. Job xxxii. 8. Wisd. xii. 1. Col. i. 17; ii. 10.

[25] John xiii. 31; xiv. 13; xv. 8; xvii. 1. 4.

[26] John vi. 45; viii. 25; xiv. 16. 18; xvii. 2. Joel ii. 28. Isa. xi. 9; xxxii. 15; liv. 13.

[27] Comp. Luke ii. 34.

[28] John x. 25. The Baptist emphatically declares, in accordance with expectation (vii. 27), "I knew him not," *i. e.* until the anticipated sign was given. (i. 31. 33.)

to awaken attention not to itself but to the thing signified. Works with the Evangelist have a moral import which the mere sign has not. The latter is only an intensity of expression implying the forcible outward evidence of a work in relation to the observer; beyond it lies the intrinsic evidence or moral purpose of the work, and beyond all this medial machinery of signs and works the true object of faith (then most blessed when most independent of sensuous evidence[29]), the divine character of the worker[30]. In the conversation with Nicodemus, a man denoting that class of half believers[31] who bow before the miracle without digesting its import, who profess but continue not[32], Jesus shows that true faith, implying admission into God's kingdom, depends on an inward mental regeneration constituting divine sonship, and evidenced by a steady disposition to advance towards the light[33] and to appreciate the truth[34]. In the instances of the Samaritans and Galilean nobleman, faith is not a mere transitory emotion of curiosity or surprise, but real and complete, a reliance on the "word" and appreciation of the true character of the speaker. The man born blind, too, was already in a sense restored to sight when he recognised the divine character of the "work," although he as yet knew not the name and importance of the worker[35]. On the other hand the inefficacy of the mere sign is emphatically displayed in the positive unbelief of the Jews. Judæa, the prescriptive home of the prophet[36], was also notori-

[29] John xx. 29.

[30] John x. 38.

[31] John ii. 23; v. 20; vii. 15. 21; xii. 42; xix. 38. Comp. Matt. ix. 33.

[32] Persistency is one of the chief characteristics of the gift of the Spirit; it was emphatically so in Jesus himself (John i. 32. Comp. Numb. xi. 25, 26. Isa. xi. 2. Acts ii. 3, and supr. p. 483), and is the sure test of all real regeneration (John v. 38; viii. 31. Col. i. 23; ii. 5. 7. Ephes. iii. 16. Heb. iv. 6. 14; vi. 4). The coming of Nicodemus *by night* indicates not only fear of men's censure (xii. 43) but the darkling state of his own mind, according to ch. i. 5. On the other hand the keen-sightedness of Jesus is characteristic of the light of the world. Ch. i. 48; ii. 25; iv. 17; v. 6, &c.

[33] John iii. 21.

[34] John vii. 17; viii. 31, 32.

[35] John ix. 36.

[36] John iv. 44; vii. 42.

ously the land of unbelief and persecution[37]. The Jews "marvelled" but "comprehended" not; to them even seeing was not believing; their eyes saw but their hearts were blind[38]. Jesus performed on God's day deeds eminently Godlike. But the Jews, fastening on the technical illegality of working on the Sabbath, perverted into a crime the divine act of giving health, light, and life, and forgetting that Supreme Beneficence works continuously, on the Sabbath as well as other days[39], committed what is elsewhere called "Sin against the Holy Spirit," as being utterly obtuse and blind to spiritual truth and goodness. Of those carnally-disposed Jews who followed Jesus at first for the sake of the mere display, afterwards for the still lower gratification of the appetite[40], some deserted him[41], others hated and persecuted him[42]. They wished to kill the agent because they could not appreciate the act. The object of darkness and of its Prince was to obscure or extinguish the light, and the demoniacal "temptation" formally recorded elsewhere is here a prolonged contest with blind eyes and hardened hearts. But the struggle was prolonged only to make the victory more decisive. Matthew had quoted[43] in reference to Jesus Isaiah's description[44] of the Lord's "Servant" whose peaceable demeanour was to end in triumph. In the conflict with darkness and unbelief the agency of the "word" is almost wholly self-declaratory, as a light before which darkness is necessarily disconcerted and self-confuted[45]. Bewildered among contradictory opinions[46] the Jews instead of being free sons of Abraham, heirs of light and of God, are convicted of belonging to the dark or Satanic principle as "servants of sin," as children of the father of lies and murder, their own hearts pronouncing the sentence which

[37] Matt. xxiii. 37. [38] John ix. 39.

[39] John v. 17. [40] John vi. 26.

[41] John vi. 66. A fickleness contrasted with the "continuance" of the true son (viii. 31), reflecting Christ's *abiding* relation to *his* father (viii. 29; xiv. 21; xv. 9, 10).

[42] John xv. 24. [43] Matt. xii. 17.

[44] Isa. xlii. 1; comp. xli. 11; xxx. 15; l. 7.

[45] Comp. John vii. 15. 27. 42. [46] John vii. 43. 53; ix. 16; x. 19.

Jesus forbears to speak[47]. While the principle of life and light in utter disregard of mere conventionalism is characteristically "working," giving health to the sick and eye-sight to the blind on the Sabbath[48], the Jews feel with rage and dismay that all the world is preparing to recognise the luminary which their Satanic nature causes them to hate[49], and the contest becomes fiercer as it nears its end. "The night approaches in which no man can work,"[50] and the catastrophe premeditated by the hostile principle[51] would long ago have occurred, had it not been suspended by the paramount necessity—"His hour had not yet come." "He must increase," said the Baptist (whose anniversary is placed by the church at the summer solstice[52]), his increase corresponds with my decrease; and the manifested glory of the life-giving luminary never shone more brilliantly than when, immediately before its setting, exhibited in the crowning miracle of the raising of Lazarus[53]. Even the hatred excited by the miracle (its irritating effect on one side corresponding to its saving influence on the other), the intense dislike, of which Pilate was but the instrument[54], now boding extinction to the Messianic "day,"[55] was only to be the precursor of a brighter rising. The act of hate is converted into an act of love, eclipsing and superseding the more sensuous transfiguration recorded in the other gospels; and the agony of Gethsemane is here reduced to a mere transient exclamation[56], a passing shadow lost in the splendour of the coming glory. "The hour is arrived," he exclaims, "when the Son of Man

[47] John viii. 9. 11. 15.
[48] John ix. 4. 6. 14.
[49] John vii. 17; xii. 11. 19. 35.
[50] John ix. 4; xii. 35.
[51] John v. 16.
[52] According to the Clementine Homilies (ii. 17) Jesus had twelve disciples, John thirty, corresponding respectively to the courses of sun and moon.
[53] This unquestionably fictitious miracle is only the supposed actual occurrence of that extreme incredulity on the part of the Jews which in Luke had been asserted hypothetically. Luke xvi. 31.
[54] John xix. 12.
[55] John viii. 56; ix. 4; xi. 9; xii. 35.
[56] John xii. 27.

shall be 'glorified,' and the Prince of this world judged."[57] Jesus is the resurrection and the life; he lays down his life, like the seed, that he may take it again[58]. He was to give his life for the sin of the world[59]. Already his body is embalmed in spices as for burial[60], and from the first[61] he had been the expiatory "lamb"[62] whose "lifting up" would eventually ruin the cause of darkness by drawing all men to the light[63]. The allusion of "the Lamb," combined with other passages, is strikingly illustrative of the sentiment based on Isaiah[64], pervading the whole gospel. The prophet is supposed[65] to have seen from afar the "glory" of Jesus when he described the ideal "servant" led "as a lamb to the slaughter," earning redemption for his people and triumph for himself through suffering and death. The great doctrine of St. John is the divine transcendental unity and "glory" effected through sacrificial atonement. The first Messianic act of Jesus in which he "manifested forth his glory" at Cana[66], distinctly alludes to the impending "hour" of mingled defeat and victory, when the water of the Old Testament was to be exchanged for the symbolical "wine" of the New[67], the baptismal blood through which all things were to be regenerated and cleansed[68]. From the outset of his career he prognosticated his death[69], and already the Jews entertained the project of killing him[70]. It is pointedly said that in the hour when Judas went out for the purpose of betraying him "it was night."[71] This, said Jesus[72] to the Jewish

[57] John xii. 23.
[58] John x. 17, 18; xii. 24.
[59] John vi. 51.
[60] John xii. 7; comp. xix. 40.
[61] Rom. xvi. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 7. Col. i. 26.
[62] John i. 29.
[63] John xii. 32, and above, p. 465, n. 12.
[64] Isa. liii. 7.
[65] John xii. 37; 1 Cor. xv. 3.
[66] John ii. 4. 11.
[67] Comp. Irenæ. Hær. v. 33.
[68] John vi. 53, 54; xiii. 8. 10. Comp. Rev. i. 5; vii. 14. The fulfilment is emphatically attested, ch. xix. 34, 35; and its spiritual import is to be found at ch. vii. 38, 39. Comp. 1 John v. 6.
[69] John ii. 19.
[70] John v. 16.
[71] John xiii. 30.
[72] According to Luke xxii. 53. Comp. ib. xxiii. 44, 45.

authorities who came to arrest him, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness." It was the season of the Passover, those "first days of barley harvest" which witnessed the bloody atonement of the Gibeonites[73], when the sword of the avenging angel visited Egypt and Jericho[74], the perilous interval or "doorway" between old things and new during which pestilence was averted by sacrifice, and no one dared to face the Destroyer by going forth at the bloodstained lintel from sundown until morning[75]. "Christ," says St. John, is the "door, the way, and the life;"[76] the "true shepherd laying down his life for the sheep"[77] whom sin prowls to devour[78]; and the Evangelist labours throughout to exhibit Jesus himself as the true paschal lamb crucified on the very evening when the passover was to be slain and eaten[79], substituting for the synoptical account of the last supper a lustral ceremony of analogous meaning[80], since Jesus could not be supposed to have presided at the banquet whose viands were his own flesh[81]. The corn bears no fruit unless it die; and it was this sacrificial symbol, lifted up to Gentiles as well as Jews[82], the hopeful setting rather than, as elsewhere represented, the "rising" of the luminary[83], towards which the scattered "sheep of other folds," the "dispersed children of God,"[84] already crowded in anxious anticipation[85], promising a rich harvest for the beam of the morrow. Immediately before his death Jesus delivered an impressive discourse to his disciples to whom he was to bequeath the spiritual light which was to be the inheritance of the world. He said, "I will

[73] 2 Sam. xxi. 9. Deut. xvi. 9.

[74] Exod. xii. 23. Josh. iv. 19; v. 9, 10. 13.

[75] Exod. xii. 22. Deut. xvi. 6.

[76] John x. 7. 9; xiv. 6.

[77] John x. 11. 15.

[78] Gen. iv. 7.

[79] John xviii. 28; xix. 14; vi. 53.

[80] John xiii. 1.

[81] It appears that though criminal trials were avoided on feast days, there was no such scruple as to executions. Comp. Winer, R. W. ii. p. 538, art. Strafe, end.

[82] Comp. xix. 5. 14.

[83] Matt. ii. 2. Luke i. 78. Isa. lx. 3.

[84] John vii. 35; x. 16; xi. 52.

[85] John xii. 20. Comp. Isa. xi. 10; xlii. 1. Luke i. 32; xiii. 29.

not leave you comfortless, I will come to you."[86] "A little time ye shall not see me, and again a little while and ye shall see me, because I go to the Father."[87] Jesus, here identified with the Comforter, is sometimes made distinct. He says, "The Father shall give you another Comforter, even the Holy Ghost or Spirit of truth; it is needful for you that I go away, for if I go not the Comforter will not come to you[88]; but if I go, I will send him to you." He sends the Comforter, because in his human condition of partial disunion the latter is distinct from him; yet as Logos he is himself the Spirit whom he sends[89], as soon as he has fulfilled the condition of return to the aboriginal glory of the undivided Godhead[90]. The death of Christ was but the consummation of a process begun during his life. The symbol of atonement was then completed, for at the very instant when he expired under the lance, defeat was changed into victory, and "immediately,"[91] according to the emphatic attestation of the Evangelist, there issued forth out of his body those streams of spiritual "fulness" which were to replenish men's souls[92]. It remained only to round the narrative in which every idea is invested in concrete form, by a literal historical fulfilment of what was promised and expected. Jesus accordingly after his resurrection (here separated from his ascension only by the rapid interview with Mary Magdalen) returns the same evening[93] in a supernatural manner to communicate personally by affiation to the disciples that gift of the Spirit which was to change all that was still dark in their minds[94], and all that was imperfect in their nature[95]. The resurrection of Jesus

[86] John xiv. 18. [87] John xvi. 16.

[88] John xiv. 16; xvi. 7.

[89] Jesus had been a spiritually-gifted man; the Pauline Christ was the πνευμα personified. (Rom. i. 4. 2 Cor. iii. 17. Gal. iv. 6.) The union recurring in Hebrews now approaches its end in the fourth Gospel and the Ephesians.

[90] John vi. 62; xiv. 12. 28; xvi. 10. 16. 18; xvii. 5.

[91] "Ευθυς." John xix. 34, 35.

[92] Comp. John i. 16; ii. 8; iii. 5; iv. 14; and especially vii. 38, 39.

[93] The time probably referred to Luke xxiv. 29–36.

[94] John xiv. 26; xvi. 17. 23. 25. [95] John i. 33; xvii. 19. 23.

was but the outward expression of his nature as Logos. To the Evangelist it was a "necessary truth;"[96] an essential condition of his being. Grant this, and the historical event follows of course. His fleshly appearance had from the first but scantily veiled his inherent "glory;" it was a mere appendage "profiting nothing,"[97] or only to the frail faculty which must "see"[98] with the eye before it can "comprehend" the divine "necessities" and convictions of the Spirit. His transcendent nature had already been indicated not only by his "words,"[99] but by his unaccountable hidings and apparitions. By death all corporeal impediments were removed; the resurrection and ascension to "where he was before"[100] amounted to a resumption of the ubiquitous immanence of the unincarnate pre-existence; so that he returned, as predicted[101], the same, yet different; not partly Spirit, but one with God who is all Spirit[102], and the effect of his spiritual return in which the notion of an eschatological "second coming" is nearly lost, was to make the disciples know and feel themselves one with God and with himself[103]; in other words, it was the imparted "power" contemplated in the commencement of becoming spiritually regenerated as "sons of God," transferred or "translated out of the world," like himself[104], to the bosom of the Father. This is the Johannean idea of Grace (grace earned by grace, or by the self-devoting love of Christ), as opposed to Mosaic law[105]. It is, as with St. Paul, a divinely-imparted change consequent on faith; a change combining with an inward regeneration of the old Adam the realization of eternal life in eternal love. The comforting conviction brought home to the minds of the Apostles was as the glorified apparition of his person, a spiritual or metaphysical certainty really independent of the eye, and containing its own object; it was

[96] John xx. 9.
[97] John vi. 63.
[98] John i. 14. 34. 46.
[99] John vi. 63.
[100] John vi. 62.
[101] John xiv. 26. 28.
[102] John iv. 24.
[103] John xiv. 20; xvii. 21. 23.
[104] John xiii. 1; xiv. 19; xvii. 10.
[105] John i. 16, 17.

imperfect so long as it required an external sight or sign[106], or as in the beautiful incident of Mary Magdalen, when seeking in the sepulchre of the dead the assurance it should have within itself. The old confined revelation here, as in St. Paul, is enlarged or merged in a grander one. The completion of Christianity consists in the attainment of what at its beginning was only hoped or purposed. The first Christians aimed at perfection by legal fulfilment; in St. John the goal is already reached through the manifestation of life and light by the Logos. In the earlier view Christ was subordinate and separate from God[107]; here he is united with him, and both together dwell in all good Christians. Faith, knowledge, performance, all are implied in that gift of the Spirit which Thomas was made for a time to miss, as if to exemplify the effects of the want of it. For the painful desire of fulfilling what in Judaism was ever unfulfilled, we have here the full conviction of satisfied attainment. Instead of devotional aspiration in the consciousness of alienation and poverty, we here find the manifested fulness[108] and divine peace[109] of an established spiritual unity or sonship; men live no longer in distant expectation of the future Messiah who was to return in glory to judgment; they enjoy, and through the abiding presence of the Comforter, fully enjoy[110], the already manifested "glory" of him who came not to judge but save. We no longer live in fear of judgment, for the judge is within us, the external relation being excluded by the indwelling God who surrenders judgment to love[111]. We here revert to something like that condition of unity and intellectual simplicity before described as the world's religious childhood, as also to the ferocious symbol with which the primæval "innocence" was contaminated. At the extreme limit of its development theology has only the alternative of denying itself or of denying human reason. Its aim is that intuitional childhood or "sonship" whose natural language is mythus, and which is distinguished

[106] As in the case of Thomas.
[107] Luke xviii. 19.
[108] John i. 16.
[109] John xiv. 27; xvi. 33.
[110] John xv. 11; xvi. 22. 24; xx. 20.
[111] Comp. 1 John iii. 20.

from aboriginal instinct only by a vague semi-consciousness which it regards as an impediment and imperfection. Its tendency is towards that mystical state implying negation of all active religion where man's individuality is lost, and where the end being reached the means may be dispensed with. The religion of types and notions can travel only in a circle from whence there is no escape. It is but an elaborate process of self-confutation. After much verbiage it demolishes what it created, and having begun by assuming God to be angry, ends not by admitting its own gross mistake, but by asserting *Him* to be changed and reconciled. We set out from that intellectual immaturity in which man and nature were felt as one; after a long excursion through the maze of fanciful forms assumed by human hopes and fears, we come back to the point whence we started.

§ 6.

GNOSTIC SYSTEMS.

Gnosis denotes the claim of the understanding to an independent hearing amidst the quarrels of religious parties. It may be described as a transcendentalizing attempt to explain material and moral phenomena, including all that was known of nature and of history. It was in fact a Judæo-Christian revival of the old pretence to absolute "Wisdom," in which all the religious elements, historical as well as ideal, were to be comprehended and reconciled. Eastern mysticism and Greek philosophy contributed to form a variety of systems all animated by that intense aspiration of the roused and self-conscious mind for divine reunion of which the Christian redemption theory for the time supplied the readiest expression. The inquiry sometimes said to have been the root of Gnosticism—whence is evil?—involves directly or indirectly all the problems of nature and experience. The metaphysical and moral questions absorb each other. How could a perfect Being permit an

imperfect world; or how came the Infinite to manifest itself in the finite, and how are imperfection and limitation to be removed? Gnosis did not give its reply in abstract terms; it adopted the concrete or mythical form, seeking a clothing for its conceptions in physical appearances or the ready-made creations of the religious mind. The general history of opinion may either be considered as a drama in which the mind displays its successive feats of vigour or folly, or in which the divine object of its aspiring thought passes through a series of evolutions corresponding to its own cotemporaneous impressions. The antithesis of good and evil, of absolute and finite, of spiritual and material, was found to be reflected in that of light and darkness, of Christian and ante-Christian. Gnosticism was originally Jewish. Its foundations, both in aim and method, had been laid in Alexandria, where Judaism became blended with Greek philosophy. There the Jews for the first time discovered a God far elevated above all those sensuous Scripture representations which it therefore became necessary either to reject or to allegorize, to consider as impositions more or less indispensable caused by the inscrutable nature of the object revealed and the incapacity of human organs and language to conceive or express it. Alexandrianism was a speculative exegesis of the O. T.; Gnosis was only a more systematic application of the same kind of treatment to a wider extent of materials. When the grand problem seemed at length to have been solved and its object realized in Christianity, the older religions appeared in the retrospect under two prominent classes. In Heathenism worship had been unseparated from external nature, the personifications of poetry being obviously but transparent films or phantoms ever ready to dissolve into the elements from which they grew. The God of Judaism was more positive and substantial, the world's Creator and Ruler; but the cosmical or political agent elevated above nature was also more decidedly separated from his "fallen" creatures, unapproachable or even hostile to them. Hence to the three powers, Matter, the Demiurgus, and Christ,

corresponded in order of rank the three denominations of Heathen, Jew, and Christian, and the three kinds of men, the hylic, psychic, and pneumatic. Christianity to the Gnostics was not a religion of external works or inward moral change, but a revelation of knowledge or truth, an earnest of return to that self-conscious metaphysical oneness which they looked for as the end or rest of the spirit. Yet heathenism, though by its hylic affinities lowest in the scale, contributed perhaps as largely as Christianity itself to the formula which held the materials of Gnosticism together. The Oriental who contemplated the descent of the spirit into the material, and the Greek who looked from below upwards, the system which brooded over Degeneracy and Fall, and that which energetically fought its way to reinstatement and conquest, supplied between them the imagery of emanation and evolution, in which Gnosticism made the universal spirit play its varied yet continuous part. Of Gnostic systems some are almost entirely ideal or speculative, others, more mastered by conventional tendencies, endeavour to infer the logical consequences of assuming the Christian principle in regard to other systems. Of the former class, the proper Gnosis whose chief aim is to illustrate in dramatic mythus its own transcendental difficulty, the following taken from Valentinus in Irenæus may serve as a specimen.

"When the inexplicable first Cause who dwelt from eternity in the depth of Silent self-contemplation[1] conceived the thought of emanating or going out of his proper unity, there proceeded from him, or from his personified female attributes, a race of spiritual beings or Æons, of whom the first was Mind or Nous, called also Μονογενης, the 'only begotten,' he who alone, as being the express image of the Father, fully comprehended his greatness[2], and was therefore able to make him known to the other Æons. But when Nous wished to communicate the intense pleasure felt by himself in contemplating divine greatness, he was restrained by his mother 'Silence,' according to

[1] Each attribute being personified, as Bythos, Sige, Ennoia.

[2] Departure from the abstract being necessary to effect the spirit's self-possession.

the will of the Supreme, who desired to lead all Being to seek its unseen Progenitor through its own inherent instincts. The restraint was indeed a part of the necessity of the case itself. The finite cannot comprehend the infinite; no Being which is not, like the 'only Begotten,' either itself the Absolute, or virtually identical with it, can fathom its depth. Thus in the attempt to reach the universal source there arises in the inferior a consciousness of inadequacy and weakness, of a blank never filled, a magnitude which cannot be estimated. This negative consciousness is stronger in proportion to the relative distance of the conscious Being. Hence in the youngest of the Æons constituting the celestial Pleroma, named Sophia, there arose an affection akin indeed to that felt by Nous, yet practically differing from it through the different position of the concipient, in the desire to behold supreme greatness. In the insatiate wish her being would have been exhaled and lost in the infinite but for the intervention of Horos, guardian of universal order, who separated her from her intellectual and moral excitement[3], thus restoring the interrupted harmony of her being. The restoration is described as the creation of a new Power or Sizygy of powers, *i. e.* Christ and the Holy Ghost, and afterwards of a secondary Christ called Jesus, and also Soter or Logos. Two natures coexist in all spiritual beings, the divergent and the convergent, the self-separating and self-uniting. The Æon Christ represents the original completeness of the divine, and is added to the other Æons without increasing their number, as being only the remedial or reuniting attribute really inherent in all of them, assuming a name aptly derived from that religion which had divine reunion for its object.

"Thus through a counteracting influence represented as a new person, the equilibrium of the higher intelligences was restored. But the morbid craving of Sophia had further results. The idea she conceived, which was indeed part of

[3] Enthymesis and Pathos.

herself, though banished from Pleroma[4], still existed. In other words, she gave birth to an amorphous being, born amid grief, fear, and perplexity, these affections necessarily accompanying the intellectual condition (Ενθυμησις) intended. Such a being (the finite or negative consciousness singly viewed) could be no inmate of Pleroma. It was still spirit, but spirit degenerate and darkened, a female torn from her consort, the abortive birth of a celestial nature. Christ pitied it and gave it a form[5], and withal a certain consciousness of feeling; but the so formed Being, called Sophia-Achamoth, being instantly deserted by her patron, only awakened through the transient glimpse of light and immortality to a keener sense of her destitution. In the dark void to which she was banished (κενωμα opposed to Pleroma[6]) she alternately laughed, wept, and trembled, repeating in a lower sphere all the extravagances of the author of her being, until she betook herself as a suppliant to Christ. Christ now re-established in Pleroma would no more return himself; but he sent the Paraclete, *i. e.* the 'Saviour' or secondary Christ, accompanied with angels, who healed the sufferings of Achamoth by 'removing' them, and out of them were produced the hylic and psychic germs of the nether world. From her fear and despair proceeded matter[7], from her fear and aspiration the psychic. First of the Psychic order was the 'king' and 'father' called also Demiurgus, who continued to exert or seem to exert over ulterior forms the plastic power really emanating from his mother. He mimicked eternity by time, immensity by space and multiplicity. Demi-

[4] *i. e.* ideal fulness and perfection, the All in All, the unemanated Deity.

[5] Through some mystical primordial crucifixion (see Irenæus, bk. 1, ch. iv. 1), which "recalled the spirit to a sense of the light which was deserting it." (Comp. i. 8. 2.)

[6] The same Gnostic phraseology occurs in several of the Pauline Epistles. Col. i. 19; ii. 9. Eph. iii. 19; iv. 13. "Εκενωσε" in Phil. ii. 7. Baur's Paulus, pp. 425. 460.

[7] Whether the absolute origin of matter is here intended, or only its origin as part of nature's living organism, has been doubted; it seems however that the notion of matter entertained by Valentinus was similar to that of Plato.

urgus knew neither his own nature nor that of what he made; yet he thought himself to be all things; he said, 'I am God, and there is no other.' But spirit in all its evolutions though temporarily obscured is never wholly extinct. In the joyful moment of her release Achamoth had conceived from the radiant glances of the angels a progeny resembling them in nature. The celestial spark was communicated by her to the last and noblest of Demiurgic works, and it was in man that spirit was destined to raise itself from the torpor of its exile to a state fit to receive the full effulgence of the Logos. The epochs of the world are the successive stages of the ascending progress of the soul. The end is reached when all men shall have attained the light of Gnosis, or have been initiated in the mysteries of Achamoth. This again is effected through a Saviour, a psychic being formed by Demiurgus and passing through the person of Mary, but inspired at baptism by the seed of Achamoth, the dove-like influence of the Æon Jesus. His office is to awaken what is already latent in all spiritual natures, to recall them to recollection of the true affinities of their being and of their relation to their source. The same power who rescued Achamoth reappears to bring to maturity the germs implanted by her in man, to restore in him the full illumination of spiritual self-consciousness. The fall was ignorance, the restoration consists in Gnosis. The suffering of Jesus, answering to some mystical type of the upper world, reached only the psychic Christ. This was the signal for the consummation of all things[8], when the mother of the spirit would be united to the Saviour in the great marriage chamber of Pleroma, and all the pneumatic germs of her planting would be wedded to the attendant angels to whom they owed their being."

The successive Æons are but a free development of the Alexandrian Logos, of the divine Sophia or universal spirit[9] which according to Proverbs existed from eternity, and in the

[8] Irenæus, i. 8. 2.

[9] Wisd. xii. 1.

wise and good of old[10] built up the "seven pillars" of her house[11]. The higher the supreme Deity was raised above the world, the more necessary it became to define the intermediate beings representing him, as also the relative character of the revelations in which his will was imagined to have been disclosed. But though consistency may seem to have required that Gnosis should extend to all convictions as well as to all things their share of the divine Sophia fully manifested only in Christ, its ultimate tendency was to place the latter in direct hostility to the systems which his own absorbed or superseded. Gnosis and Christianity both rose out of Judaism; both were movements of reform, in the one speculative, in the other more simply moral. The first Jewish Gnosis was a mingling of Greek philosophy with Hebrew theology in the spirit of accommodation, using the one as a commentary on the other. It was a speculative kind of Judaism[12] combined with strict ascetic practice, and as may be seen in the Ebionitish false teachers denounced in Colossians, was not much altered by adoption of Christianity. But St. Paul, who had been rigorously brought up in observance of that law through which, if through any[13], he thought that righteousness and life might have been secured, became at last convinced of its inefficacy, and that the austerity and comminations of Moses were as repulsive and unsuited to human nature as they were at variance with the general character of the Supreme Being. At the same time the phenomena of Christian profession and conduct awakened him to descry a new resource. An astonishing "power" seemed to be contained in a recognition of the Messiahship of the very personage whom he persecuted, amounting to a moral assurance of becoming a son of God, in other words, of obtaining that harmony or union with the

[10] Wisd. x. and xi.

[11] Prov. ix. 1.

[12] Hence the name applied to Gnosis generally of "μυθοι Ιουδαικοι." Titus i. 10. 14. The Epistle of Barnabas uses the word γνωσις in the (originally Alexandrian) sense of a spiritual rendering of the O. T.

[13] Gal. iii. 21. Acts xxii. 3.

divine which in the older system had evidently been wanting. The latter had been a source of sin[14], a sentence of condemnation and death; the new theory was the power of God for life or salvation. But although the new conscience-clearing faith of St. Paul really amounted to a repudiation of the fundamental sources of Jewish superstition, no general repudiation of Judaism was as yet made. Jehovah was God not of Jews only, but Gentiles also; his law was not merely that special revelation by a mediator which served only the temporary purpose of restraining men or awakening them to a sense of sin, but the prior all-comprehending revelation given by himself[15] of his grace or goodness. For long before the announcement of divine justice by giving of the formal law (*νομος εργων*) God manifested his "gospel" of grace to Abraham, emphatically extending it to "many nations," including all his seed or spiritual children; even the eventual accomplishment of divine justice in the crucifixion was an act of grace and love by which God reconciled the world to himself[16]. Thus to St. Paul Christianity was ideally contained in Judaism; but when the feeling through which he escaped from moral perplexities came to be matter of cool reflection and comparison (a transition marked by the increasing tendency to substitute the word *γνωσις* for *πιστις*[17],) the incompatibility of the two systems became more distinctly apparent, and the antiquated creed was wholly discarded. The Demiurgus or "Cosmocrator" of Marcion, the "Prince of this world," unites as an antithetic Power the carnal principle of St. Paul[18] with the Jewish God. Jesus dissolved his empire, destroying his reputed favourites, Abel, Noah, &c., and rescuing Cain, the Egyptians, all the old offenders. Marcion's Christianity is the religion of love; as

[14] "*Επιγνωσις*" or "*δυναμις ἁμαρτιας*," the subjective conviction of sinfulness, not of course of the act assumed to be sinful.

[15] Gal. iii. 17, 18, 19, 20.

[16] Rom. v. 8. 2 Cor. v. 19.

[17] As in Col. i. 9; ii. 2, 3, a composition which reproves *Jewish* Gnosis.

[18] Rom. vii. 14. 2 Cor. iv. 4.

such it is unquestionably a new religion, for the God of Judaism had been emphatically the representative of jealousy, severity, and hate. A God influenced by passion is no longer a God. "If God," said Marcion, "was jealous, proud, furious, &c., like men, how are we to distinguish him from inferior natures? How account for his allowing mankind to be circumvented by the Devil, except by supposing that either he could not or would not prevent it?" Marcion was shocked at the idea of Adam playing hide and seek with God in the garden, as also at God's "coming down" to ascertain if the reports about Sodom were true. The attribute peculiarly characteristic of the O. T. God, justice, could hardly belong to one who broke his own laws, for instance, in sanctioning serpent worship, Sabbath breaking[19], and stealing the goods of the Egyptians. But even justice is greatly inferior to goodness; it is as ferocity opposed to mercy, and the God of grace and mercy was first revealed in Christ. He appeared for the first time when in the 15th year of Tiberius Cæsar he entered under the form of Jesus into the synagogue of Capernaum. The idea of a new covenant, originating among the O. T. prophets, and brought prominently forward by St. Paul, is directly opposed to Judæo-Christianity in Marcion and St. John. Marcion, like the writer of "St. John," employs a gospel narrative to illustrate his own speculative views; on the other hand "St. John" propounds a theory evidently of Gnostic class[20], in which the source of light is engaged in a protracted struggle with darkness, or the "Prince of this world," the "father" or God of the Jews[21], who is openly identified with the Satanic principle. The "pneumatic" character ascribed to St. John's gospel[22] is in reality only another name for Gnostic. It is the transcendental philosophy of the Logos

[19] Josh. vi.

[20] St. John, like Colossians, describes Christianity as Gnosis (xvii. 3). But he usually prefers the expressions *αληθεια, πιστις, αγαπη, τρηνη, ζωη.*

[21] John viii. 44; xii. 31; xiv. 30; xvi. 11.

[22] Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.

explained in narrative form by the life of Jesus. Far from being antidocetic, the whole is an ascending series of wonderful events in which the divine character or "glory" of Jesus comes out more and more distinctly from beneath his fleshly envelopment[23]. The Being who in St. Paul was still subordinate to God as a spiritual Adam, becomes henceforth coordinate with him. It was as necessary that the Gnostic Christ should be above matter as the moral Christ above sin; and the Logos of St. John, though like the divinity of Marcion necessarily clothed in human form in order to be seen by human eyes, descended from the highest heaven[24] to earth as suddenly and unaccountably as he quitted it. He came to combat the great Adversary whom both authors (with exception of the Demiurgic office ascribed to the "Word" by John) represent in the same way. Marcion, like St. John, made the death of Jesus the immediate act of the evil or Jewish principle opposed by him through life; he willingly dwelt on the Saviour's anti-Mosaic acts, his laxity in Sabbath observance, his touching the unclean, his patronage of publicans, Samaritans, and Greeks. In St. Paul the death of Jesus had not wholly thrown off the coarser sacrificial meaning; Marcion's visionary Christ dies only to express by an additional symbol that subjugation of the carnal and perfect emancipation of the pneumatic already idealized in his life[25]. Docetism was the same principle applied to Christ's person on which the Alexandrians had explained the O. T. Theophanies; and as primitive Christianity was nearly akin to Judaism, so Paulinism had points of analogy with Jewish Gnosis. But Jewish speculation could not entirely amalgamate with that which had become specifically Christian; and though the former, involving a critical reform and expansion of Jewish law, was a concession to the principle from which St. Paul inferred its abrogation, the Ebionitish Christ could

[23] Baur, Krit. Untersuchungen, p. 233.

[24] John i. 32; iii. 31.

[25] Comp. St. Paul's "ὁμοίωμα σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας." Rom. viii. 3.

not attain to the level of the Pauline, nor Mosaic law become the "law of faith." The Samaritan arch-heretic, Simon Magus, is the conventional name under which Marcionitic or ultra-Pauline Gnosis is attacked in the Clementine Homilies by Peter. Goodness and justice, argues Peter, are not inconsistent attributes; nor is fear any more than love to be dispensed with among human motives. The moral character of the O. T. God is certainly often unworthily exhibited; this however is accounted for by finding that the law was not written by Moses himself, but by some unknown persons after his death. The writing therefore cannot be depended on, and the contradiction lies not in two Beings, but two modes of representation, one neutralizing the effect of the other. The latter, though incorrect, was permitted to stand by the one true God in order to test or try the hearts of the faithful. This mixture of false prophecy with true is only one instance of that juxtaposition of contrasts which may seem the essence of the physical and moral order of the world[26]. In the evolution of the world from God the better preceded the worse; heaven was before earth, light before darkness, day before night (?), life before death. But from the æra of the creation of man in the divine image the order of succession was inverted, and the better member of the sizygy has been always last; Abel succeeded Cain, Noah's dove the raven, Isaac Ishmaël, Moses Aaron, and generally true prophecy to false, as Jesus came after John, Peter followed Simon Magus, and hereafter the true Christ would follow Antichrist, the present would merge in the future, time in eternity. With St. Paul Christology had risen at once from the spiritually-gifted man to the pneumatic Adam or incarnate spirit; thence rapidly advancing through Alexandrian symbolism from a high yet still subordinate Being to one co-ordinate and consubstantial with Deity in Marcion and St. John. The last stronghold of Jewish orthodoxy was its monotheism; and the

[26] A fanciful application to history of the metaphysical dualism adopted by the Pythagoreans and other Greek philosophers.

Clementine hypothesis requiring only a high type of the Ebionitish or prophetic Christ brings us back to the elementary Christological idea from which St. Paul set out. In the before mentioned theory of the Adam-Christ[27] it was assumed that he who proceeding direct from God's hand received the first spiritual afflatus was the first and greatest of prophets. Adam promulgated God's true law, and while it was observed earth brought forth the fairest fruits, the elements propitious seasons, in short it was the golden age. But absence of evil made men thoughtless and irreligious. At length perverted habits and communication obscured the truth[28], so that the world became as a smoky house whose inmates cannot see the light. It was therefore necessary that truth should be revealed afresh, and this was done by a succession of prophets, called the "seven pillars" of the world, or rather by successive manifestations of the one spirit finally exhibited in Christ. Christianity is not, as taught by St. Paul, an inward renewal of the mind, but the universal promulgation of a truth which, though not new, had been obscured. Its essence consists in practical observance of precepts already extant, but requiring a criterium to separate the true from the false. Christ was the criterium, and the anticipation of his coming was itself part of O. T. truth. He came not to destroy but to fulfil; yet by destroying[29] he showed practically that much of the old law was false, or rather that much accidentally mixed up with it really formed no part of that which was to outlast the world. Christianity was still the old law, as fulfilling expectancy and making good imperfection. Its original idea, that of a new relation arising under an old revelation, becomes in the Clementina a theory of the oneness and continuity of revelation commenced in Judaism and completed by

[27] Supr. pp. 338. 363. Wisd. x. 1, 2.

[28] Proved from Matt. vii. 7; xi. 28. The citation from Matt. xxii. 29, "Ye err, not knowing *the truth of* the Scripture, is a characteristic variation from our present text.

[29] Matt. xv. 30.

Christ. If Judaism was of divine origin, Christianity being also divine, must be an esoteric kind of Judaism. A transcendental revelation of absolute truth does not admit progressive development. Such a revelation if given at all must from the first have been true and perfect. Marcion perceived the spirit of Christianity to be essentially distinct from Judaism, and admitting inconsistency in the systems, he could not allow identity in the gods or continuity in the revelations. The choice lay between disowning the early God or denying the early narrative. Both parties reject the possibility of real discordance in objective revelation. But one accounts for divergence by denying the older revelation, the other maintains the principle by denying the divergence. Jewish Gnosis has in some respects an advantage over St. Paul's system, in others falls short of it. Ps. Clement upholds free will and drops the atonement. St. Paul admitting human depravation and estrangement as objective facts, escapes from the consequences of the admission through a mystic "faith" virtually retracting it; while Clement avoids the necessity of atonement by denying depravation, though still adhering to a system in which it is supposed[30]. The culminating point of theology is to "know what it worships," or rather to know itself; to obtain a correct estimate of its own ideas and symbols. The real meaning of Christianity was reconcilement. Spiritualism founded within Judaism by Jesus tended inevitably to destroy the great Jewish characteristics; and St. Paul by virtue of a single formula threatened extinction to all the other forms which Judaism had brought forth. But St. Paul was embarrassed by his own symbolism; he lost sight of divine justice in view of divine love, and his theory wanting the only real means for its effective development remained a barren mystery, pretending to what it could not accomplish, apt to become fanatical or even (as emancipated from law) immoral, and while implying a negation of theo-

[30] Comp. Schliemann, v. supr. p. 221 sq.

logy, reconstituting the superstitious fancies it was adapted to destroy.

The true purport of Christianity was spiritualism or intellectual religion. This at least was the aim of its most eminent teachers, of Stephen, of St. Paul, and of Jesus. At first within the pale of Judaism, but progressively more and more enfranchised, they strove to eliminate spirit from form, or to make form subordinate; none questioned the necessity of an external guide, but they sought guidance in a divine influence over the mind, not in human enactments and traditions. If Jesus laid more stress on the true external law, St. Paul on an imparted grace or inward spirit, the distinction, though implying an important step in early Christian development, really amounts only to an analysis of the constituent elements of all religion. The religious spirit or sentiment is within, but it requires an external criterium or rule to give effect to it. The spirit therefore strives to discover the law which in its turn is to animate and guide the purposes of the spirit. But in the early search after law men misapprehended both the end and the means. They transferred their own conceptions to the universe, and mistook the inward consciousness which they felt to be higher than the world for a divine authority. Thus ignorance and indolence found a resource in inspiration; unable adequately to interpret nature, they were glad of a device which should magnify their sufficiency to themselves, or else authoritatively recommend the interpretations of others[31]. In Scripture language the people "feared to communicate directly with God;"[32] they required a prophet speaking the ideas they could not themselves develope. But the effusions of genius which to the vulgar seemed inspiration contained elements fatal to their durability; and it became

[31] Everything in religion which nature is absolutely unable to teach, *i. e.* the artificial theology undiscoverable except by what is called revelation, is clearly nothing more than prior inferences which have become inapplicable and unmeaning.

[32] Exod. xx. 19. Deut. xviii. 16. 18.

necessary either wholly to abandon them, or to apply to them a disproportionate amount of ingenuity better bestowed on the original sources in order to separate the true from the false. Meantime there prevailed a melancholy feeling of a "Fall" or estrangement from the only real source of intelligence and goodness; and men anxiously longed for a time when knowledge and consequently happiness should be fully and freely dispensed, or as the Bible says, when all should be prophets, "taught of God," and illuminated by his Spirit. Judaism was but "hope of life;"[33] a preparatory system whose chief virtue lay in looking beyond itself. Christianity was the "promised land of the soul"[34] or life realized; asserting the futility of the misgiving which raised an imaginary barrier between man and God, it effected a reconciliation in the sphere where alone existed the estrangement by neutralizing the phantom of sin within the circle of the human feelings[35]. Yet the removal of the barrier to the feelings did not of itself fill up the blank to the understanding. Philosophy had to begin where theology left off. Referring the rule of life to the spirit, and again the spirit to its own impulses or insight, religion stood in the dilemma of ancient philosophy, possessed of a treasure it could not unlock. The abrogation of Jewish law left the mind virtually without law either to divine its way by its own resources, or to fall back on what it had relinquished. Speculators valued themselves above other Christians on the ground of possessing a philosophical religion or

[33] Ep. Barnab. ch. i.

[34] Ep. Barnab. ch. vi.

[35] It is impossible not to see that the true import of the justifying faith of St. Paul is not so much the appropriation of a magical influence of atoning blood as emancipation from mental bondage, escape from the burthen imposed by the "law of works" (the "δυναμις ἁμαρτιας") upon the human conscience; assurance to all spiritually-minded persons that they are not "under the law but under grace;" that divine grace whose circumference outreaches even the accumulating consciousness of defective fulfilment; exhibiting clearly to the mind the groundlessness of its own fearful prepossessions, but in itself no more producing an objective effect than the law, as "cause of sin," produced objective transgressions.

γνωσις as distinguished from mere πραξις. They seemed as spiritual or "pneumatic" beings nearer to the Supreme Intelligence than other men. In their attempt to give definite expression to the Christian feeling of union with God they appeared to have overleaped the gulf between subject and object in philosophy as well as between creature and Creator in the O. T.; not only cancelling the moral disorder of the Fall, but completing the victory metaphysically by an appeal apportioned between the religious instincts and the philosophic transcendentalism inherited from Socrates and Plato. Gnosis however really amounted only to a confident assumption of matters more fitly and effectually addressed by πιστις[36]. Its claims were ill supported, and the failure of this as of all similar attempts has caused a prepossession that a religious philosophy is hopeless. For philosophy challenges the intellect; religion is commonly assumed to aim at what intellect shrinks from. Yet the failure of fanciful religion to become philosophy does not preclude philosophy from coinciding with true religion. Philosophy, or rather its object, the divine order of the universe, is the intellectual guide which the religious sentiment needs; while exploring the real relations of the finite it obtains a constantly improving and self-correcting measure of the perfect law of Jesus and a means of carrying into effect the spiritualism of St. Paul. It establishes law by ascertaining its terms; it guides the spirit to see its way to the amelioration of life and increase of happiness. While religion was stationary science could only walk alone; when both are admitted to be progressive their interests and aims become identified. Aristotle began to show how religion may be founded on an intellectual basis; but the basis he laid was too narrow. Bacon by giving to philosophy a definite aim and method gave it at the same time a safer and self-enlarging basis. Our position is that of intellectual beings surrounded by limitations; and the latter being constant have

[36] John vii. 17. 1 John v. 10.

to intelligence the practical value of laws, in whose investigation and application consists that seemingly endless career of intellectual and moral progress which the sentiment of religion inspires and ennobles. The title of saint has hitherto been claimed exclusively for those whose boast is to despise philosophy; yet faith will stumble and sentiment mislead unless knowledge be present in amount and quality sufficient to purify the one and to give beneficial direction to the other.

THE END.

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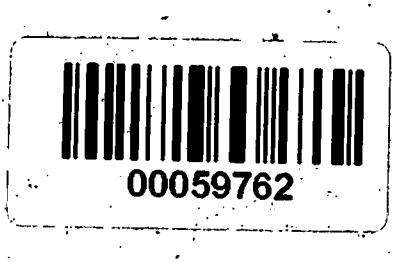
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